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# HISTORY

OF THE

# PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE HEATHEN.

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OF THE

# PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE HEATHEN

SINCE THE REFORMATION

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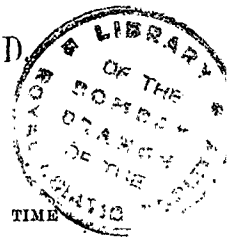
BY THE

REV. WILLIAM BROWN, M.D.



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## CHAPTER VIII.

### PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

### SECT. I.—INDIA.

In October 1792, a few Baptist ministers, assembled at Kettering in Northamptonshire, united in instituting a Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen. They, at the same time, opened a subscription for this purpose; but the whole sum contributed on that occasion amounted only to £13 : 2 : 6. As soon, however, as the object of the Society was known, they met with further encouragement and support, not only from the members of their own communion, but from Christians of other denominations.[1]

About the same time, Mr John Thomas, who had of late years made some attempts for propagating the gospel in Bengal, was in London, endeavouring to establish a fund for sending missionaries to that country, and was himself anxious to obtain a suitable companion to return with him. He had previously made two voyages to Bengal as surgeon of the Oxford East Indiaman; and when there the second time, he met with a few pious people who agreed to have a prayer-meeting together, and this led on to his preaching to them every Sabbath evening. Among these Christian friends was Charles Grant, Esq., who afterwards rose to some of the most important and honourable offices in the service of the East India Company, both in India

[1] Periodical Accounts relative to the Baptist Missionary Society. vol. i. p. 3, 48.

and in England. This excellent man, pleased with the labours of Mr Thomas in their private meetings, expressed a wish that he would remain in the country, learn the language, and preach the gospel to the natives. Though Mr Thomas, when formerly in India, had sought to set on foot some plan for spreading Christianity in that country, he had no inclination to engage in the work himself, when the proposal was now made to him. Still, however, it would recur to his mind; he became greatly concerned on account of the miserable condition of the Hindus, and he at length resolved to remain in the country, and to preach among them "the unsearchable riches of Christ." With this view, he began in 1787 to learn the Bengali language, and, through means of his labours, several of the Hindus not only acquired considerable knowledge of the gospel, but appeared to be concerned for their souls; and there were two or three who, he hoped, were sincere converts to Christianity, though they had not yet been baptized, nor relinquished their caste. Mr Thomas laboured among them till the beginning of 1792, when he left the country and returned to England.[1]

Encouraged by these circumstances, the Baptist Missionary Society invited Mr Thomas to return to Bengal under their auspices, and engaged, at the same time, to endeavour to find him a suitable colleague. Such a man was not long wanting. The Rev. William Carey of Leicester, who had a principal share in the institution of the Society, had, ever since his entrance on the ministry, if not even from an earlier period, viewed with deep interest the condition of the heathen world. His conversation, his prayers, and his sermons, usually contained something relative to this subject; and he had lately advocated the cause of missions, in a work entitled, "An Inquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use means for the Conversion of the Heathen." He was a man of respectable talents, had a great thirst for geographical knowledge, and a remarkable facility in acquiring languages. Being asked by the Committee whether he was inclined to go out with Mr Thomas to Bengal, he readily agreed to the proposal.[2]

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 7, 14, 19, 31; Rippon's Baptist Register, vol. ii. p. 145.

[2] Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 1, 34; Brief Narrative of the Baptist Mission in India, 2d edit. p. 5.

Though Mr Thomas's introduction to the Society was probably the means in the hand of God of turning the attention of the Committee to so important a field as India, yet his connection with the mission proved from the very beginning a source of great difficulties, and threatened the abortion of the whole scheme. He was involved in pecuniary embarrassments, and though he candidly intimated this in one of his earliest communications with the Committee, yet it turned out more serious in its consequences than probably either he or they anticipated. Previous to going out to India originally, he had been engaged in medical practice in London, and had failed in business. He had lately divided a considerable sum among his creditors; but still it was £500 short of their demand. Having nothing to offer them in the way of payment, he neglected waiting on them to state how matters stood, and the consequence was that they came after him. He then told them all the truth; but as they saw him going on a distant and expensive voyage, they would not believe his statements. Every day he had fears that he would be arrested; but to his great joy he at length embarked with his family and his colleague Mr Carey on board the Oxford East Indiaman. Having, however, been detained for some weeks off the Motherbank, they landed on the Isle of Wight, and while they were waiting there, one of his creditors called at their lodgings with a writ and bailiff to arrest him for about £100. He had set off for London not many hours before, and the man of his own accord, after some threatenings, gave over the pursuit. The time of sailing now drawing near, Mr Thomas ventured again to join his family.

But here the difficulties of the missionaries did not end. They were going out without having obtained permission from the East India Company, (for it would then have been vain to ask permission); and when they were in expectation of sailing within four days, it was intimated that an information had been lodged against the captain (it was supposed by one of Mr Thomas's creditors) for taking a person on board without a licence from the Company, and as the person was not named, he and Mr Carey, and another passenger, were all ordered to quit the ship. These circumstances were exceedingly painful and embarrassing; yet they proved a mean of extricating Mr

Carey out of difficulties of another kind. His wife had hitherto refused to accompany him; but he had resolved to go himself in the hope that she might afterwards be persuaded to follow him; or, if not, he would return after having made the trial, and ascertained, in some degree, the practicability of the undertaking. Having learned that a Danish East Indiaman was daily expected in Dover Roads, they again tried to persuade Mrs Carey to go with them. She continued to resist all their arguments; but at length, contrary to all expectation, she consented to go with her whole family, including her sister. But now a new difficulty arose. There were not funds to pay the passage of so many persons. The agents of the vessel, however, agreed to take the whole party, consisting of eight persons, old and young, for three hundred guineas.[1]

In June 1793, Messrs Thomas and Carey, with their families, embarked on board the Princess Maria, as the Danish East Indiaman was called, and after a voyage of about five months, they arrived in Calcutta. They had now, however, to suffer fresh difficulties and trials. For some time they were much at a loss where to settle or what to do. One of Mr Thomas's creditors had sent his bond to India, and he was not sure but others might have done the same; and he was consequently in continual apprehension of being arrested for his debts. He therefore resolved to settle in his profession at Calcutta, on account of his creditors. He was afraid that if he did no business, they would be out of all patience with him. As Mr Thomas had been in India before, Mr Carey was naturally inclined, on their first arrival, to defer to his opinion, and to yield himself up to his guidance; he even acceded to things of which he much disapproved, thinking that his colleague knew the country so much better than himself. Mr Thomas, however, was little worthy of such confidence. He was thoughtless, extravagant, and improvident in his expenditure, and withal very changeable and capricious. The little money they had was in his keeping, and he took his measures and disbursed funds almost independently of the advice, and frequently with too little regard to the comfort, of Mr Carey and his family. The consequence was, that in about two months they were all reduced to a state of destitu-

[1] Memoir of Dr Carey, by Eustace Carey, p. 76, 86, 88.

tion; their all was expended,[1] and Mr Thomas was already in debt; yet notwithstanding this, he went on living at a great expense, and even talked of keeping his coach. It sometimes seemed doubtful whether he would not give up the mission altogether. He afterwards acknowledged that "he was drinking desperately into the spirit of the world to the destruction of godliness."[2]

Mr Carey now found himself in a strange and distant land, without a friend, yet with a large family and nothing to supply their wants. In the midst of these difficulties, he thought of trying to borrow five hundred rupis, and retiring into the country, building a hut or two, and cultivating the ground for their support. Meanwhile he had much affliction in his family. He himself, his wife, and two of his children, were for some time very ill, and one of them, a fine boy of about five years of age, died. To add to his distress, his wife and her sister, whose hearts had never been in the mission, were continually upbraiding him on account of the difficulties and trials which they and the children were called to endure: they not unnaturally thought it very hard that while Mr Thomas lived in the city of Calcutta, and in some degree of affluence, they should have to go into a wilderness, and live without many of what they considered the necessaries of life, particularly bread. These various trials, it may easily be imagined, occasioned Mr Carey, especially at times, great dejection, anxiety, and perplexity of mind, yet under all he shewed much patience, and resignation, and humble trust in God. He felt as if he had only one friend in the world, yet he rejoiced that this friend was all-sufficient, and could supply all his wants, temporal and spiritual.[3]

[1] It is, however, only fair to state, that Messrs Thomas and Carey were very differently provided for from missionaries in later times. They had not, in fact, much to spend. Their united salary for the first year appears to have been only £150.—*Period. Accounts*, vol. i. p. 53.

[2] Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 45, 64; Carey's Memoir, p. 127, 135, 139, 167.

[3] Carey's Memoir, p. 134, 137, 143; Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 122.

Mrs Carey while she lived was a great trial to her husband. It need, indeed, excite no surprise, that a mother with a young family, in a foreign land, without a single female friend to soothe her mind, or the power of uttering or understanding a sentence beyond the limits of her own household; their resources, slender from the first, at length almost completely exhausted, and she and her family brought well-nigh to the brink of starvation; the very house in which they lodged, incommodious as it was, se-

In February 1794, Mr Carey proceeded with his family in a boat to the east of Calcutta, with the view of taking land in that part of the country, and cultivating it for the support of his family. On the morning of the third day, they arrived at a place called Deharta, about forty miles from that city, and in the neighbourhood of the Sunderbunds. Here the East India Company had a bungalow, and Mr Short, who resided there as superintendent of the salt-works, on seeing them, invited the whole of them to stay with him until they were able to erect a house for themselves; and though he was an unbeliever, he treated them with great hospitality and kindness. The state of Mr Carey's mind at this time may be seen in the manner in which he expresses himself on several occasions in his journal.

"I have lately," he writes on one occasion, "been full of perplexity about various temporal concerns. I have met with heavy afflictions; but in the mount the Lord is seen. I wish I had but more of God in my soul, and felt more submission in my heart to his will. This would raise me above every trouble. I feel happy in this that I am in my work, and that it is the work of God; the more I am employed in it, the more I feel it a rich reward."

On another occasion he writes, "A day of business, hurry, sorrow, and dejection. I seem cast out of the Christian world, and am yet unable to speak to the heathen to any advantage, while I am discouraged by various disappointments and distresses, and am still at a distance from my colleague, and have

cured to them only by the daily sufferance of a native, should have been found unequal to the exercise of those virtues which her present circumstances called for. Every thing in her former life, as well as in her physical constitution, were unfavourable to this. Brought up in an obscure village, without any advantages of mental, and few of religious culture, with a spirit unusually timid, and a bodily frame always feeble, it is no wonder though she felt dejected and dismayed when such trials befel her, as might make even firm and disciplined minds falter and quail. Indeed, there can be no question that the inroads of *Monomania*, which so distracted the last years of her life, were already unhinging her understanding and corroding her passions. Had this been clearly seen by Mr Carey at the time, melancholy as was the fact, it would in some degree have eased the anguish of his heart under the trials which she then, and to the close of her life, occasioned him, they being imputable to her malady, which made her more an object of pity than of blame. She at length died, December 8. 1807, after having been in a state of most distressing derangement for twelve years.—*Carey's Memoir*, p. 127, 181, 268, 407, 457.

no friend to stir me up or encourage me in the ways of God. I sometimes feel rather disheartened by the infidelity of the Europeans, who all say that the conversion of the natives is impossible, and by the stupid superstition of the people themselves. In England I would not be discouraged by what infidels say; but here I have no faithful brother to sympathise with me, nor am I yet able to make the experiment by preaching the gospel. All my hope is in God; all my comfort arises from him. Without his power no European could possibly be converted, and that can convert any Indian."

"My soul," he writes some days after, "my soul longeth and fainteth for God, for the living God, to see his glory and his beauty as I have seen them in the sanctuary. When I left England, my hopes of the conversion of the heathen were very strong; but amidst so many obstacles, they would utterly die, unless upheld by God. I have met with many things calculated to upset them since I left my dear charge at Leicester. Since that time I have had hurrying up and down, a five months' imprisonment with carnal men on board the ship, five more spent in learning the language, my moonshee not understanding English sufficiently to interpret my preaching, my colleague separated from me, long delays experienced respecting my settlement, few opportunities for social worship, no woods to retire to like Brainerd for fear of tigers, (no fewer than twenty men in the department of Dayhotta where I am, have been carried away from the salt-works this season); in short, no earthly thing to depend on. Well, I have God; and his word is sure. Though the superstitions of the Hindus were a million times more deeply rooted, and the example of Europeans a million times worse than they are; if I were deserted by all, and persecuted by all, yet my hope fixed on that sure word, will rise superior to all obstructions, and triumph over all trials. God's cause *will* triumph, and I shall come out of all trials as gold purified in the fire."[1]

Mr Carey had not finished the building of a house in the neighbourhood of Deharta, and Mr Thomas had only just got into a new house in Calcutta, when an unexpected turn was

[1] Carey's Memoir, p. 149; Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 164, 172, 175.

given to their circumstances and pursuits. Among the friends which Mr Thomas had gained during his former residence in Bengal, was George Udney, Esq. of Malda, a gentleman who afterwards held some of the most important offices in the India Government; but though he had contributed to his support whilst learning the language and making his first missionary efforts, yet he, and also Mr Grant, afterwards became dissatisfied with his conduct and both withdrew their countenance from him. Mr Udney's family having lately met with a heavy affliction, Mr Thomas, on hearing of it, with prompt ingenuous kindness, as though there had been no difference between them, wrote a consolatory letter to him; and this having led to a pressing and affectionate invitation to him from that gentleman to visit him at Malda, he accordingly went, and did not fail to embrace the opportunity of ministering consolation to the afflicted family. Mr Udney was at that time erecting two indigo factories in that part of the country; and this visit proved the occasion of his offering the superintendence of them to Mr Thomas and Mr Carey. As this proposal not only opened to them the prospect of an ample supply of their pecuniary wants, but presented them with an extensive field of usefulness, affording each of them influence over upwards of a thousand people, and furnishing suitable employment for any of them who might lose caste for the sake of the gospel, they both accepted it without hesitation. Mr Carey, accordingly, took up his residence at Mudnabatty, a place about thirty miles beyond Malda, and Mr Thomas at Moypauldiggy, sixteen miles further north.[1]

Being now settled in these two villages, they had each an opportunity of addressing, not only the workmen under their inspection, but many others of the natives, who came from different parts of the country to hear them, and as soon as they

[1] Carey's Memoir, p. 153; Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 85, 89.

It is gratifying to be able to state, that though Messrs Carey and Thomas came out to India without the licence of the East India Company, and were consequently liable to be ordered out of the country at any time, Sir John Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth, the distinguished President of the British and Foreign Bible Society), who was at this time Governor-General of India, granted them the usual covenants of British subjects, and thus legalized their residence in the country.—*Oriental Christian Spectator*, vol. xi. p. 22.

were able, they erected schools at their respective factories; but the extreme ignorance and poverty of the natives made them take away their children on every slight occasion, and at length it even became necessary to pay something to the scholars, in order to induce them to attend. Besides statedly labouring in the two villages where they resided, they made frequent excursions through the neighbouring country, for the purpose of making known the gospel. "I have a district," says Mr Carey, "of about twenty miles square, where I am continually going from place to place to publish the gospel, and in this space there are about two hundred villages. My manner of travelling is with two small boats, one of which serves me to lodge in, the other for cooking my victuals. All my furniture, as well as my food, I carry with me from place to place, namely, a chair, a table, a bed, and a lamp. I walk from village to village, but repair to my boat for lodging and victuals. There are several rivers in this quarter of the country, which renders it very convenient for travelling."[1]

Mr Carey on his arrival in India conceived a very favourable idea of the character and manners of the Hindus. He was delighted to see them appear so gentle, mild, and peaceable in their dispositions, and especially so inquisitive and attentive in hearing the gospel; but further experience soon corrected these early impressions. The few individuals, of whose conversion Mr Thomas had entertained sanguine hopes, disappointed their expectations, none of them ever coming forward to make a public profession of the Christian faith.[2] The difficulties attending the conversion of the Hindus were, in fact, greater than perhaps either they or their friends had ever calculated; and though no doubt could remain of the power of God to subdue their ignorance and obduracy; yet, for the present, it pleased him to put the faith and patience of his servants to a severe trial. It may not be improper in this place to take a view of some of the obstructions, political and moral, which impede the progress of Christianity in India, exclusive of those natural and more powerful obstacles which are to be found in every country and in every heart.

[1] Brief Narrative, p. 20; Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 124, 233, 373.
[2] Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 79, 138.

The first obstruction which naturally strikes the most superficial observer, is the division of the people into Castes. The Hindus, as is well known, are divided into four principal castes or tribes: the Brahman, the Kayastha, the Vaisya, and the Sudra; each of which is again subdivided into a number of different branches. No one can ever quit his own caste, or be admitted into another. The station of every individual is unalterably fixed; his destiny is irrevocable. The members of each caste must adhere invariably to the profession or employment of their ancestors, and continue from generation to generation to pursue the same course of life. In consequence of this unnatural distinction of castes, all motives to exertion, inquiry, and improvement, are extinguished among the Hindus. The highest talents, the most honourable actions, the most beneficial discoveries, the most virtuous conduct, secure no respect or advantage to a person of low caste; and, on the other hand, ignorance, indolence, and vice, reflect no disgrace on one of high caste. Hence they display a stupid contentment with their present condition, plod on in the path of their ancestors, and are utterly regardless of truth of every kind, out of the beaten track of antiquity. The most trifling incidents, however, occasion the loss of caste, as eating, drinking, or smoking with a person of a different tribe or nation. They may, indeed, eat the food of another caste if no water has touched it. Thus a Brahman may purchase rice of a Sudra, or even of a Mussulman, but none except one of his own order may cook it for him. A Hindu may smoke the tobacco which a Mussulman has just been using, but he must take off part of the hooka which contains the tobacco, and must not smoke through the same water. The loss of caste is attended with the most terrible consequences. No one will eat, drink, or smoke, with a person who has lost caste; no one will marry into his family; his wife, his children, his friends, disown him, and are often material sufferers by what he has done, sometimes even losing caste themselves in consequence of it, and thus he ruins them as well as himself. Nor can caste if once completely lost ever be recovered, or at least if it can, it is matter of extreme difficulty. Some have been known to put a period to their lives, unable to endure the dis-

grace into which they had fallen. This singular institution of caste raises unquestionably greater difficulties in the way of a profession of Christianity in India, than are to be found in any other country of the world. It pervades all classes of Hindus, high and low, rich and poor. Hence all are interested in its preservation, and are found guarding it with scrupulous care. Even children of very tender age are made to understand its importance, and are taught carefully to preserve it from all defilement.[1]

Nearly related to the loss of caste, there is another and powerful difficulty in the way of the conversion of the Hindus, which cannot fail to stare them in the face, even from the very first, namely, the prospect of not being able to obtain subsistence for themselves and their families in the event of their embracing Christianity. This simple fact has probably more influence than any other to prevent Hindus, especially those of the higher and middle classes, from ever giving the gospel a serious and careful hearing. Many appear to listen to it with intelligent interest, and some declare that they will no longer worship idols. But when they consider what a change the embracing of Christianity would make in their whole circumstances; that it would certainly prevent them carrying on their accustomed occupations, while they see no other way of providing for themselves and their families; that it would make a complete disruption between them and their relations, subject them to many annoyances, and perhaps cruel oppression, we cannot wonder that they should start back at the prospect, and resolve, that whatever others may do, they must be content with the religion of their ancestors, for in it only can they expect to obtain the means of subsistence for themselves and their families, enjoy any comfort in life, or live at peace with those around them. In confessing Christ, Hindus have often literally to "forsake all, and take up their cross and follow him."[2]

Another great difficulty which a missionary finds in labouring among the Hindus, arises out of the want of first principles held in common by them. The religion of the Hindus has ex-

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 137, 235, 481; Sum. Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. i. p. 427.
[2] Sum. Orient. Christ. Spect., vol. i. p. 266, 274.

tinguished, in a great degree, the light of nature in their breasts, darkened their understandings, and depraved their hearts. They are fond of the idea that man is merely a machine, and consequently not an accountable creature. One day as Mr Carey was discoursing on the evil of sin, a person who heard him declared he had never committed sin in his life. "We can do no wrong," said some others who joined in the conversation, "we are only instruments; our will is God in us." Mr Carey then talked of particular sins, saying, "If you commit theft, lewdness, or murder, are they not your sins?" "O no," they replied, "they are not our sins; it is God who does all." He used many arguments to convince them of the absurdity and wickedness of such ideas, but all was in vain, until at last he said, "Well, if you can do no sin, come eat some rice with me to-day; it will be God's act, not yours." With this they were struck dumb, and had not a word to reply. Probably they would sooner have murdered a man, or been hanged themselves, than eaten, or even touched, a particle of food dressed by a European. If a Hindu is detected in theft, or charged with murder, he generally answers that his *kopal*, or forehead, is bad. By this they mean that they were destined by God to commit such crimes; for it is a common opinion among them that the fate of every man is written in his forehead, and that therefore the whole of their conduct in life is chargeable on God, and not on themselves. This doctrine prevails amongst them almost universally; and to clear themselves from the inconsistency of charging sin on a holy God, they maintain that no act of the Deity can be criminal. If sin, say they, enters into him, it is consumed like fuel in the fire, and thus its malignity is taken away. The idea of fatality is not confined to the present state of existence, but extends to the life to come, and produces the utmost indifference with regard to futurity. "All will be," they say, "as it is to be: who can alter it?" Besides, the doctrine of transmigration is a new source of evil, and renders them still further proof against the convictions of conscience, and indifferent to that salvation which the gospel reveals. The present life is regarded by them not as a state of probation, but of punishment for the sins of some pre-existent state; and hence,

however wicked their conduct may be, they maintain it cannot be criminal, because they are now expiating former transgressions. In another point of view, the doctrine of transmigration proves extremely pernicious. In Europe, men are excited to attend to religion with diligence and without delay, by the consideration that their everlasting happiness is dependent on their improvement of present opportunities; but in India, they are encouraged to indulge in negligence and procrastination, by the hope that in some future birth they shall enjoy better fortunes, be great, and rich, and happy, and so be in circumstances more favourable for attending to spiritual things. Even when they are driven from all these refuges, and are no longer able to still the small voice of conscience, the facility with which they can be cleansed from sin, proves a complete solace to their mind and a powerful hinderance to the reception of the gospel by them. In the estimation of a Hindu, the sight, the name, or the touch of Ganga,[1] takes away the most heinous transgressions. Thinking of Ganga, even though the person is at a distance, delivers from all moral pollution and confers a title to heaven. Bathing in Ganga, accompanied with prayer, removes the iniquities of thousands of births, and gives a claim to blessings beyond the conception of the human imagination. One day, a native told Mr Carey, that, let him sin as much as he would, the river Ganga would wash it all away. On another occasion, a shopkeeper said, that should he live in the practice of adultery, lying, and other sins till his death, yet if he then repeated the name of Krishnu, he would without difficulty ascend to heaven. The Hindus, in short, had no fixed moral principles on which it was possible to argue with them; hence, instead of reasoning from the ordinary doctrines of natural religion, the missionaries had in the first instance to establish them, a point of no small difficulty where there are scarcely any *data* or primary principles admitted in common by the disputants.[2]

Besides, the indifference and insensibility, the feebleness, lethargy, and timidity of the Hindus, are a great hinderance to

[1] The river Ganges.

[2] Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 449, 482; vol. ii. p. 50, 73; Ward's View of the History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindus, vol. i. p. 268, 272, 276; vol. ii. p. 160, 172, 173; Missionary Herald, 1819, p. 93; Ibid. 1824, p. 74.

the spread of Christianity among them. They are curious enough to hear what is new; but they have not mental energy to prosecute inquiry, nor resolution to carry out their convictions to their legitimate consequences. Though they may seem to listen with attention, and may understand, in some degree, what they hear, and even acknowledge it to be truth, yet it is all without feeling, without interest, without any sense of its importance. It is exceedingly difficult to get them to extend a thought beyond present things. As to the world to come, it is out of sight, and therefore out of mind. Though they will affect to spare an ant or a worm, they will look on the sufferings and the death of their fellow-men with a stoical indifference almost inconceivable; and the same, or if possible, a still greater degree of apathy, is manifested by them in regard to things spiritual and eternal. The discouragements of missionaries do not, in general, arise so much from their opposition to the truth, as from their utter indifference to it, and to every thing connected with their spiritual welfare.[1]

There was even a want of a proper medium of communication with the Hindus on the subject of religion. The languages of India were, like all heathen languages, wanting in terms to express many of the peculiar truths of Christianity. Hence foreign words had to be introduced into them, or new ones coined or borrowed from the Sanskrit. But even when terms were found in the vernacular languages, which it was thought would convey the ideas intended, they failed to do so in consequence of their being used in a sense different from the associations in the minds of the hearers. In this case the confusion and unintelligibility of ideas, instead of being diminished, were perhaps increased, as it is often easier to introduce a new term as the expression of a new idea, than to detach from an old term the idea with which it has been long habitually associated. Speak, for example, to a Hindu of God, and he thinks of him as a Being extended through all space, that all nature is God, that he himself is a part of God, and that the whole is a proper object of worship; or his thoughts turn to the incarnations of Deity, or to a multitude of imaginary and subordinate

[1] Wardlaw's Memoir of the Rev. John Reid, p. 183, 189; Miss. Her. 1824. p. 75.

divinities, the patrons of lying, intrigue, lust, theft, murder, war, of every thing in short, base, vile, and wicked, or to the idol representations of their thousand gods. Talk to him of sin, and he will perhaps think of touching something unclean, or of partaking of food prepared by one of another caste, or of some other imaginary offence equally frivolous. Tell him of the necessity of being cleansed from sin, and the process of purification which will occur to his mind will be that of ablution in the Ganges or some other sacred stream. Discourse to him of regeneration and of being born again, and he will perhaps reply, "We know that we must be born again: it is part of our fate to be so," referring to the doctrine of transmigration which holds so prominent a place in the Hindu system. Preach to him of heaven, and he will think of absorption in the Deity, or if this is not consummated, of the endless round of sensual enjoyments, which, according to the Hindu creed, constitute celestial bliss. Thus the terms which the missionary is compelled to employ, are apt, when unexplained, to convey not Christian but heathen and Hindu ideas.[1]

The antiquity of the Hindu Institutions, extending back, as they imagine, many hundred thousand years, creates in their minds the highest veneration for them, and indisposes them for the examination of a system which to them appears as but of yesterday. "Can all our sages and philosophers," say they, "have been mistaken? Can all their learned and voluminous disquisitions be founded on error? Can all the countless millions who have lived and died in the belief and practice of their precepts, have been deceived? And are all the millions by whom we are surrounded, likewise mistaken? Have we not among us visible proofs of the favour and approbation of the Deity? If he did not support our devotees, how could they endure such exquisite sufferings? How, without divine aid, could they lie night and day on a bed of spikes, or hold up their arm, till it has become stiff and withered, and clench their fingers till the nails have grown through their hands, or lie down, and look, and wait, till the wheels of the car of Jaganath pass over them, and crush them to atoms? How, destitute of

[1] Ward's Farewell Letters, p. 141; Duff's India and Indian Missions, p. 319; (Irish) Missionary Herald, vol. i. p. 542.

heavenly support, could young, feeble, timid females walk with calmness, and even with triumph, around the funeral pile of their lifeless husbands, and then throw themselves upon it, to be consumed to ashes? If our religion be not divine, how are we to account for these things?"[1]

The servility, the avarice, and the dissimulation of the Hindus, are a further bar to the propagation of Christianity among them. Of their character in these respects, it is scarcely possible for a European to form an adequate conception. To the missionaries, this was a very perplexing circumstance, as they found it extremely difficult to form a just estimate of the professions of such as became inquirers about the gospel. Among the Hindus, the hope of being employed in some work, or recommended to some other person, or even of getting a few cowries, is sufficient to induce a man in easy circumstances to carry on a deception for a year or two together, with the utmost servility imaginable.[2]

It is not, however, unworthy of observation, that the distinction of castes which we have stated as so great a hinderance to the progress of Christianity in India, may prove highly beneficial as a corrective of this evil. The Hindus being distinguished by the deceitfulness of their character, the renunciation of caste will form a test of sincerity, peculiarly adapted to such a people. Thus the oil of the serpent will prove an antidote to its poison. Were it not for the caste the church might soon be filled with hypocrites; but in consequence of this, the danger of imposition will not, perhaps, be greater in India than in other countries.[3]

In May 1799, Messrs W. Ward, J. Marshman, D. Brunsdon, and W. Grant, sailed for India in an American vessel, commanded by Captain Wickes. On their arrival, they proceeded to Serampur, a Danish settlement, about fourteen miles above Calcutta; and as the captain was informed that his ship would not be entered unless they either made their appearance at the police-office of Calcutta, or agreed to continue at Serampur, they preferred remaining, at least for the present, at that place. On receiving information of these circumstances, Mr Carey em-

[1] Ward's Farewell Letters, p. 138, 142.
[2] Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 483.
[3] Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 156.

ployed all the interest in his power to obtain permission for them to settle in the neighbourhood of Malda; but his efforts were unsuccessful. It, therefore, became a question, Whether the missionaries in that quarter should join those at Serampur, or whether they should labour separately. The indigo-works which Mr Udney had erected at Mudnabatty and Moypauldiggy had entirely failed, and the heavy losses which he had sustained by them had led him to break them up. Mr Carey had lately commenced the same line of business on his own account at Kidderpur, a place about twelve miles distant. To leave that part of the country would be attended with the loss of £500 on this undertaking, and the sacrifice, in a great measure, of all their past labours. On the other hand, at Serampur they would enjoy the protection of the Danish government, might prosecute the grand objects of the mission, especially the printing of the Holy Scriptures, with greater facility than in their present situation, and would have a more populous neighbourhood as the scene of their labours. Weighing these several circumstances, Mr Carey acquiesced in the wishes of his brethren, and agreed to come to Serampur.[1]

The number of missionaries being so much increased, one of the first objects to which they directed their attention was to settle a plan of domestic economy and government. Among the principles which they adopted, there were two which are specially deserving of notice. With a view to frugality, it was agreed that they should live together in a family capacity. All the missionaries and their wives accordingly dined at one common table, and received only a small allowance for private and domestic expenses. This, though no doubt well designed, was essentially a vicious system. Such a union is too artificial, too intimate, and too circumstantial; it involves too great a sacrifice of personal and social freedom to minister to the peace, comfort, and happiness of the parties. Such frequent and such close contact of so many persons and families, could scarcely fail to produce numberless inconveniences, collisions, and disagreements. The whole scheme was a breach of the order of divine providence, which has placed mankind in families, and

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 520; vol. ii. p. 39, 44, 46; vol. iii. p. 3; Brief Narrative, p. 25; Carey's Memoir, p. 349, 367.

it will commonly be found that breaches of the order of providence are not to be made with impunity. The missionaries, after some years' experience, modified and ultimately abandoned this part of the scheme.

The other principle adopted by them to which we referred was, that no one should engage in any employment of a private nature, but that whatever pecuniary profits any of them might realize, should be appropriated to the general purposes of the mission.[1] It originally entered into the arrangements of the mission, that those engaged in it should provide for their own support; but we apprehend that the plan of missionaries originating funds by secular labour, will, generally speaking, be found very unadvisable, probably even injurious. The various duties of the mission will furnish ample scope for the practice of the Apostle Paul's exhortation, "Give thyself wholly to these things;" and if their attention is to any considerable extent directed to secular labour, it will be just so much time withdrawn from their missionary duties, while at the same time, there will be no small danger of their minds being secularized by their attention being so much turned to worldly matters, and perhaps also of contentions arising out of them among themselves. It is the special duty of missionaries to labour for the conversion of the heathen: the providing of funds is the special duty of Christians at home, and of others not engaged in the work.

Hitherto the missionaries had laboured among the Hindus with little or no success. Thirteen years had now elapsed since Mr Thomas entered on the work, and, in the course of that period, he had thrown much away on deceitful, or at least unfruitful characters. Mr Carey, though he had not relaxed in his labours, was much discouraged; all hope of his own success had now in fact nearly expired. "I confess," says he, "that want of success in my work, together with a sense of my great carnality and unfitness for so important an undertaking, has not a little damped my spirits. I know the Lord can work by the weakest instrument, but I often question whether it would

[1] Marshman's (J. C.) Review of Two Pamphlets by the Rev. John Dyer, and the Rev. E. Carey, and W. Yates, p. 40; Carey (E.) Supplement to the Vindication of the Calcutta Baptist Missionaries, p. 140.

be for his honour to work by such a one as me. Perhaps, it would too much sanction carnal security and guilty sloth in others, if one so deeply sunk in these evils were to meet with an eminent blessing." But as the hopes of the missionaries were, perhaps, never so low, their prayers seem never to have been more earnest. A holy unction appeared to rest on them all; and they were more than usually strengthened to wrestle for a blessing. It is also not unworthy of remark, that the death of Christ had of late been more than ever the subject of their preaching, a circumstance which has not unfrequently been connected with the success of the gospel among the heathen.[1]

Such was the state of the mission when Mr Thomas was called to visit a Hindu of the name of Krishnu, who had dislocated one of his arms. After reducing it, he talked to him of the good news of salvation by Jesus Christ. The man had heard the gospel before, and was struck with it; he now confessed he was a sinner, a great sinner, and with many tears cried out: "Save me, Sahib, save me." Three or four weeks after, Krishnu and another of the natives named Gokul came and ate publicly with the missionaries, and thus voluntarily broke caste, which had hitherto seemed like a fortress next to impregnable. In the evening of the same day both of them, together with Krishnu's wife and her sister, who were also seriously impressed by the gospel, presented themselves before the church, and made a solemn profession of their faith in Christ, and of obedience to his laws. The whole of the exercise was highly delightful to all, particularly to Mr Thomas, who was almost overcome with joy.[2]

As soon as it was noised abroad that these people had lost caste, the whole neighbourhood was in an uproar. Roused with indignation, they seized the family of Krishnu, and dragged them before the chief magistrate; but he, instead of censuring, dismissed them with commendations for their conduct. Baffled in this attempt, they brought them back under a fresh charge, accusing Krishnu of refusing to give up his daughter to a young Hindu, to whom she had been betrothed about four years before, but was sent back to remain at her father's till she should be of proper age. Hearing, however, that the family had em-

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 488; vol. ii. p. 124, 158, 161, 165; Brief Narrative, p. 31.
[2] Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 122, 124, 140; Biblical Magazine, vol. ii. p. 236.

braced the gospel, the young man came to Serampur with some of his friends, and distributing a little money among the populace, raised a mob, who carried them before the magistrate. The parties having, by order of the governor, appeared before himself, the girl declared she would become a Christian along with her father; while the young man to whom she was espoused, on being asked whether he would renounce heathenism, replied in the negative. Upon this, the governor told him, that he could not possibly deliver up a Christian woman to a heathen man; and therefore, unless he embraced Christianity, he should not have her. Thus the matter ended for the present, to the great joy of the poor girl, who was much afraid of being brought into this connection.[1]

Intimidated by the violent proceedings of the mob, or overcome by the tears and entreaties of their relations, Gokul and the two women begged to delay their baptism for some weeks. Krishnu, however, remained firm and stedfast amidst the storm; and on the following Sabbath was baptized in the neighbouring river, along with Felix Carey, the eldest son of Mr Carey, then a youth of about fifteen. The governor, and a number of Europeans, Portuguese, Hindus, and Mussulmen were present. The governor could not refrain from tears, and almost the whole of the spectators seemed to be struck with the solemnity of the ordinance. By degrees, the other converts took courage, and were baptized; and even Gokul's wife, whose opposition to his baptism was the chief cause of its delay, followed his example in a few months.[2]

In February 1801, the New Testament in the Bengali language, translated by Mr Carey, issued from the press. The translation of the Holy Scriptures for the use of the natives, was an object on which the hearts of the missionaries had long been set. "I would give a million of pounds, if I had them," said Mr Thomas, "to see a Bengali Bible." He had accordingly translated several books, even before his visit to England; but this was a work for which he was less fitted than for some other parts of missionary labour. Mr Carey had early directed his attention to this object, and had finished the translation of the New Testament three or four years before. Various circum-

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 125, 143. [2] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 127, 131, 169, 180, 185.

stances, however, had hitherto delayed the printing of it, but this was now accomplished by Mr Ward, who had been bred a printer, and who had come out with a special view to this object.[1]

Soon after the publication of the New Testament, Mr Carey was appointed by Marquess Wellesley, the British Governor-General, teacher of the Bengali and Sanskrit languages in the lately instituted College of Fort-William. He had no expectation of such an appointment; and when the offer of it was made to him, he had some hesitation in accepting of it, lest it should interfere with his proper work as a missionary; nor did he accept of it until he had consulted with his brethren, who thought that, instead of obstructing, it would promote the interests of the mission. He was afterwards advanced to the rank of a Professor in the College, and his salary was raised to a thousand rupis a month: the whole of which, agreeably to the established rules of the family, he generously devoted to the purposes of the mission.[2]

Amidst these auspicious circumstances, the missionaries were not without their trials, amongst which was the death of several of their number. As one of these, Mr Thomas, was the original founder of the mission, it may not be improper to give a sketch of his somewhat peculiar yet interesting character.

Mr Thomas was a man of exquisite sensibility, combined with much seriousness and deep devotion. He seldom, however, walked in an even path: he was either full of cheerful active love, or his hands hung down as if he had no hope: his joys bordered on ecstacy; his sorrows on despair.

His talents, at first sight, appeared better adapted for writing and conversation than for preaching; but, in fact, they were suited for that kind of preaching to which he was called; a lively, metaphorical, pointed address, dictated by the circumstances of the moment, and maintained amidst the interruptions and contradictions of a heathen audience. One day, after addressing a number of the natives on the banks of the Ganges, he was thus accosted by a Brahman: "Sahib, don't you say that

[1] Memoir relative to the Translations of the Scriptures, addressed to the Baptist Missionary Society, 1808, p. 4; Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 292, 368, 417, 527; vol. ii. p. 62, 132.

[2] Brief Narrative, p. 37; Miss. Mag. vol. xii. p. 481.

the devil tempts men to sin?" "Yes," answered Mr Thomas. "Then," said the Brahman, "certainly it is the devil who is in the fault; the devil, therefore, not man, ought to suffer the punishment." While the people discovered by their looks their approbation of this mode of reasoning, Mr Thomas observed a boat, with several men on board, sailing on the river, and, with that facility of reply for which he was remarkable, answered, "Brahman, do you see yonder boat?" "Yes," said he. "Suppose," added Mr Thomas, "I were to send some of my friends to destroy every person on board, and to bring me all that is valuable in it; who ought to suffer the punishment? I for instructing them, or they for doing the wicked action." "Why," answered ths Brahman, with some emotion, "you ought all to be put to death together." "Yes, Brahman," said Mr Thomas, "and if you and the devil sin together, the devil and you will be punished together."[1]

Few men enjoyed more exquisitely the pleasure of doing good than Mr Thomas: it was a perfect luxury to him. Such was his sympathy for the poor afflicted Hindus, that it often affected his own health. Happily his medical skill afforded him ample means of administering to their relief; and such was his reputation among them, that they came from thirty or forty miles round to consult him; there were almost always patients at his door; and when he travelled through the country, the people flocked to him in great numbers.[2]

Mr Thomas was a man to whom no one that knew him could feel indifferent; he was sure to excite either love or aversion. In general, his social affectionate carriage produced attachment; and even when he gave offence to his friends, a single interview often dissipated their resentment, and rekindled all their former affection.

Possessed, however, as Mr Thomas was of many excellent qualities, his faults were neither few nor small. He was of an irritable temper, wanting in economy, unthinking, imprudent, improvident, fickle and capricious in his schemes and pursuits, and more ready to form great and generous plans than patient to execute them. But when we think of the many trials through

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 247; Evan. Mag. vol. xx. p. 303.
[2] Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 292, 314, 479; vol. ii. p. 251.

which he passed, and especially when we consider that he was repeatedly in a state of mental derangement, we feel disposed to pity as well as to blame him; as there can be little doubt, that the inequality of his temper, and other irregularities with which he was chargeable, proceeded from a constitutional tendency to that fearful malady.

Previous to his death, it was obvious to himself, as well as to his friends, that he was gliding swiftly down the stream of time into the ocean of eternity. The world and all sublunary things seemed now to recede from his view, like the sun sinking below the distant mountains. Wearied out with the storms of life, he longed to reach that happy shore, where sin and sorrow are unknown. Toward the close of his illness, his pains were exceedingly great; but even in the midst of extreme anguish he exclaimed, "O death, where is thy sting?" At length, after a severe conflict, he breathed his last, and, we doubt not, entered into the joy of the Lord.[1]

Notwithstanding the diminution of their numbers, the missionaries continued to prosecute their labours with unabated diligence and zeal. In the evening they usually went into the streets of Serampur, where they conversed, disputed, or distributed papers, according to circumstances, and though most of the people mocked, despised, and insulted them, yet some were disposed to hear them and to read the tracts. The Brahmans were forced to fly from the disputes, or to hear their system exposed to contempt before the populace, who till now had reverenced them as gods; many things which used to be taken for granted by the people now became matter of dispute, and even Sudras learned to doubt. Some of the missionaries also travelled through the country, and in these journeys preached the gospel to multitudes who had never heard it before, distributed thousands of tracts, and in such places as seemed most eligible, copies of the New Testament. These were received by the people with great avidity; and some of them were carried as far as Benares, a distance of more than three hundred miles. These excursions were followed by numbers of the natives coming to Serampur from different parts of the country, to inquire after the new way of salvation, concerning which they had

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 251, 254; Carey's Memoir, p. 129, 441, 445.

obtained some information, either from seeing the papers circulated by the missionaries, or by conversing with those who had seen them. During their stay they ate and drank with Krishnu's family, by which they in effect renounced their caste.[1]

The missionaries now discovered that numbers of the Hindus, though they did not abandon their caste, yet despised it in their heart, and even spoke of it with contempt. A Brahman from Calcutta who visited them, professed himself a complete sceptic in regard to the Hindu system, and he informed them there were several others of the same caste as himself who entertained similar views. To shew his contempt of Hinduism, he trampled under foot the gaytri, or sacred verse, which none but a Brahman may pronounce; and he afterwards took the poitu from his neck and twisted it round his great toe. He mentioned the sarcastic manner in which he had talked with the Brahmans about consecrating a stone and setting it up as a god. "You know," said he, "that this is a stone; a workman cut it into its present form; before it was thus shaped it could do nothing, and can you suppose that the labours of a stone-cutter can invest it with divine power?" "No," they replied, "but the priest anoints it and pronounces the words of consecration, upon which the divinity enters into it." "Well," said he, "if you have power to invest a stone with divinity, I should think you could turn a man into a deity. You see I am a poor man and suffer much distress in the world, but a stone meets with no trouble; besides, I can not only speak, but eat the sacrifices, which a stone cannot. Now, why not turn me into a god? If you could do this it would be an act of charity, for I should get rid of all my troubles and be happy at once. Besides, being a man and a Brahman, I have the first claim upon you."[2]

The missionaries, indeed, now discovered whole communities of the Hindus in different parts of the country, who despised their castes, their Brahmans, and their gods. Some of these sects consisted of many thousand members; but though they contemned the religion of Brahma in their heart, they conformed to it in their practice for the sake of their reputation and com-

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 226, 235, 238, 268.
[2] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 235; Bib. Mag. vol. iii. p. 157.

fort in society. A respectable family in Chinsurah, who belonged to one of these communities, manifested a violent dislike to the Brahmans, and in a curious memorial which they presented to the chief magistrate of the police at Calcutta, they complained that as it was a great misery to be born into this world even but once, the Brahmans were extremely culpable in neglecting to instruct them, since by this means they rendered them liable as a punishment for their sins to be born many times! The missionaries visited some of these sects, and were received by them in a friendly manner; the leaders of two of them expressed their approbation of the gospel, but one of these, when he afterwards understood something more of its nature, wrote to his disciples warning them against it, telling them that if they regarded it, they would have pigs' faces and go to hell for a long time after death. It is a circumstance not unworthy of observation, that the missionaries uniformly found that, so long as people did not understand the import of their message, they appeared to listen to it, but the moment they understood something of its nature, they either became indifferent or began to ridicule and oppose it, unless it came with power to their hearts.[1]

Meanwhile, however, the Brahmans and many others of the Hindus were not a little irritated by the progress of the gospel, and treated the missionaries, as well as the converts, with great opposition and contempt. Sometimes when the missionaries were preaching, the people shouted and laughed, attacked them with abusive language, and endeavoured to create an uproar. A Brahman being one day asked, why he opposed what Mr Carey had said, made this reply, "Because he tells me of Jesus Christ, that hated name." On another occasion, when Mr Marshman was endeavouring to quiet some of the Brahmans, one more insolent than the rest declared, among other things equally respectful, that it was a sin for him to hear him speak, or even to look in his face. The converts were still more exposed to the insolence and abuse of their countrymen, than even the missionaries; but they bore all with patience and meekness, shewing no disposition to return evil for evil. In Calcutta, multitudes of the natives used to follow them through

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 262, 273, 278, 304, 314, 338, 365, 373, 391, 392.

the streets, clapping their hands, and insulting them in every form. Some abused them as Feringas, others for losing caste; some called them *Yesu Khreest*, and bowing to them, said, "Salam Yesu Khreest." One day, when several of them were in a neighbouring town, the populace set upon them as Feringas, as destroyers of caste, as having eaten fowls, eggs, and other similar articles. On their attempting to return, the mob began to beat, and otherwise maltreat them, and a man who was a civil officer grazed the point of a spear against the body of one of them. Finding them bear all these insults with patience, they threw cow-dung, mixed in Ganga water, at them; talked of making them a necklace of old shoes; and threatened, that should they ever return, they would murder them. One of the converts, who resided in a distant village, was seized by the chief Bengali man of the place, who bound his hands, and dragged him from his house, while the whole of the villagers hissed at him, threw dirt and cow-dung upon him, clogged his face, eyes, and ears with cow-dung, and in this state kept him tied up to the pillar of an idol-temple, for several hours. Besides these acts of violence, the converts suffered many other serious inconveniences from the enmity of their countrymen. They could scarcely, for instance, obtain ground to build upon, or even a house to rent. One of them, after going about for two or three days, and wandering over the whole town, at last persuaded a woman to let him have a house; but though she herself was a Feringa, yet when she heard that he was a Brahman who had become a Christian, she insulted him and drove him away.[1]

Among the trials which the converts had to suffer, their situation in respect of marriage, was not the least considerable. In some cases, they appear to have had more than one wife at the time of their conversion. After discussing the duty of a person in such circumstances, the missionaries appear to have come to the conclusion, that though the New Testament condemns polygamy, yet when a man happens to have more than one wife when he embraces Christianity, he is not required to put any of them away, only he is thereby disqualified for the

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 378, 507; vol. iii. p. 38, 41, 57, 245; Bib. Mag. vol. ii. p. 195; vol. iii. p. 157.

office of the ministry. In other cases, the converts were obliged at the time to forsake their houses, their friends, and even the wife of their bosom; nor would she afterwards have any correspondence with them; or if willing herself, was forcibly prevented by her relations. By this means they were to all intents and purposes reduced to a state of widowhood, and were in great danger of falling into sin. It therefore became a question with the missionaries, whether it was not lawful for a person in such circumstances to marry a second wife while his first was still living, after he had in vain employed all possible means to induce her to return to him, and on not being able to recover her, had taken some public and solemn measures to acquit himself of the blame. This question they at length resolved in the affirmative; a decision in which they are supported by some very eminent writers, and which considerably lessened the difficulty of the case. These questions are certainly of a very delicate nature: difficulties of no small magnitude attach to whatever view we take of them; yet the solution which the missionaries gave of them, is, perhaps, on the whole, the most scriptural, rational, and just.[1]

But while the conversion of the natives gave great offence to their countrymen in general, it is easy to conceive that, in some instances, it might occasion them deep concern, and even give rise to scenes of the most tender and affecting nature. Of this we have an interesting example in the history of Sorup, a young Brahman, whose father came to Serampur in order to take him away. One day, as Mr Ward was sitting among the native converts in the Bengali school, hearing them read and explain a portion of the Holy Scriptures, an aged grey-headed Brahman came in, and standing before him, said, with folded hands, and in a supplicating tone of voice, "Sahib, I am come to ask an alms." Mr Ward desired him to explain his meaning, as, judging from his appearance, he did not look like one who stood in need of pecuniary aid. Being pressed on the subject, the old man at length asked him to give him his son, pointing to a young man named Sorup, in the midst of the native converts: "That," said he, with a plaintive cry, "That is my son." Having endeavoured to comfort him, they at last prevailed on him to

[1] Brief Nar. p. 50; Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 580; vol. iii. p. 314.

come and sit down upon the veranda. Here he began to weep again; and said, that the young man's mother was dying of grief; and that if he could only go home and see her, he should after that return again if he pleased. Mr Ward informed him, that they exercised no control over his son, that he was at perfect liberty either to depart or stay, as he thought proper; only he proposed that he should stop, at least till next morning, in order that he might have some time for deliberation; that his mind might become calm, and that he might pray for divine direction. The Brahman, however, was averse to this proposal; he again urged, that his aged mother was dying of grief . . . . and if he would but go . . . . and if he did not like to stay, he might write a deed of separation for the preservation of their caste, and then he might do as he pleased. Mr Ward told him that if his son were a child, he might command him; but as he was now a man, he ought to choose his religion for himself. The Brahman at length called his son aside, and set up a great cry, weeping over him, and beseeching him to return. It was agreed, however, that Sorup should remain over the night; and though the missionaries were much afraid he would be overcome by the tenderness and grief of his father, yet they resolved to employ no other influence with him than exhortation and prayer. On leaving the school, Mr Ward found that the old man had fallen down at the door in an agony of grief, and that one or two of his disciples who came with him, were holding him up, endeavouring to persuade him to rise and go with them. Sorup, from the first, expressed his resolution not to return with his father; and the next morning he declared that he would not go now, but he would go soon, meaning after he was baptized. Finding that the young man refused to return, and that he had in fact already lost caste by eating with the converts, the people who had assembled on this occasion were obliged to depart. His aged father, however, said, that he would not return without him, but would lie down and die at Serampur. Such a scene, supposing the whole to be a reality, must have been very affecting. There was probably ground, however, to suspect that the mother's illness, at least, was merely a pretence, to draw the son back to idolatry.[1]

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 271; vol. iii. p. 43, 304.
We give this story, not as a fact, but merely as an illustration of what probably are

Pleasing, however, as was the progress of the work on the whole, the missionaries experienced much perplexity respecting some of the converts, and were even obliged to suspend several of them from the Lord's table, on account of various irregularities in their behaviour; but most of these offenders were in a short time brought to a sense of their sin, and were restored to the communion of the church. Mr Carey, in a letter to a friend, makes the following judicious, yet feeling observations regarding them: "With respect to the natives, the Lord has, on the one hand, stopped the mouths of malignant opposers, and on the other, we have enough of labour with them, to check, on our part, security and pride. It would, indeed, give you great pleasure could you step in among us on a communion Sabbath, and witness the lively affection with which such a number of persons of different colours and nations unite in commemorating the dying love of Christ. You must not, however, suppose, that the converts are without their faults, or even that in knowledge and steadiness they equal the same number of Christians in England. We have to contend with their versatility, to bear with their precipitancy, to nurse them like children in the ways of righteousness; sometimes to rebuke them sharply, sometimes to expostulate, sometimes to entreat; and often, after all, to carry them to the throne of grace, and to pour out our complaints before God. Our situation, in short, may be compared to that of a parent who has a numerous family. He must work hard to maintain them, is often full of anxious care about them, and has much to endure from their dulness, indolence, or perverseness. But still they are his children, he loves them, and that love mingles pleasure and enjoyment with all his cares and labours."[1]

in some cases the feelings of parents and other relations, when their children or those dear to them embrace Christianity. In this or any other particular example, the whole may be merely a *scene* got up to serve an end; but still it may give a fair enough idea of what in other cases is a reality.

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 356, 416, 437.

It is not unworthy of observation, that converts from among the heathen, both in India and in other countries, may be real Christians, and yet prove less lovely and consistent characters, than the followers of Christ in places where the gospel has long been known. Human character, as cognizable by man, is a compound of different materials, and the result of a variety of causes. The general state of morals in a country, for example, has a mighty influence in regulating the views, and influencing the conduct

In January 1804, Mr John Chamberlain, who had lately arrived in India, and Felix Carey, accompanied by two of the native converts, went to Sagar Island, where the river Hugli and the sea meet, for the purpose of distributing tracts and testaments among the Hindus, who assemble there in immense crowds at this season of the year. As they approached that place, they fell in with numbers of boats, full of people, some of whom presented the most degraded and disgusting sights it is almost possible to imagine. Their hair had not been dressed, perhaps, for years; their beards had grown to an enormous length; their bodies were covered with the most odious and indecent figures. Some of these wretched creatures had come a journey of four or five months, to bathe in Ganga Sagar. On reaching this place, the missionaries were astonished beyond measure at the sight. In the course of a few days, there had been raised an immensely populous city, full of streets, lanes, and markets; many kinds of trade were now carrying on with all the bustle of an established town.[1] Crowds of men,

of the inhabitants. In Britain, where lying, theft, robbery, adultery, &c., are in a considerable degree the objects of shame and disgrace, no man, and still less a Christian, can preserve his reputation, if he openly indulges in these or similar sins. It is not so, however, in India. There such vices are so common, that no ignominy attaches to them; and hence there is nothing in the tone of public morals to restrain a Hindu from these and other gross immoralities. If he be restrained from them, it is chiefly through the influence of Christian principles, and the operation of divine grace on his heart. These observations are strikingly illustrated in the history of the apostolic age, particularly of the church at Corinth. That city, as is well known, was vicious to a proverb, and even the Christian inhabitants participated of its vices. They divided into violent parties; they held communion at idolatrous feasts; they connived at incest under its most disgraceful form; they prostituted the Lord's supper itself to the purposes of drunkenness. Were such a community of professed Christians to appear amongst us, we would probably set them down as a company of Antinomians or hypocrites, and give them up as total strangers to true religion. Yet Paul did not act in this manner. He followed them, he exhorted them, he reclaimed them. It is therefore not unworthy of our serious inquiry, How far the comparative purity and regularity of our character are owing to various adventitious circumstances, rather than to the immediate influence of the gospel. If all the salutary influences exerted upon us by good principles instilled into us from our infancy, by good habits formed in early life, by a highly moral public sentiment ever acting upon us and around us, by a regard to our own character, respectability, and worldly interests, were taken out of the scale, and nothing left but what was purely the result of Christian principle, many of us might not, perhaps, greatly outweigh a Corinthian or a Hindu.

[1] Religion is not the only cause which brings such multitudes to the *Melas* of the Hindus. Trade has perhaps as much to do with them as devotion. We have the following account of a visit to Sagar many years after this: "Drawn up on shore are seen

women, and children, high and low, rich and poor, were bathing in the river and worshipping Ganga, by bowing, making salams, and spreading their offerings, consisting of rice, flowers, cowries, and other articles, on the shore, for the goddess to take when the tide returned. Many used formerly to devote themselves or their children to the sharks and alligators which abound in this part of the river; but the British government had lately passed an act prohibiting this cruel and unnatural practice, declaring it murder, punishable with death; and a guard of fifty sepoys, under the command of a European sergeant, was placed along the banks, in order to prevent it. The water and mud of this place are esteemed so holy, that quantities of them are carried hundreds of miles into the country on men's shoulders. The natives sprinkle their bodies with the water, and daub themselves with the mud; and this, they say, purifies them from all sin. The multitude assembled on this occasion was computed at upwards of 100,000 persons. Besides conversing with them on the subject of religion, Mr Chamberlain and his companions distributed among them great quantities of tracts, and a number of copies of the New Testament, and of the book of Psalms. Most of those to whom they gave them came from distant parts of the country, where the gospel had never been made known, and the news of salvation never heard.[1]

In October 1805, the missionaries entered into a "Form of

an immense number of boats of all sizes and descriptions, pinnaces, budgerows, bholiows, and, in fact, a great variety of craft for which we have no name. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that all these are pilgrim-boats. The majority of them have conveyed men to this scene, not to carry away spiritual blessings acquired through the toils of pilgrimage, but to enrich themselves by the disposal of their earthly wares." "Beyond the boats and along the strand is the fair, consisting of merchants' tents and the booths of the pilgrims." "Walking along the narrow streets of the cloth-built market, we found the shops well stocked with all kinds of goods, such as are usually found in Indian fairs, varying from the humble two pice darma to the high-priced muslin of Dacca, and the shawls of Kashmire, as well as the hardwares of Sheffield or Birmingham."—*Calcutta Christian Observer*, vol. xv. p. 159.

It is not unworthy of remark, that among Mahomedans, the pilgrimage to Mecca is in like manner made a source of worldly profit. "Commercial ideas mingle with those of devotion, and the arcades of the temple are often filled with the richest merchandise from every quarter of the world." "In former times, the fair of Mecca was accounted the greatest on the face of the earth."—*Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, vol. v. p. 176; vol. xiii. p. 499.

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 513, 516; Buchanan's Researches, 3d edit. p. 42.

Agreement," respecting the great principles on which the mission should be conducted. This document breathes so much of the spirit of genuine Christianity, and affords so admirable an example to other missionaries, that we cannot forbear inserting considerable extracts from it, and trust that their importance will be deemed a sufficient apology for their length:

"I. In order," say the missionaries, "to be prepared for our great and solemn work, it is absolutely necessary that we set an infinite value upon immortal souls; that we often endeavour to affect our minds with the dreadful loss sustained by an unconverted soul launched into eternity. It becomes us to fix in our minds the awful doctrine of eternal punishment, and to realize frequently the inconceivably dreadful condition of this vast country, lying in the arms of the wicked one. If we have not a deep sense of the value of souls, it is impossible we can feel aright in any part of our work; and in this case it would have been better for us to have been in any other situation than in that of a missionary. Oh! may our hearts bleed over these poor idolaters, and may their case lie with continued weight on our minds, that we may resemble that eminent missionary, who compared the travail of his soul, on account of the spiritual state of those committed to his charge, to the pains of childbirth. But while we thus mourn over their miserable condition, let us not be discouraged, as though their recovery were impossible. He who raised the sottish and brutalized Britons to 'sit in heavenly places in Christ Jesus,' can raise these slaves of superstition, purify their hearts by faith, and make them worshippers of the one God in spirit and in truth.

"II. It is necessary, in our intercourse with the Hindus, to abstain as far as we are able from those things which would increase their prejudices against the gospel. Those parts of English manners which are most offensive to them, we should keep out of sight as much as possible. We should avoid every degree of cruelty to animals; neither is it advisable to attack at once their prejudices, by exhibiting with acrimony the sins of their gods; nor should we, on any account, do violence to their images, or interrupt their worship. The conquests of the gospel are those of love: 'And I, if I be lifted up will draw all men unto me.' Let us be continually fearful lest one unguarded

word, or one unnecessary display of the difference betwixt us, in sentiments or manners, should set the natives at a greater distance from us. Paul's readiness to 'become all things to all men, that he might by any means save some,' and his disposition to abstain even from necessary comforts that he might not offend the weak, are circumstances worthy of our particular attention. The mild manners of the Moravians and also of the Quakers towards the North American Indians, have in many instances gained the affections and confidence of these poor heathen in a wonderful degree. He who is too proud to stoop to others in order to draw them to him, because they are in many respects inferior to himself, is ill qualified for the office of a missionary.

"III. It becomes us to watch all opportunities of doing good. A missionary would be highly culpable if he contented himself with preaching two or three times a week, to such persons as he may be able to get together into a place of worship. To carry on conversations with the natives almost every hour of the day, to go from village to village, from market to market, from one assembly to another, to talk to servants, labourers, and others, as often as opportunity offers, to 'be instant in season and out of season'—this is the life to which we are called in this country. We are apt to relax in these active exertions, especially in a warm climate; but we shall do well to fix it in our minds that life is short, that all around us are perishing, and that we incur a dreadful woe, if we proclaim not the glad tidings of salvation.

"IV. In preaching to the Heathen, we must follow the example of Paul, and make Christ crucified the great subject of our preaching. It would be easy for a missionary to preach nothing but truths, and that for many years together, without any well-grounded hope of becoming useful to a single soul. The doctrine of Christ's expiatory death and all-sufficient merits, has ever been the grand means of the conversion of sinners. This doctrine, and others immediately connected with it, have constantly nourished and sanctified the Church. Oh! that these glorious truths may ever be the joy and strength of our own souls, and then they will not fail to become the matter of our conversation with others. It is a well-known fact, that the

Moravians, the most successful missionaries in the world at the present day, make the atonement of Christ their constant theme. They attribute all their success to the preaching of the death of our Saviour. So far as our experience goes in this work, we most freely acknowledge that every Hindu among us who has been gained to Christ, has been won by the astonishing and all-constraining love exhibited in our Redeemer's propitiatory death. Oh! let us then resolve to know nothing among the Hindus and Mussulmen but Christ and him crucified.

"V. It is absolutely necessary that the natives should have entire confidence in us, and feel quite at home in our company. To gain this confidence, we must on all occasions be willing to hear their complaints; we must give them the kindest advice, and we must decide on every question brought before us in the most open, upright, impartial manner. We ought to be easy of access, to condescend to them as much as possible, and on all occasions to treat them as our equals. All passionate behaviour, all force, every thing haughty, reserved, and forbidding, it becomes us ever to shun with the greatest care. We can never make too great sacrifices when the eternal salvation of souls is the object in view, unless, indeed, we sacrifice the commands of Christ.

"VI. Another important part of our work is, to build up and to watch over the souls that may be gathered. In this work we shall do well to simplify our first instructions as much as possible, and to press the great principles of the gospel upon the minds of the converts, till they are thoroughly settled and grounded in the foundation of their hope toward God. We must be willing to spend some time with them daily if possible in this work. We must exercise much patience with them, though their growth in divine knowledge should be very slow.

"We ought also to endeavour, as much as possible, to form them to habits of industry, and assist them in procuring such employments as may be pursued with the least danger of temptations to evil. Here, too, we shall have occasion to exercise much tenderness and forbearance toward them, knowing that industrious habits are formed with difficulty by all heathen nations. We ought also to remember, that they have made no common sacrifices in renouncing their connections, their homes,

their former situations and means of support, and that it will be very difficult for them to procure employment from heathen masters. In these circumstances, if we do not sympathize with them in their temporal losses for Christ, we shall be guilty of great cruelty.

"As we consider it our duty to honour the civil magistrate, and in every country to render him cheerful obedience, whether we be persecuted or protected, it becomes us to instruct our native brethren in the same principles. It is equally our wisdom and our duty to shew to government that it has nothing to fear from the progress of missions, since a follower of Christ must resist the example of his great Master, and all the precepts the Bible contains on this subject, before he can become disloyal. Converted heathens, being brought over to the religion of their Christian governors, if duly instructed, are much more likely to love them and be united to them, than subjects of a different religion.

"To bear with the faults of our native brethren, to reprove them with tenderness, and to impress them with the necessity of a holy conversation, is a very necessary duty. We should remember the gross darkness in which they were so lately involved, having never had any just and adequate ideas of the evil of sin or its consequences. We should recollect how backward human nature is in forming spiritual ideas, and entering upon a holy self-denying conversation. We ought not, therefore, even after many falls, to give up and cast away a relapsed convert while he manifests the least inclination to be washed from his filthiness.

"In walking before the native converts, we must exercise the greatest care and circumspection. The falls of Christians in Europe have not such a fatal tendency as in this country, because there the word of God always commands more attention than the conduct of the most exalted Christian. But here, the natives, in consequence of their little knowledge of the Scriptures, naturally take our practice as a specimen of what Christ looks for in his disciples. They know the Saviour and his doctrine chiefly as they shine forth in us.

"In conversing with the wives of the native converts, and forming them to be ornaments of the Christian name, we hope

always to have the assistance of the females who have embarked with us in the mission. We see that in primitive times the apostles were much assisted in their great work by several pious women. The great value of female help may easily be conceived, if we consider how much the Asiatic women are shut up from the men, and especially from men of another religion. It behoves us, therefore, to afford our European sisters all possible assistance in acquiring the language, that they may, in every way which Providence opens to them, become instrumental in promoting the salvation of the millions of native women, who are in a great measure excluded from all opportunities of hearing the word from the lips of a missionary.

"VII. Another part of our work is, the forming our native brethren to usefulness, fostering every kind of genius, and cherishing every gift and grace in them. In this respect we can scarcely be too lavish of our attention to their improvement. It is only by means of native preachers that we can hope for the universal spread of the gospel throughout this immense continent. Europeans are too few, and their subsistence is too expensive, for us ever to hope that they can be the instruments of the universal diffusion of the Word amongst so many millions of souls spread over such a large portion of the habitable globe. Let us, therefore, use every gift, and continually urge on our native brethren to press upon their countrymen the glorious gospel of the blessed God.

"VIII. We have thought it our duty not to change the names of native converts, observing from Scripture that the apostles did not change those of the first Christians turned from heathenism, as is evident from the names Epaphroditus, Phebe, Fortunatus, Sylvanus, Apollos, Hermes, Junia, Narcissus, most of which are derived from those of heathen gods. We think the great object which Divine Providence has in view in promulgating the gospel through the world, is not the changing of the names, the dress, the food, and the innocent usages of mankind, but to produce a moral and divine change on their heart and conduct. It would not be right to perpetuate the names of heathen gods amongst Christians; but neither is it necessary or prudent to give a new name to every man after his conversion, as hereby the economy of families and neighbourhoods

would be needlessly disturbed. In other respects, we think it our duty to lead our brethren by example, by mild persuasion, and by opening and illuminating their minds in a gradual way, rather than by any exercise of authority. By this means they will learn to see the evil of a custom, and then to forsake it; whereas, if force were employed, though they may leave off that which is wrong while in our presence, yet, not having seen the evil of it, they are in danger of using hypocrisy, and of doing that out of our presence which they dare not do in it.

"IX. That which, as a means, is to fit us for the discharge of these laborious and unutterably important labours, is the being instant in prayer, and the cultivation of personal religion. Let us ever bear in remembrance the examples of those who have been most eminent in the work of God. Let us often look at Brainerd in the woods of America, pouring out his very soul before God for the perishing heathen, without whose salvation nothing could make him happy. Prayer, secret, fervent, believing prayer, lies at the root of all personal godliness. A competent knowledge of the languages, a mild and winning temper, and a heart given up to God in closet religion, —these, these are the attainments which more than all knowledge and all other gifts will fit us to become the instruments of God in the great work of human redemption.

"Finally, Let us give ourselves up unreservedly to this glorious cause. Let us never think that our time, our gifts, our strength, our families, are our own. Let us for ever shut out the idea of laying up a cowry for ourselves or our children. If we give up the resolution which was formed on the subject of private trade when we first united at Serampur, the mission is from that hour a lost cause. A worldly spirit, quarrels, and every evil work will succeed, the moment it is admitted that each brother may do something on his own account. Woe to that man who shall ever make the smallest movement toward such a measure! Let us continually watch against a worldly spirit, and cultivate a holy indifference toward every temporal indulgence. Rather let us bear 'hardness as good soldiers of Jesus Christ,' and endeavour to learn 'in every state to be content.' If in this way we are enabled to glorify God with our bodies and spirits, which are his, our wants will be his care.

No private family ever enjoyed a greater portion of happiness, even in the most prosperous gale of worldly prosperity, than we have done since we resolved to have all things in common, and that no one should pursue business for his own exclusive advantage."[1]

In March 1806, the missionaries issued proposals for publishing the Holy Scriptures in no fewer than fifteen of the Oriental languages, namely, the Sanskrit, the Bengali, the Hindustani, the Persic, the Marathi, the Gujarati, the Oriya, the Kurnata, the Telinga, the Burman, the Assamese, the Butan, the Tibet, the Malay, and the Chinese. They possessed a critical knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek originals; they had one of the best libraries of critical works on the Holy Scriptures, and of the ancient and modern versions of them, that were to be found in the East. They had been employed for a considerable time in the work of translating, and had, in some degree, acquired that experience, and formed those habits which are requisite for that kind of labour. They were in a situation where they could obtain the assistance of learned natives, from most of the different countries, whom the College of Fort-William had collected to that grand emporium of Oriental literature. Besides, the work was rendered comparatively easy, by the close relation which subsists between the Oriental languages, especially those derived from the Sanskrit.[2] Such were the considerations which led the missionaries to believe that they were equal to the task of bringing out translations of the Scriptures into such a number of languages.

It was on Dr Carey that this vast undertaking chiefly devolved. He undertook the charge of the versions into the languages of India. Mr Marshman, however, undertook the Chinese translation, which, in point of importance, was greater than all the others put together. Neither of them executed the versions in the first instance. Most of them were originally made by learned natives, Brahmans, Mussulmen, and others. But as they were of course ignorant of the original languages in which the Scriptures were written, they translated from Dr Carey's Bengali, Hindustani, or Sanskrit version, according as they

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 198.

[2] Miss. Mag. vol. xi. p. 380; Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 456, 536; vol. iii. p. 327.

were best acquainted with the one or other of these languages; and thus these versions became the basis of the other translations.

The missionaries employed learned natives in making the first draught of the translations, because they considered this as the most effectual method of producing neat, correct, intelligible versions. It is a well known fact, that a native of some learning can, in general, express an idea in his own vernacular tongue with a perspicuity and a force, an ease and an elegance, seldom or never attained by a foreigner; but yet, while the latter could not have expressed himself so well, he may be competent to judge of the propriety or impropriety of the language employed by the other. Though the missionaries employed, in the first instance, learned natives in making most of the versions, they never, it is stated, printed any translation, until every word and every mode of construction were carefully examined by themselves, and the whole compared with the Greek and Hebrew originals.[1]

Scarcely had the missionaries issued the original proposals for this great undertaking, when an event occurred which threatened the interruption, if not even the subversion, of the mission. On the arrival at Calcutta of Messrs Chater and Robinson, two new missionaries, some demur was made at the police-office as to their being allowed to proceed to Serampur. On Dr Carey's going to the office, he was informed by one of the magistrates, that they had the following message to him from Sir George Barlow, the Governor-General, "That as government did not interfere with the prejudices of the natives, it was his request that Mr Carey and his colleagues would not." This request, as explained by the magistrates, amounted to this, "They were not to preach to the natives, nor to suffer the native converts to preach; they were not to distribute religious tracts, nor suffer their people to distribute them; they were not to send forth the converts, nor to take any step, by conversation or otherwise, for persuading the natives to embrace Christianity." Some of these restrictions, however, were softened in a subsequent conversation between the magistrates and the Rev. David Brown, the Provost of the College of Fort-William, who, as

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 491; vol. vi. Supplement to No. 31, p. 16; Carey's Mem. p. 538.

well as several others of his brethren of the Church of England, greatly interested themselves on various occasions in behalf of the missionaries. "It was not meant," they said, "to prohibit Mr Carey or his brethren from preaching at Serampur, or in their own house at Calcutta, only they must not preach in the Loll Bazaar in that city. It was not intended to prevent their circulating the Scriptures, but merely the tracts abusing the Hindu religion. It was not designed to prohibit the native converts from conversing with their countrymen on the subject of Christianity, only they must not go out under the sanction of the missionaries." This interference on the part of the British government was no doubt occasioned by the alarm which had been excited in the country by the mutiny of the native troops at Vellore, intelligence of which had just reached Calcutta; but yet it was never insinuated, as, indeed, it could not be, that the labours of the Baptist missionaries had, in even the most distant manner, contributed to that painful event. On the contrary, the magistrates frankly acknowledged that "they were well satisfied with their character and deportment, and that no complaint had ever been lodged against them." But notwithstanding this, an order of council was passed, commanding Messrs Chater and Robinson to return to Europe, and refusing the captain who had brought them out a clearance for his vessel, unless he took them back with him. In the mean while, these two missionaries had joined their brethren at Serampur, where they were under the protection of the king of Denmark; and, in consequence of the representations that were made to the British government, they were permitted to remain in the country, and the captain was furnished with the papers necessary for his departure.[1]

In this state, matters remained for a considerable time, when a new circumstance occurred, which filled the friends of the mission with deep concern, and furnished its adversaries with a temporary triumph. A tract, which had been printed in Bengali, and which, in that language, contained nothing offensive, was translated by one of the natives into Persic, and, through the pressure of business, was inadvertently printed, without being first inspected by the missionaries. It happened,

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 276.

unfortunately, that the translator had introduced into this version several harsh epithets, styling Mahomed a tyrant, &c., which it was alleged would irritate his followers; and though no such effect had been produced, yet a copy of it being conveyed to a person in office under government, the affair was taken up in a serious manner. Dr Carey was sent for; but, being unacquainted with the circumstances of the case, he could only acknowledge the impropriety of the epithets, and promise to inquire into the cause of their appearance. Before, however, he had time to make this inquiry, proceedings were commenced, which, had they been carried into execution, must have been followed by the ruin of the mission. The governor of Serampur was required to give up the mission-press; the missionaries were ordered to Calcutta, and were prohibited from preaching to the natives, and from printing any books designed to promote their conversion to Christianity. In consequence, however, of an explanation, and a respectful memorial to Lord Minto, who was now the Governor-General, the most serious part of the proceedings was formally revoked. On this occasion, two of the missionaries waited on his Lordship, to thank him for the candour with which he had attended to their memorial. To which he replied, that nothing more was necessary than a mere examination of the subject, upon which every thing had appeared in a clear and favourable light. But as all the printed tracts had passed under examination, and as two others, besides the one in Persic, were objected to, the missionaries were required, in future, not to print any tracts, without first submitting a copy of them to the inspection of government.[1]

When the British government first interfered with their labours, and began to subject them to restraints in Bengal, the missionaries were induced to turn their attention to other parts of the East. They had long before, indeed, formed the design of establishing new stations in different parts of the country; but except at Dinajpur and Cutwa, they had hitherto made no attempts of that kind. The opposition, however, which was now raised against them in Bengal, again turned

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 392; Buchanan's Apology for Promoting Christianity in India, p. 74, 127, 139, 172.

their attention to this object; and the establishment of new stations became henceforth a leading point with them.[1]

In November 1807, Mr Chater and Felix Carey, after a previous exploratory visit had been made to the Burman Empire, proceeded to Rangoon, the principal port of that country, and were received in a very friendly manner, not only by the English gentlemen in that city, but even by the Maywoon, or Viceroy of that part of the empire.

Soon after his arrival, Mr Carey, who had previously paid some attention to the study of medicine, introduced the cow-pox into this quarter of the world. After inoculating a considerable number of persons in Rangoon, he was sent for by the Maywoon himself, to perform the operation on his family. He accordingly proceeded to the palace, and, agreeably to the custom of the country, took off his shoes at the outer steps, before he entered the inner apartment. He now approached the viceroy, as all the officers of government and others who wait upon him do, on his hands and knees, and sat down on a carpet near his interpreter. After the governor had made several inquiries concerning the cow-pox, Mr Carey vaccinated several of his family.[2]

Mr Carey's medical skill afterwards gained him high reputation among the Burmans, and gave him considerable influence in the country. One day, as he was riding out to visit his patients, he saw a man suspended on a cross, a mode of punishment common in the Burman Empire. Moved with compassion for his sufferings, and understanding that his offence was of a trivial nature, he repaired immediately to the Maywoon's palace, and as he was in the habit of visiting his daughter who was then ill, he had ready access to all the private apartments. The viceroy, indeed, had given orders that no person should be admitted into his presence, in order that he might not be importuned in behalf of the criminal, of whom he was determined to make an example. To enter into his presence under such circumstances was not unattended with danger. He ventured however, presented his petition, and, according to the Burman custom, insisted on its being granted before he left the palace.

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 541; vol. iii. p. 285.
[2] Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 337, 421, 433, 454.

The Maywoon refused his request several times, but at last offered to grant it, provided he would promise never again to intercede in behalf of a criminal. This Mr Carey refused. The Vicëroy at last yielded, on condition that he would accompany him to Ava, when he should have occasion to go thither. An order was now given for the release of the culprit, but it had yet to go through all the forms of office. When Mr Carey at last obtained it from the secretary, he hastened with it to the cross; but on his arrival, not one of the officers would read it without a reward. In vain did he remonstrate; in vain did he threaten them. He was obliged, at length, to offer them a piece of cloth, to induce them to perform this common act of humanity. The poor wretch was then taken down, and had just strength enough to express his gratitude to his kind deliverer. He had been nailed to the cross about three in the afternoon, and it was now between nine and ten at night, so that he had already been hanging in torture for near seven hours. Mr Carey now took him to his own house, dressed his wounds, and attended him with the utmost care until his health was restored. He was the only person in Rangoon, it was supposed, who would have succeeded with the Maywoon in such a request; and, as might naturally be expected, his conduct, on this occasion, gained him high renown among the Burmans. The fellow, however, afterwards turned out a bad man: he was again detected in theft, and taken into custody. The agonies of a cross, it seems, were insufficient to reclaim him.[1]

In October 1808, Carapeit C. Aratoon, a proselyte from the Armenian Church, was sent into Jessore in order to take a more immediate oversight of the native converts who were scattered through different villages in that district, as well as to preach the gospel among the other inhabitants. Here there was a small body of Hindu dissenters who had been repeatedly visited by the missionaries, and several of these people also came on various occasions to Serampur. A school was established among them, and on the Sabbath they met together for divine worship; one of them prayed and explained the gospel to the others, but singular as it may seem,

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 434, 454; vol. iv. p. 174, 259; Panoplist, vol. iii. (N. S.) p. 571.

there was little appearance of any real disposition among them to embrace Christianity, for though they talked fairly, their conduct was far from according with their professions. On one occasion, when three of these persons from Luckphool, who had long professed to believe the gospel but declined making a public profession of it, came on a visit to Serampur, the missionaries, in conversation with one of them named Sookur Bishess, warned him of the danger of temporizing in the manner he had hitherto done, telling him, that if he was ashamed of Christ before men, Christ would be ashamed of him before his Father and before his angels. He declared that he thought there was no way to heaven except by Christ, and that if he apprehended himself near death, he would make an open profession of his name. The missionaries reminded him of the uncertainty of life, and entreated him to consider whether his refusal publicly to profess Christianity did not arise from his regarding sin in his heart, and from fearing men more than God. Little did they think that he would prove so striking an example of the truth of these observations. Only six days after his return, he was murdered in his own village by a band of robbers. It seems he had been carrying on a criminal correspondence with a woman, some of whose relations belonged to a gang of thieves who infested that part of the country, and almost set the magistrates at defiance. These people had long been resolved to take revenge on him, and hearing that he had just returned from Serampur, they imagined he must there have obtained a sum of money; a report which had been circulated, in many instances, with the view of bringing opprobrium on the gospel, though nothing could be more contrary to truth.[1] Thinking this a favourable opportunity for accomplishing their design, they one night beset the house where he and the woman were, and after bringing them out bound, set it on fire, and threatened to throw him into the flames unless he would discover to them the money which they supposed he had concealed. Hoping, probably, to make his escape, he led them to a tree at some distance and told them to dig beneath it. After digging some

[1] One day a man came to Serampur from Culna, as he had heard that the missionaries gave a thousand rupis and a mistress to every one who lost caste! Reports of the same kind were prevalent in other quarters.—*Period. Accounts*, vol. ii. p. 353, 484.

time in vain, one of them, enraged at his conduct, pierced him through with a spear and shed out his bowels, another wounded him across the breast, and a third cut off his head. Thus perished this unhappy man, who for several years had possessed sufficient light to discern the falsehood of Mahomedanism and the excellence of Christianity, but yet was held fast by the cords of iniquity to his own destruction.[1]

But though none of this sect appear to have embraced the gospel, there was a number of persons from the district of Jessore who were baptized at Serampur. These, on account of their distance from that place, were formed into a distinct church, consisting of four different branches, about thirty miles distant from each other, the whole comprehending an extent of country little less than a hundred miles in diameter. Partly to relieve the poor members from travelling, partly to extend the gospel more widely, Aratoon went this circuit every month, preaching and administering the Lord's Supper at one of the branches on the Sabbath, and then in the course of the week proceeding to the next. The number of persons whom he baptized was considerable; but after labouring about three years with diligence and zeal he fell into sin, which rendered it necessary to recal him and to supply his place by some others of the converts. He afterwards, however, manifested repentance for his conduct, and was sent to labour in a different part of the country.[2]

In January 1809, the missionaries opened a spacious chapel in Calcutta, which now became one of their most important spheres of labour. Since their arrival in India, they had been exceedingly useful, not only to the Hindus, but to many of the English inhabitants, several of them persons of considerable rank in life. Some of these were baptized by them; but a still greater number never embraced their views on the subject of baptism. It does not fall within my design particularly to notice instances of this kind, only it is not unworthy of remark, that the conversion of Europeans must, in various ways, prove a powerful means of the further extension of Christianity among the natives. In Calcutta, especially, there was a remarkable im-

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 372, 397, 451; vol. iii. p. 53, 319.
[2] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 348, 419, 540; vol. v. p. 105, 142, 190, 535.

provement in respect of religion, partly in consequence of the labours of the Baptists, and partly through the instrumentality of some excellent clergymen of the Church of England, who were settled in that city. When the missionaries first met for prayer in that large and populous city, only three or four persons attended; and when they began to preach, there were seldom more than ten. Afterwards, however, the number increased considerably, so that it was deemed expedient to erect a chapel for divine worship; and though the expense was upwards of 30,000 rupis, the greater part of it was raised by private subscription. Calcutta, in short, was no longer that seat of irreligion, which it was some years before. Infidelity was then the fashion, and men, whose minds were too contracted and too superficial to think for themselves, joined the multitude, were staunch infidels, and made a sport of religion and the Bible. But now a profession of religion was not uncommon: there were several hundred serious Christians in that city, and among these, were some in the higher, as well as in the lower ranks of society. In respect of religious privileges, Calcutta was now the most favoured place in all India; in no single spot were there so many individuals actively employed in promoting the cause of Christianity, among both natives and Europeans.[1]

In January 1811, Mr Robinson, accompanied by Mr and Mrs Cornish, both members of the Baptist church, arrived at Barbari, a place in the neighbourhood of Butan, where he had previously erected a temporary habitation, and where they intended to stop till they could obtain an opportunity of settling in that country. Three or four nights after their arrival, the watchman awoke Mr Cornish about twelve o'clock, and told him that he had observed a man in the garden, who, he thought, was of a suspicious appearance. On receiving this information, Mr Cornish rose, and apprehending that there was only a single thief, fired his gun, and again lay down to rest. Just, however, as he was falling asleep, he was roused by a band of fifty or sixty robbers, armed with spears, attacking the house. Having still no idea of their number, he aimed a blow at one of the ruffians with the but end of his gun, when instantly two spears were pointed at him from the windows, by which he was slightly

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 407, 559; vol. v. p. 195, 438.

wounded in the side. Meanwhile, Mr Robinson, whose room was still unmolested, put on a few clothes, and not knowing the number of the robbers, nor how they were armed, thought of resisting them. He passed them in the dark, and went into the pantry, from whence he took a knife. The robbers, at that instant, set fire to some straw for the sake of light; and observing the knife in his hand, two of them struck at him with their spears. Perceiving by this time that resistance was vain, he opened the back door, and went to the room of Mr and Mrs Cornish, hoping to get them out at the windows. "Come away," said he, "or we shall all be murdered." "Oh! Mr Robinson, my poor child," cried Mrs Cornish, "do take it." He took the child, and the others immediately followed. Mrs Cornish ran toward the stable; and in following her, they found the cook lying on the ground. Thinking he might be asleep, they shook him, but he answered with a deep hollow groan. They now made the best of their way over the ditch which surrounded the premises, into the neighbouring field; and having wandered to a place about a mile distant, sat down on the cold ground, with scarcely any clothing. Even here, however, their fears were not at an end; the shaking of a leaf made them tremble. To increase their apprehensions, Mr Cornish's little boy was so cold, it was with much difficulty he could be kept from crying, which might have discovered the place of their retreat to the robbers, had they passed in that direction.

As soon as the morning dawned, they returned to their home, where they beheld a most heart-rending scene. A few yards from the back door lay the cook, murdered; and at a little distance from the front door, the servant who kept Mr Cornish's horse. The washerman also was severely wounded, and afterwards died of his wounds. Books, paper, boxes, and other articles, lay on the outside of the house, stained with blood; within, all was confusion and destruction. Things capable of being broken, were dashed to pieces; the books were thrown in heaps, or scattered about the house; the clothes, except a very few articles, which the robbers had probably dropped in their hurry, were all carried away. The loss, in property of different kinds, was supposed to amount to 2000 rupis.

Terrible, however, as was this disaster, it was not unmingled

with mercy. Mr Cornish had a little apprentice-girl named Janetta, who, on the first alarm, ran out of the bed-room into the pantry; but the robbers coming into that place, and seeing her, exclaimed, "Here is one of the Sahib's people." One of them searched her breast for money, but finding none, he was about to murder her, upon which, she held up her hands to another of the ruffians, and implored his protection, saying, "I am but a poor little girl; do not kill me." The fellow answered, "Shew us where the money is, and you shall not be hurt." She accordingly directed them to the two bed-rooms, into which they all rushed, when she embraced the opportunity of escaping at the back door, and concealed herself in the store-room. It is also worthy of notice, that Mr Robinson and his companions, in leaving the house, were directed, without any knowledge or design on their part, in the right path. In that corner of the garden where the stable was, there happened to be no gateway, which there was at every other; and at each of these entrances some of the robbers were placed on guard, so that had they proceeded by any of them, they would, in all likelihood, have been murdered. Mr Robinson, indeed, had no fewer than four wounds, one on his right knee, one on his left arm, one on his belly, and one on his breast; the last of them was the worst, and had not the spear struck against the bone, would probably have proved fatal. The wound in Mr Cornish's side, might also have been mortal, had it not been for a similar circumstance. In this distressed situation, they set off for Dinajpur, where they arrived after a journey of three days, and were most kindly received by their friends in that city, who vied with each other in supplying their wants, and endeavouring to alleviate their distresses. Soon after this terrible disaster at Barbari, Mr Robinson once more attempted to enter Butan. He applied to the Katma of Bhotehaut, for a monshee to teach him the language, and for permission to ascend the hills. But as that officer first referred him to the Rajah, and afterwards wrote him a discouraging letter, the mission was for the present relinquished. It appears, however, that the robbers did not escape the hands of justice. Three were hanged, several were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and to receive thirty-nine lashes with the kora; and the others to be imprisoned for

a time, and to be subjected to the same number of lashes, and all to be employed in hard labour.[1]

Besides these stations, the missionaries commenced others in various parts of India, at Midnapur, Balasore in Orissa, Silhet, Dacca, Suri in Birbum, Murshedabad, Monghir, Digah, Patna, Benares, Allahabad, Agra, Delhi, Surdhuna, Ajmere, Surat, and several other places. Nor did they confine themselves to Hindustan. They also formed stations in Assam, in Chittagong, in Arracan, in Ceylon, in Java, and in Sumatra. Though several of these stations were occupied by missionaries from Europe, most of them were supplied by persons raised up in India, chiefly Indo-Britons, and some of the less important simply by native converts. Nor were they all in existence at the same time. More than one-half of them were given up within a few years after they were begun. The evil of the multiplication and diffusion of stations has seldom been more strikingly illustrated than in the Baptist mission in India. Here were stations spread over a vast extent of country, and some even in distant islands. In many cases, a single individual was sent to establish a new station; but considering the difficulties of the work, little is in general to be expected from the efforts of a solitary labourer, however zealous and active he may be. Unless in large cities, we apprehend, it is seldom advisable to associate many missionaries at the same station; but yet a number may with great advantage be employed in the same field. Were a district of country selected, one of somewhat limited bounds, and in which the same language is spoken throughout, and were it divided into smaller portions, like so many parishes, and a missionary stationed in each, there would be fewer occasions of dissension among them; every one would have a particular field to cultivate, and more work would probably be done when they laboured separately, than if they laboured together; while at the same time, from their vicinity to each other, they might be able to meet together from time to time for mutual consultation and encouragement, and in the event of the sickness or death of one, another would be at hand to afford assistance or to supply his place, instead of stations being broken up or kept for years in a feeble state, in consequence

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 266, 406; vol. vi. p. 177; Circular Letters, vol. iv.

of the sickness or death of perhaps successive missionaries, examples of which have not been unfrequent in the history of distant stations in India.

We apprehend the missionaries also greatly erred in employing so many of the natives in making known the gospel to their countrymen. Not only were a number of them sent to the stations formed in various parts of the country, but on the Lord's day, almost every one of the converts at Serampur who was capable of speaking on the subject of religion, went into the neighbouring towns and villages with the view of making known the gospel. Even in our own country, where the natural talents of the people, the education they receive, and the general degree of intelligence they possess, are of a much higher order than is common in India, we find extremely few among the lower orders of society who, on embracing the gospel, are at all qualified for the work of the ministry, or to become in any way the instructors of others. The missionaries themselves, after a considerable trial, came to see the unadvisedness of employing the converts to the extent they had done in communicating the gospel to their countrymen. We feel the force of the plea of necessity; but then it is to be considered, whether, unless the persons so employed are duly qualified for the work, they may not do more ill than good.

In March 1812, an event occurred which interrupted for some time the progress of the missionaries in carrying on the printing of the Holy Scriptures in the languages of the East. One evening about six o'clock, a fire was discovered in the printing-office at Serampur, in a large range of shelves, containing English, Patna, and other paper. At the time it was perceived, there were only one or two servants remaining in the printing-office. Mr Ward, who was in an adjoining room, immediately ran to the spot where the fire was burning, and called for water to quench it; but the flames had already reached the middle of the shelves, and resisted all the efforts that could now be made by the people who were at hand. In a few minutes the office was so filled with smoke, that Mr Ward was almost suffocated in endeavouring to get out, and one of the servants who was with him, actually fell down senseless before he could reach the door, and was saved from death only by being dragged

into the open air. All the window-shutters, twenty-four in number, were fastened with iron bars, placed across, and pinned within, so that it was extremely difficult to force them open. They were advised, indeed, to keep all the doors and windows shut, in order, if possible, to smother the flames; but yet Mr Ward ascended the roof, pierced it above the place where the fire was raging, and poured in water in great abundance. This plan so far succeeded, that four hours after the fire commenced, it was confined to the shelves under which it originally began, and even there it was greatly diminished. The quantity of water which was thrown in where it was practicable, was very great. In the adjoining press-room, the water was as high as the ankles, and the steam and smoke which filled the office were so thick, that a candle would not burn in it, even for a few seconds. The heat also was so intense, that it was impossible for a person to remain a moment within the walls. Some, at this time, violently urged the opening of all the windows; but as it would have taken hours to do this, so as to get out the tables, frames for the cases, and other utensils, and as the opening of only one or two would give fresh vigour to the flames, which were now languid and confined to the lower part of the office, and would even endanger the whole of the adjoining buildings, it was objected to. This, however, did not prevent some injudicious but well-meaning friends from breaking open one of the windows opposite the fire, while Messrs Marshman and Ward were busy in other places. In a few minutes, Mr Marshman discerned through the cloud of steam and smoke, a flake of fire blown into the middle of the office. He instantly conveyed the alarming intelligence to Mr Ward, who was superintending the pouring of water through the roof on the shelves. Mr Ward now ran to the room at the entrance of the office, and the most remote from the fire, and by the active assistance of several European friends, cut open the two windows, and dragged out his writing table, which contained the deeds of the premises, as well as many other valuable writings; and going from thence to the opposite room, he cut open the windows there also, and dragged out the enclosed shelves, containing their accompts from the beginning of the mission. This last attempt was made in the very face of the fire, and before it was fully accomplished, the

whole building, two hundred feet in length, by forty in breadth, was in flames. About midnight the roof fell in. Every exertion was made to prevent the flames from spreading to the adjoining buildings, and though some of them were not more than twelve feet from the office, yet providentially they escaped the conflagration. The wind, which blew pretty hard an hour or two before, being now calm, the fire ascended in a straight line, like the flame of a candle on a table, and happily terminated with the printing-office, without any life being lost, or any person materially injured. But though the danger was now over, the fire continued burning among the ruins for nearly two days.

The loss which the missionaries sustained by the fire was immense, whether we consider the number or the value of the articles that were destroyed. To enumerate them would be endless, but we may mention among others, the whole furniture of the printing-office; founts of types in seventeen different languages; all the cases, frames, and other utensils which accompanied them; about fifteen hundred reams of paper; upwards of fifty-five thousand sheets printed off, but not folded; a considerable number of books printed by them; and some other books, to the amount of five thousand rupis; manuscripts to the value of seven thousand rupis, among which were a Sanskrit Dictionary, in five folio volumes; all the materials for a Polyglot Dictionary, of the languages derived from the Sanskrit, in collecting which Dr Carey had been employed for many years; part of a Bengali Dictionary; the whole of a Telinga grammar, and part of a grammar of the Sikh language; three valuable manuscript copies of the text of the Ramayuna, and as much of the translation of that work as had cost Dr Carey and Mr Marshman a whole year to prepare for the press; part of the translation of the Scriptures in several languages; and the whole correspondence of the missionaries, so far as it was preserved, from the commencement of their labours. The whole loss amounted to about £8750.

As soon as the disaster was known, the most liberal contributions were made by the friends of religion to repair the loss. In Bengal about a thousand pounds were immediately contributed for this purpose: from America were remitted fifteen hundred pounds: in Britain no less than £10,611 : 1 : 11 were

raised in about seven or eight weeks after the news were received, a striking proof of the deep interest which the Christian public took in the mission, and especially in the translations of the Holy Scriptures carrying on by it.[1]

In March 1813, Messrs Robinson, Lawson, and Johns, the two last of whom had lately arrived at Serampur, were ordered by government to return to England, by the fleet then under despatch, because they had come to India without the permission of the Court of Directors, which had in fact been hitherto the case with all the missionaries. In consequence, however, of a representation to Lord Minto, the Governor-General, that Mr Lawson was preparing a fount of Chinese types, and that his removal would materially impede the completion of it, he obtained liberty to remain; but the order for Mr Johns' return was peremptorily confirmed, and he was given to understand that unless he immediately took his passage, he would be apprehended and carried on board the ship. He of course submitted to the will of government, and returned to England after having spent only a few months in India.[2]

With respect to Mr Robinson, he had sailed for Java before the order for his return to England was received, with the view of commencing a mission on that island. It was signed the very day he embarked; but it did not reach Serampur till a week after, when he was safely out at sea. He had sometime before obtained permission from Lord Minto to proceed to Java, yet so determined was the government to carry their proscription into effect, that the order was sent after him to that island. Soon after his arrival, he was accordingly required to state by what authority he had come to Java; but by some means or other, he was allowed to remain on the island.[3]

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 452, 465, 497, 502, 550; vol. v. p. 147; Circular Letters, vol. v. p. 146; vol. vi. p. 4, 6; Ivimey's Letters, p. 169.

[2] Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 198.

[3] Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 225, 385.

It is not unworthy of observation, that though at least eleven missionaries from different societies, were about this time ordered to leave India, Mr Johns was the only one who was actually sent home. These were, no doubt, painful occurrences; yet we cannot help viewing them as a remarkable interposition of Providence, in behalf of Christianity in India. Though the supreme government in Bengal had on former occasions manifested considerable hostility to the labours of Christian missionaries, (*Buchanan's Apology for Promoting Christianity in India*, p. 64, 74, 149); yet the

In August 1814, Mr Felix Carey embarked at Rangoon, on board the viceroy's pleasure-boat, with the view of proceeding to Ava, the capital of the Burman empire. He had sometime before been called to court, to inoculate the younger branches of the royal family; but as he unfortunately had no vaccine matter, he was sent back to Rangoon, in a gilded boat, after being treated with distinguished honours, and a ship was ordered to convey him to Bengal, in order to bring it from that country. Having now returned, he proceeded to join a brig which was waiting in the Great River, to convey him to the capital, and after some days he reached her in safety. Scarcely, however, had she sailed, when she was suddenly overtaken by a squall, while she was making way against a very strong and rapid current. In a moment she upset, and immediately filled with water. At that instant, Mr Carey rushed into the cabin, to rescue if possible his wife and children, and the other females. No sooner

spirit of opposition never rose to such a height as at this time. It seemed as if the government, at the head of which was Lord Minto, was determined that no new missionaries should settle in the country. The renewal of the East India Company's charter, however, was at this very period under the consideration of Parliament, and intelligence of these proceedings arrived just in time to stimulate the friends of religion to zealous and energetic exertions for procuring the introduction of clauses into the Bill, securing liberty to Christian missionaries to proceed to India, and the protection of government, so long as they conducted themselves with prudence and propriety. So deep was the interest which this measure excited in the country, that petitions were poured in to both Houses of Parliament from every quarter of the United Kingdom, and had a powerful influence in accomplishing the object in view. *(Evan. Mag.* vol. xxi. p. 321.) Had it not, however, been for these arbitrary proceedings of the government in India at this very period, it is not probable that the object would have excited so deep and general an interest in the country, and at any rate, the advocates of the measure in Parliament, would not have possessed so powerful an argument for the interference of the legislature. In the House of Commons, the clauses met with keen opposition, particularly from some gentlemen who had been in India, but they were carried by a majority; and in the House of Lords they passed without a division.

Notwithstanding this act of the British Legislature, the Directors of the East India Company appear to have been still indisposed to grant permission to missionaries to go out to India. The first application by the Baptist Missionary Society, which was in behalf of Mr Eustace Carey, was readily granted, partly perhaps through the influence of his name; but when application was made some months afterwards in behalf of another missionary, Mr Yates, it was refused by the Directors, and the refusal was repeated on a second and more urgent appeal. The refusal of the Directors having come before the Board of Control, as was provided for by the act of Parliament, it overruled their resolution and granted the permission requested. This decision was of great importance, as it tested the disposition of His Majesty's government in regard to missionaries going out to India.—*Hoby's Memoir of William Yates, D.D.*, p. 44.

had he entered, than the impetus of a stream from without closed the door upon him. Nothing seemed now before him but a watery grave, as the flood gushed in upon him from all sides. During these critical moments, he heard the screams of his wife and children, who were separated from him by a canvass screen; but he could find no access to them, till an opening was made by the water. He then sprung forward and handed them, together with the nurse and two little girls, out at the cabin window, upon the broadside of the vessel. Still he had some hope that the ship would float, but no sooner had he himself got out at the window, than she sunk with them. Instantly they were all out of their depth, amidst a rapid current and a heavy sea. His wife and infant child clung to him; but as he sunk, she quitted her hold, and he saw her no more. He once more rose to the surface and thought he observed his little boy floating at a distance: the heads of some of the crew he saw in various directions. He now gave himself up for lost, every wave rolling over his head. Having some way or other made a shift to tear off his shirt, and to disentangle himself of his pantaloons, he floated ashore, though not without great difficulty. On reaching the land he found himself so exhausted, that he could not stand, but providentially one of the Lascars, who had floated ashore at the same place, drew him up into the grass jungle, where he sat up to the breast in water till a boat came to his assistance. As soon as he was somewhat recovered, he made every inquiry about his wife and children; but could learn nothing of them, except that one of his servants, with the officer, had picked up the body of his little girl, and buried it in a neighbouring jungle. Thus, in one hour, he was deprived of his wife, his little boy, and his infant daughter, besides whom, there were seven others who perished in this sad catastrophe.

In a state of mind hardly to be described, Mr Carey proceeded next day in a gilded boat for Ava; and after a voyage of about four weeks, he reached that city. Here he met with a highly favourable reception from the king and the prince, who appeared to sympathize with his misfortune, and made him the most liberal compensation for his loss. He was now, however, called to sustain a severer trial of his Christian principles, than

that which he had so lately suffered. His Majesty appointed him ambassador to Calcutta, in order to settle some differences which subsisted between the two governments; and conferred on him the equipage of a prince, consisting of a red umbrella, with an ivory top, and a red fringe, such as is worn only by the sons of the king, a betel box, a gold lepheek cup, and a sword of state. He also received by His Majesty's special command, two gold swords, a gold umbrella, and considerable sums of money.[1]

Mr Carey now relinquished the humble office of a Christian missionary, and proceeded to Calcutta in the high character of ambassador from the Court of Burmah, to the British government. There he lived in the highest style of oriental splendour. His connection, however, with the Burman court, was not of long duration; and he soon afterwards entered into the service of the Kacha Rajah, whose territory was invaded shortly after by the Burmese, and he was obliged to flee with his master into the British dominions, where he was reduced to the greatest distress, living for months in a Bengali hut, and carefully concealing from his anxious friends the place of his abode; but having been met with accidentally in the Sunderbunds, he was brought to Serampur, and was employed in the printing-office, and in translating and compiling various works of a literary nature.[2]

In 1816, the missionaries at Serampur commenced an institution for the support and encouragement of native schools. The education of children was an object of attention with the missionaries from the time of their arrival in India; but as most of the schools which they established were not only taught by native teachers, but were conducted according to the native plan, they soon perceived that unless material improvements were introduced into them, little good would be effected by them. With the view of introducing a new and improved system of teaching, they now instituted at Serampur a normal school for the training of teachers, and qualifying them for taking charge of schools in the neighbouring towns and villages.[3]

In the schools established by them, the children were not

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 380, 383, 402, 485; vol. vi. p. 151; Circular Letters, vol. viii. p. 77.

[2] Miss. Herald, 1819, p. 41; Marshman (J. C.) Review of Two Pamphlets, p. 71.

[3] Hints relative to Native Schools, p. 19, 31, 37; First Report of the Institution for Native Schools, p. 51.

only taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, but with the view of giving enlargement to their minds, they were instructed in the more popular parts of geography, astronomy, and natural philosophy, i the leading facts of history, and the most important principles of morality, so that the system of education pursued in them, was incomparably superior to any thing known in the Hindu schools. Christian instruction, however, formed no part of the plan, as the missionaries were apprehensive that this would awaken the jealousy of the natives, and probably defeat the whole scheme. The extension, however, of a correct and enlarged system of education among the Hindus, could scarcely fail to prove highly favourable to the future progress of the gospel in the country.[1]

It was pleasing to witness the little influence which caste had in checking the extension of education among the Hindus. Among the scholars were a great number of Brahman children, many of whom were already invested with the poitu. To see youths honoured with the sacred thread, mingling with their schoolfellows in their various exercises, and in numerous instances giving place, without chagrin, to their superior merit, was highly gratifying. No wish was ever expressed by them to be formed into separate classes, nor was there a single instance of a Brahman youth leaving school in disgust, because he was associated with Sudras. To the institution for supporting these schools, not only many European gentlemen, but numbers of the opulent Hindus themselves, were subscribers, so little jealousy did they shew of the operations of the missionaries.[2]

But though the plan succeeded much beyond the expectations of the missionaries, they, after some time, made a material change upon it: instead of wholly supporting schools among the Hindus, they resolved to aim at the improvement of the schools which were already established by themselves. The Hindus, in general, are not averse to paying the teachers' fees in their own schools; and it is obvious that the benefits of education can be extended throughout the whole of a country only by nourishing principles of this description among the people

[1] Hints relative to Native Schools, p. 11; First Report of the Institution for Native Schools, p. 20.

[2] First Report of the Institution for Native Schools, p. 12, 18, 43, 65; Second Report, p. 63, 66.

themselves. The missionaries accordingly offered to the teachers of these indigenous schools, that if they would adopt the system of education which they recommended, and use the school books which they had provided, they would allow them a small sum monthly, for as many of the scholars as made certain degrees of proficiency. With these proposals the teachers readily complied, and, in a short time, about a hundred schools, containing, it was supposed, near eight thousand children, were placed under the care of the missionaries. These schools promised, in fact, to be not less useful than those which were wholly supported by the missionaries, while, at the same time, a much greater number of them could be maintained at the same expense. When the teachers found that their remuneration from month to month depended on the proficiency of their scholars, and that a school could at any time be laid aside without any pecuniary loss, which was not the case with those that were wholly supported by the institution, they had a strong incitement to activity and diligence. Besides, this plan possessed the advantage of diffusing instruction more widely among the different classes of society. In the schools wholly supported by the institution, the bulk of the children consisted of the lower classes of society, as a rich Hindu had little inducement to send his son to a charity school, unless on account of the superior nature of the education received in it. But the plan of encouraging indigenous schools, brought the new and improved system of education to bear on the youth of all ranks, the rich as well as the poor, and though it would be wrong to deny the latter the opportunity of obtaining superior knowledge, it would be equally absurd to exclude the higher orders, who have the greatest influence in society, especially as they are nearly as destitute of sound information as the very lowest classes.[1]

These plans of the Serampur missionaries appeared well-calculated for extensive usefulness; but after a few years' experiment, they were not found to realise the expectations which were formed of them, and the schools were to a great extent given up.[2]

[1] Second Report of Native Schools, p. 45; Third Report p. 7, 11, 12.

[2] E. Carey and Yates' Vindication of the Calcutta Baptist Missionaries, p. 38; Review of Two Pamphlets by the Rev. John Dyer, and E. Carey, and Yates, p. 36.

In August 1818, the missionaries at Serampur instituted a college for communicating to native youths a higher order of education than could be given them in the ordinary schools. In this institution, it was intended that the Sanskrit, the Arabic, the Chinese, and the English languages should be taught, and such other languages, particularly those of India, as might be judged most useful; that instruction should be given in the various shastras of the Hindus, and in the doctrines which form the basis of the Pouranic and the Budhist systems of theology, including the system of Hindu law; in the elementary principles of European science, including medicine; and in the principles of Christianity. The college was designed not for Christian youth only: any native youth, whether Brahman, Sudra, or Mussulman, might be admitted into it, while at the same time, no student would be required to attend any lecture to which he felt the least objection on religious grounds, nor would any thing be enjoined which infringed in the slightest degree on the caste or religion of any of the pupils. The great and primary object of the college, was the education of young natives of talents and piety for the Christian ministry, as the missionaries, though they had employed the converts to a considerable extent in making known the gospel to their countrymen, found them in general very imperfectly qualified for the work; while yet it was evident that if Christianity is ever to be propagated throughout India, this must be chiefly by the instrumentality, not of European, but of native missionaries. Besides, the missionaries hoped that natives of piety might not only be prepared for the Christian ministry, but that some of them, after acquiring a knowledge of Sanskrit, as well as of Hebrew and Greek, might be employed as translators of the Scriptures into the vernacular languages. It was further intended that a respectable, though inferior education should be given to others of the children of converted natives, so as to qualify them for situations in life, by which they might procure a decent livelihood for themselves and their families. By this means, some compensation might be made to their parents and themselves, for the deprivations to which they were subjected by the loss of caste, and thus might be wiped away the reproach, common throughout every part of India, that the

Feringas, *i. e.* the Christians, were sunk to the lowest stage of ignorance and vice. Finally, by the admission of heathen youth to all the lectures and exercises, general knowledge would be diffused throughout the community, a measure which might be productive of the greatest advantages to India, and pave the way for the ultimate triumph of divine truth among the Hindus.[1]

The Serampur college was an extensive and magnificent building. It contained twelve side and two centre rooms, each of the latter being 96 feet in length, and 66 in breadth. Two suites of rooms, which were detached from the central building by a space of 48 feet, furnished apartments for four professors, and a crescent behind, at the distance of 300 feet, was intended when completed to furnish accommodation for two hundred native students. The whole when finished was not expected to cost less than £19,000, the greater part of which, it was stated, was furnished by the missionaries themselves.

With the view of placing the college on a similar footing as to privileges and permanence as the universities in Europe, a royal charter was obtained for it from the King of Denmark, granting it power to hold lands, to sue and be sued at law, and to confer degrees in the branches of learning taught in it; but allowing the space of ten years for the founders to digest its laws and constitution, after which period, they were to be unalterable,[2] a principle so contrary to the dictates of common sense, that we cannot but wonder how a charter could have been accepted, which was burthened with so absurd and mischievous condition.

Notwithstanding these great preparations, the Serampur college proved, in a great measure, a failure. It was on a scale which it could scarcely be expected the missionaries would be able to carry out, as regarded either professors or students. The whole design appears to have been too ambitious; and perhaps it aimed at too multiplied and varied objects. Of the actual results of the institution we have not much account. Some of the pupils educated in it, afterwards filled respectable

[1] College for the instruction of Asiatic Christian and other youth, Serampur, p. 6; First Report of the College for Asiatic Christian and other youth, p. 4; Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 54.

[2] E. Carey and Yates' Vindication of the Calcutta Missionaries, p. 86; Brief Memoir relative to the Serampur Missionaries, p. 24, 26.

situations in India, and several, chiefly Indo-Britons, were employed as missionaries. There were also a number of native preachers in various parts of the country, who were more or less trained at Serampur. After maintaining a languid existence for a considerable time, it was suspended for some years.[1]

Meanwhile circumstances were occurring at Serampur which led to great changes in the Baptist mission in India; and in regard to these it is necessary that we enter into some detail.

We have already mentioned that the missionaries on settling at Serampur agreed that no one should engage in any employment of a private nature, but that whatever pecuniary profits any of them might realize should be appropriated to the general purposes of the mission. The funds which they subsequently raised were derived chiefly from Dr Carey's salary as a professor in the college of Fort-William, the profits of the boarding-schools for the children of Europeans, the one for boys by Dr Marshman, the other for girls by Mrs Marshman, and the proceeds of the printing-press which was conducted by Mr Ward. The sums contributed by them from these sources were very large, though not so large as was often represented, and they at length declared themselves entirely independent of the Society, not only in respect of the funds raised by them in India, but of every thing like interference or control.[2]

Though some consideration was unquestionably due to the Serampur missionaries on the ground of the sums contributed by them to missionary purposes, yet it was not honourable in them to raise the standard of independence, and especially to do it in the way they did, considering that they were originally sent out and supported by the Society,—the relation in which they had for so many years stood to it,—the obligations they were under to it,—and the principles and feelings whch they

[1] Miss. Her. 1846, p. 322; Ibid. 1851, p. 134, 187.

Dr Macgowan, an American Baptist Missionary to China, who visited Serampur in 1844 says, "The College can scarcely be said to exist. It has neither professor nor student, and the beautiful building is almost in ruins.—*American Baptist Missionary Magazine*, 1845, p. 66.

[2] Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1827, p. 9, 30.

The separation between the Serampur missionaries and the Baptist Missionary Society was not formally agreed upon until March 1827; but it had virtually taken place ten years before.

had long professed in reference to the funds raised by them, as belonging not to themselves but to the Society.

The conduct of the missionaries in regard to the property at Serampur, originally purchased with the Society's funds, was even still more discreditable to them. Though merely trustees for the Society, they executed a Declaration in legal form, explaining away the original title-deeds, for the purpose of divesting the Society of all right to, and all control over, the property; and maintained that they were entitled to make these alterations, or rather that they had made no alterations at all, things having been on the same footing from the beginning. All this, we have no hesitation in saying, was consistent neither with truth nor with common honesty. Though the missionaries charged the Committee with a desire to lord it over them, we can discover nothing of the kind in their proceedings: on the contrary, they were disposed, we think, to be too yielding and too complaisant to them, employing expressions of regard which could scarcely consist with their real feelings. The conduct of the Committee appears to us to have been, in general, moderate, honourable, and conciliatory. On the other hand, there appeared on the part of the missionaries a great want of candour, an excessive spirit of jealousy, much uncharitableness and disingenuousness, and often gross perversion and misstatement of facts. Some of the statements made by them were, as regards truth, absolutely astounding.

Here we must also notice, as intimately connected with the controversy between the Serampur missionaries and the Society, the differences between them and the younger missionaries. We cannot enter into details regarding the complaints which they brought against each other, as we are unable to judge how far they were well founded. There was probably, on both sides, much prejudice and uncharitableness, much misapprehension and misrepresentation. Many things, it is likely, might have admitted of explanation, or at least of extenuation, if they had been candidly met at the time. It is, however, undeniable, that new missionaries, after coming to Serampur, found themselves very uncomfortable there. Had there been only one or two individuals who complained, it might have been supposed that the blame lay with themselves; but it appears to have been the

case with nearly every missionary who remained any time at that place. It was one of the points of independence on which the elder missionaries specially insisted, that no new missionaries should be allowed to settle with them at Serampur, unless they were, after due trial, chosen by themselves, a point which we apprehend they were well entitled to have conceded to them; but it is scarcely uncharitable to think that, previous to this, they made new comers uncomfortable, partly with the view of getting rid of them, and making them willing to go elsewhere.[1] There may have been, and probably were, faults on the side of the younger missionaries, faults which gave occasion, in part, to their unhappiness at Serampur; but we acknowledge that the conduct of the elder missionaries in reference to the Society, and the statements which they themselves make in regard to each other, render the charges brought against them by their younger brethren but too credible. A more unhappy state of things than what existed in the mission family at Serampur, it is not easy to conceive. But whatever were the causes of the differences between the elder and the younger missionaries, certain it is that most of the latter were either sent away from Serampur to form new stations at a distance, or they felt themselves so uncomfortably situated there that they themselves voluntarily left it.[2]

[1] We are glad to except Dr Carey from the charge of treating the younger missionaries with unkindness or in an improper manner. It was against Dr Marshman and Mr Ward that the charge was made. "I am afraid," wrote Mr Fuller, the secretary of the Society, "Marshman's jealousies will be a bar to any young man of talent being treated kindly at Serampur." The conduct of Mr Ward was also exceedingly exceptionable.—*E. Carey and Yates' Vindication*, p. 40, 41; *Bapt. Mag.* 1831, p. 239.

[2] E. Carey and Yates' Vindication, p. 40–50; Johns' Spirit of the Serampur System in 1812 and 1813, p. 69; Bapt. Magazine, 1831, p. 239.

Into the proof of these statements we cannot particularly enter; but we feel that it would be unfair to such men as Carey, and Marshman, and Ward, to pronounce the opinions which we have expressed in regard to their conduct, without referring more specifically to some of the grounds on which our judgment rests. We cannot, however, notice all the points to which we have adverted, but must confine ourselves to a few only.

1. Dr Marshman and his colleagues alleged that the premises at Serampur were purchased by them with their own funds, and that they *gave* them to the Society.—*Brief Memoir relative to the Operations of the Serampur Missionaries*, p. 59, 62; *Dr Marshman's Statement relative to Serampur*, p. 9, 86; *Baptist Magazine*, 1831, p. 237. Now, it appears from undeniable evidence, that they did not purchase the early premises with their own funds, but by means of remittances from the Society, and of bills on England, which the Society had to meet.—*E. Carey and Yates' Vindication*, p. 14; *Bapt. Mag.* 1831, p. 236.

In 1817, Messrs Eustace Carey, William Yates, John Lawson, and James Penney, the three former of whom had been sometime at Serampur, and been much dissatisfied and disappointed with the state of things there, united together to carry on mis-

It is vain for the missionaries to allege that they afterwards contributed moneys to the mission far exceeding the price of these premises, and that therefore they are to be held as purchased with their funds. The *original circumstances* and *intentions* of the purchase determine who was the purchaser; and proceeding on this principle, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt that the early premises at Serampur were purchased with the funds and on account of the Society, and were its property in the full and strictest sense of the word.

2. As the early premises at Serampur were paid for with funds obtained from the Society, so the rights of the property were taken in the name of the missionaries "in trust for the Baptist Missionary Society." These are the terms employed in the title-deeds of the first three premises purchased at Serampur. Now, to execute, in the year 1817, in legal form, an "Explanatory declaration," to the effect that this was to be understood as signifying nothing more than that the said premises were to be held *in trust* for propagating the gospel in India, "*agreeably to the original design and intention of the said Baptist Missionary Society*," was to *explain away* entirely the original terms of the title-deeds. And to declare further, "that it is their will, design, meaning, and intention, that no other person or persons, either in England or in India belonging to the said Baptist Missionary Society, shall have the least right or title to the property, or the administration of the said premises, unless lawfully appointed by them" (*i. e.* Messrs Carey, Marshman, and Ward), "as trustees for that purpose," was to employ their power as trustees to denude essentially of all title to, and all control over, the property, that very body with whose funds and for whom it was originally purchased, and of which they themselves were nothing more than trustees for that body. And to say, as they did, in a subsequent statement, that "the ultimate right to the premises was vested in the Baptist Missionary Society," and that "whenever their successors abuse their trust and alienate the rent or nett produce of the premises from the object intended, that of propagating the gospel in India, *the duty of the Society will immediately commence;* and they will have a legal right to expel them from the trust, and to choose new trustees who shall fulfil the intentions of the original purchasers (*Brief Memoir relative to the Serampur Missionaries*, p. 64, 66), was, when combined with the previous "Explanatory declaration," a piece of arrant deceit and mockery. Whoever heard of the right of property involving merely some right of *distant* interference of the kind now described? If the original trustees set the Baptist Missionary Society at defiance, what shall hinder future trustees, who should alienate the property from its proper purposes, from setting them equally at defiance? Indeed, if trustees may execute such "Explanatory declarations," as that made by the Serampur missionaries, there would be an end to all confidence in trusteeships, and to all security for property by means of them.

3. The Serampur missionaries would have had us believe that the Society laid claim to all the proceeds of their labours, but that they had never given them any such title (*Marshman's Statement*, p. 8, 43, 61, 102; *Letters from the Rev. Dr Carey*, 3d Edit. p. 30); whereas we do not find that the Committee ever laid claim to the proceeds of their labours, and when the question was brought before them, they explicitly renounced any such claim (*Dyer's Letter to J. B. Wilson, Esq., in reply to Dr Marshman's Statement*, p. 36; *Marshman's Statement*, p. 114); yet we apprehend the missionaries did at times employ language which was calculated to lead the Committee to suppose that the proceeds of their labours would be devoted by them to the Society

sionary operations in Calcutta. It was purely their own act, and they received but partial countenance and very sparing aid from the Society, so long as there remained any hope of an arrangement being effected with the missionaries at Serampur.

(*Dyer's Letter*, p. 52, 61; *Carey and Yates' Vindication*, p. 13), a point, indeed, which, in other places, seems partially admitted by Dr Marshman and his colleagues. —*Marshman's Statement*, p. 61; *Carey and Yates' Vindication*, p. 22.

4. We apprehend it was very unreasonable in the Serampur missionaries to expect the Society to furnish them annually with funds for the support of stations in connection with Serampur, over which they were to have no control; but the management of which was to be in the hands of the Council of the Serampur College, or of such members of it as might be chosen by the missionaries to this trust.—*Dyer's Letter*, p. 6, 25.

In confirmation of some of the other allegations in the text, we must refer the reader to Marshman's Statement, p. 8, 48, 113, 118; Dr Carey's Letters, p. 5; Dyer's Letter, p. 19, 31, 57, 62; Carey and Yates' Vindication, p. 24, 39, 67, 74; Ivimey's Letters on the Serampur Controversy, p. 40, 147, 155; Baptist Magazine, 1831, p. 55, 60, 234.

For further statements relative to these differences, we refer to the Report of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1827; to Eustace Carey's Supplement to the Vindication of the Calcutta Missionaries; to John C. Marshman's Review of Two Pamphlets, by the Rev. John Dyer, and the Rev. E. Carey, and W. Yates; and to Dr Marshman's Reply to the Rev. John Dyer's Letter.

It was attempted to shield Dr Carey from the blame which attaches to these transactions, and to throw the whole obloquy of them on Dr Marshman; but this was unfair. Though Dr Marshman came to England, and was the conductor of those negotiations which ended in the formal separation of the Serampur Mission from the Society, and though the matters in dispute might probably have been amicably settled, had it not been for him; yet Dr Carey appears to have held substantially the same views on the principal points in debate with the Committee, gave explicit testimony to the truth of his statements, and approved of the measures pursued by him. He says expressly, that he would "thank no person for clearing him of guilt at the expense of his colleague." And again, "I hereby bear testimony to the truth of every thing stated by Dr Marshman in his Statement."—*Dr Carey's Letters*, p. 29, 30, 32, 49.—*Bapt. Mag.* 1831, p. 67, 238. The measures may not have been such as Dr Carey himself would have originated, or even have prosecuted; but if, through facility of temper or love of peace, he allowed himself to be led by others, he must bear his own share of the responsibility and blame.

We do not know a more melancholy chapter in the history of missions than is to be found in the various pamphlets connected with the Serampur controversy; yet it is a chapter worth being read, and suggests much useful instruction.

It is painful to us to speak of such men as Carey, Marshman, and Ward, in the way we have done; but truth requires it of us. "When Peter walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the Gospel," the Apostle Paul states the fact plainly, and tells us, that he "withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed." It may seem, indeed, that we have employed strong language in regard to them; but it is not so strong as was employed by some of their own brethren, including several of their old and best friends. Differences between missionaries and the societies with which they were connected have not been unfrequent occurrences; and in this one example, the reader may learn much of what often takes place in cases of this kind. Few can have any idea of the mis-statements which are sometimes put forth, and how necessary

The Committee were, in fact, exceedingly perplexed by the letters they received from Serampur, containing grave accusations against them, and more than suggesting the propriety of their removal from Calcutta. But under the painful circumstances in which they found themselves for several years placed, they were supported and encouraged by the prosperity which attended their undertakings; and the station so feeble and so tried in its beginning, became, after some years, the head-quarters of the mission.[1]

In April 1820, the first school for Hindu girls which is known to have existed in Calcutta, and, with only two exceptions, in India, was established in connection with the junior Baptist missionaries in that city.[2] This was an interesting step in Hindu education. The whole of the Hindu female population were, with few exceptions, entirely uneducated. This, therefore, was quite a novel attempt. It originated in the contributions of the girls in the young ladies' seminary, which was conducted by one or more of the wives of the missionaries; and for the purpose of carrying it on, a Female School Society was formed in connection with the mission. Under this institution a number of schools were established in the course of a few years, and though they were not numerously attended, much interest was felt in them, and great hopes were entertained of their usefulness. But schools for girls were attended with many and peculiar difficulties. Much disappointment was experienced in re-

it is not to form an opinion upon the representations of the complaining party, but to hold by the good old maxim, *Audi alteram partem.* "He that is first in his own cause," says Solomon, "seemeth just; but his neighbour cometh and searcheth him."

In 1830, the Serampur missionaries proposed to the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society to refer the questions at issue between them as to the mission premises and other points to arbitration; but as difficulties appear to have occurred in carrying this proposal into effect, they in 1832 divested themselves of the trusteeship in favour of eleven individuals in Britain, (all of whom were persons who had taken part with themselves,) to hold the property for the Baptist Missionary Society, and to pay to it all rents received on account thereof.—*Ivimey's Letters,* p. 189; *Periodical Accounts of Serampur Mission,* vol. ii. p. 97.

[1] E. Carey and Yates' Vindication of the Calcutta Missionaries, p. 8, 51, 69.

[2] "The first attempt in Bengal, and I suppose in India, to instruct native girls in an *organized* school was made by Mr May" of the London Missionary Society at Chinsurah "in 1818."—*Adam's First Report on the state of Education in Bengal,* p. 65. There were also examples of a few girls being taught in the same schools with boys.—*Miss. Her.* 1822, p. 91.

gard to them, and the number of them has of late years been greatly reduced.[1]

Mr Yates, while at Serampur, had assisted Dr Carey in the translation of the Scriptures, and after settling in Calcutta he devoted himself specially to the same work, and to other philological labours. He made new translations of the whole Bible into Bengali, and of the New Testament and part of the Old into Sanskrit. He also prepared versions of the New Testament in Hindustani and Hindi, but the latter was an exceedingly imperfect work. He was likewise the author, translator, or editor, of many other useful works in various languages.[2]

Mr William H. Pearce,[3] who had been bred a printer, having joined the junior missionaries soon after they settled in Calcutta, he commenced printing in that city. He began on a very limited scale with a second-hand wooden press, and in a mat hut as a printing-office; but humble and unpretending as was the work in its beginning, it became in the course of a few years a very extensive establishment, including not only a large printing-office, with its numerous founts of types in various languages, but a type-foundry which enabled them to prepare founts of types and matrices for other missionaries in different parts of the East, as well as to supply their own wants. Besides editions of the Holy Scriptures, school-books, and religious tracts for the mission itself, they printed many works for other religious and literary bodies, and also for the government. The printing establishment and the type-foundry were formed at a cost of upwards of £20,000, without any pecuniary help from the Society, and chiefly through the profits of the printing executed in it. Out of the proceeds considerable sums were also devoted to missionary objects.[4]

When the missionaries settled in Calcutta, there was no place

[1] Miss. Her. 1821, p. 44; Ibid. 1831, p. 1; Seventeenth Report of the Calcutta Baptist Female School Society, p. 5, 9; Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1851, p. 7.

[2] Hoby's Memoirs of William Yates, D.D., p. 210, 267, 353, 361; Calcutta Review, vol. x. p. 170; Calcutta Christian Observer, vol. xix. p. 467.

[3] A son of Mr Pearce of Birmingham who was one of the founders of the society, a most pious and lovely man, and who had earnestly desired to go out as a missionary to India. His son appears to have inherited much of his spirit.

[4] Yates' Memoir of W. H. Pearce *in* Hoby's Memoir of Dr Yates, p. 397; Cox's Hist. vol. i. p. 330; Miss. Her. 1828, p. 10; Ibid. 1829, p. 35, 90; Ibid. 1830, p. 78, 96; Ibid. 1837, p. 66; Ibid. 1851, p. 181; Quarterly Papers, No. 63, p. 249.

in that city, nor indeed in all India devoted to native worship. They therefore went into the streets and highways to address the natives. It was often difficult, however, in this way to collect a congregation; the same individuals were seldom met with; they remained or departed just as they pleased, and if any impressions were made on their minds, they died away in consequence of not being followed up with proper culture. Having persevered in this way for some time under many inconveniences, they at length raised sheds in different parts of the city to which the natives might regularly resort. This led to the building of a native chapel, and though they were at first uncertain whether the people would enter it to hear the gospel, yet on trial, the plan proved successful beyond their expectations, and they were induced to erect others in different parts of the city and its vicinity, in which the gospel was preached nearly every day either by the missionaries or by native preachers. The congregations, as may naturally be supposed, varied considerably, and were very fluctuating. Many came, stopt a few minutes, and then went away; but numbers remained much longer, and some were regular hearers for months together. The gospel was now no novelty, and hence it was peculiarly gratifying to observe the same persons often present, as in this way it might be hoped they would acquire somewhat correct and extended views of divine truth.[1]

In June 1834, Dr Carey died at Serampur, in the 73d year of his age and the 41st of his labours as a missionary in India. Born of parents in the lower ranks of life, he enjoyed no advantages of education beyond what are commonly to be had in a country village; and as he grew up, he was bred to the trade of a shoemaker. He early discovered a great thirst for knowledge, particularly of natural history; and after being called to the ministry, he, under many disadvantages, made considerable progress in the study of Greek and Latin, as well as of other branches of useful knowledge. After he settled in India, botany and other departments of natural history continued to be favourite objects of attention with him. His garden, it is

[1] Miss. Her. 1828, p. 2, 9, 29; Ibid. 1829, p. 33; Period. Accounts of Serampur Mission, vol. ii. p. 240.

stated, was the best and rarest botanical collection of plants in the East, and his museum contained an extensive collection of insects, shells, corals, minerals, and other natural curiosities. His attainments as an Oriental linguist were of a high order. Others may have had a more thorough and minute acquaintance with particular languages, or may have been more elegant and accomplished scholars, but, in the variety and extent of his acquirements, he had few, perhaps, no equals.

In the character of Dr Carey's mind, and in the habits of his life, there was nothing of the marvellous, nothing to dazzle, or even to surprise. There was no great or original transcendency of intellect. He possessed no genius, no imagination, no enthusiasm, no depth or impetuosity of feeling. He was every way a man of principle, not of impulse. As a preacher he was not distinguished. He was remarkable for his choice of plain and elementary subjects. He found them the life of his own soul, and never seemed to imagine that they could be exhausted or become trite and uninteresting in the estimation of others. He does not even appear to have employed due time and pains in preparing for the pulpit, and as a natural consequence of this, there was no great range or variety in his illustrations of his subjects. His diction, too, was contracted, his voice inharmonious, his manner somewhat rustic and without ease, yet withal, not offensive. He seems, in short, to have possessed a very plain mind. We doubt if he was even distinguished by superior soundness of judgment. He was too easy and too much under the influence of those about him ; he had not energy and firmness of mind to resist them, or to refuse compliance with their plans and wishes. The leading features of his character were inexhaustible patience and perseverance in the prosecution of any work he undertook, great modesty and humility, and above all, great simplicity of mind. Here lay the charm of his character. This constituted its moral strength and beauty. It was the mould into which he was cast. It rendered him at once both venerable and lovely. It may afford encouragement to others to find, that whatever of usefulness or reputation he attained, was the result not of any high order, nor perhaps of any great peculiarity of intellect, but of the unreserved, patient,

and persevering devotion of a plain understanding, and a single heart to the great objects of his life.[1]

The great work in which Dr Carey engaged, was the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the languages of the East. To shew the extent of his labours in this department of missionary work, we shall subjoin a table of the versions made by him, or under his superintendence, so far as they were printed, including the Chinese by Dr Marshman, the Bruj and Hindi by Mr Chamberlain, and the Javanese by Mr Bruckner, which were also executed in connection with the Serampur mission.

THE WHOLE BIBLE PRINTED.

1. Assamese.
2. Bengali.
3. Chinese.
4. Hindustani.
5. Marathi or Mahratta.
6. Oriya or Orissa.
7. Sanskrit.

THE NEW TESTAMENT PRINTED.

8. Afghan or Pushtoo.
9. Bhogelkund.
10. Bhutneer.
11. Bikaneer.
12. Bruj.
13. Gujarati.
14. Huroti.
15. Javanese.
16. Jumbu or Dugrah.
17. Kanoja.
18. Kashmire.
19. Khasee.
20. Kunkuna.
21. Kurnata or Canarese.
22. Magudh.
23. Marwar.
24. Multani or Wuch.
25. Munipur.
26. Nepalese.
27. Oojein.
28. Palpa.
29. Shreenagur or Gurwhali.
30. Sikh or Punjabi.
31. Telinga or Telugu.[2]

PORTIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT PRINTED.

32. Kumaoon to Colossians.
33. Hindi or Hindui to 1 Corinthians ii. 7.
34. Maldivian, Four Gospels.
35. Belochee, Three Gospels.
36. Kusoli, Matthew and Mark.
37. Juyapur, Matthew's Gospel.
38. Oodeypur, do.
39. Sindh. do.[3]

[1] Carey's Memoirs, p. 7, 24, 32, 44, 49, 55, 68, 577, 587, 614; Memoir of John Adams, p. 227.

[2] The Old Testament was also printed in part in several of these languages: in Telinga and Kunkuna, the Pentateuch; in Kashmire as far as the 2d Book of Kings; in Afghan to near the end of the 2d Book of Kings; and in Sikh to the end of Ezekiel. —*Tenth Memoir of Translations*, p. 7, 9, 59.

[3] Seventh Memoir of Translations, p. 2; Period. Accounts of Serampur Mission, p. 37; Ninth Memoir of Translations, p. 3; Tenth Memoir of Translations, p. 3, 61. There were two or three other languages in which single Gospels were translated and printed.

From this table it appears that translations of the Holy Scriptures were executed or superintended by Dr Carey in no fewer than thirty-five languages or dialects; that of these six were of the whole Bible; twenty-two of the New Testament, five including also a considerable part of the Old Testament; and seven of portions of the New Testament. The labour and expense which they must have cost it is not easy to calculate, and it is painful to think that so much labour and expense should have been thrown away nearly in vain. How Dr Carey could ever have brought himself to consider it possible for one man to execute or superintend translations of the Scriptures into so many languages is very strange; and it is stranger still how the friends of missions, including many who might have been supposed qualified to form a correct opinion on the subject, should have allowed themselves to believe such a thing practicable, and should have shewn their belief of this by the deep interest which they took in it, and the liberal contributions which they made for carrying it into effect. Of the perfect honesty of Dr Carey there cannot be a moment's doubt; but a little reflection on the part of others might have shewn them that the good man was labouring under a delusion. To execute a translation of the Holy Scriptures into a single language, even though it should be one's own mother tongue, is no slender task. It is work enough for even the most learned and skilful man, and will require the devotion to it of days, and months, and years, and after having done his utmost, there will still remain ample room for improvement by future critics. Had Dr Carey produced even one good translation in Bengali, Sanskrit, or Hindustani, he would have rendered a greater service to the cause of missions than he has done by all his versions put together. They have not indeed been all tested; but those which have, including some for executing which he possessed peculiar qualifications and advantages, have been found so imperfect, that his versions generally are now given up as of no great value. This remark also extends to Dr Marshman's Chinese translation.[1]

[1] Carey's Memoir, p. 606; Buyer's Letters on India, p. 89, 95; Quarterly Oriental Magazine, March 1825, p. 83, 86, 87, 93; Asiatic Journal, vol. xxviii. p. 297; Seventh Report of American and Foreign Bible Society, 1844, p. 38.

We question if any one man will ever be found capable of translating the Scriptures

Besides the translation of the Scriptures, Dr Carey engaged in many other and extensive literary undertakings. He compiled and published grammars of the Sanskrit, the Bengali, the Marathi, the Telinga, the Kurnati, and the Sikh languages, and dictionaries of the Bengali and the Marathi. He edited various works in the Sanskrit, Bengali, Bootan, and English languages. The number, variety, and magnitude of the works which he executed are truly astonishing. In carrying them on, he no doubt received much assistance from learned natives; but after making every allowance for the aid derived from them, they furnish an extraordinary example of industry, diligence, and skill; but it does not appear that many of the works published by him, particularly the grammars and dictionaries, were afterwards held in much estimation by Oriental scholars. Others of the missionaries also published various literary works, particularly grammars of different Oriental languages, as the Chinese, Cingalese, Burmese, and Javanese.[1]

Though more perfect works than those of Dr Carey may have been produced by later writers, we must not undervalue

into several languages, and least of all into languages which he is not in the habit of hearing daily spoken, and of daily speaking himself. The mere affinity of languages will not enable him to do so. If this, in some respects, facilitates the work, it, in other respects, increases the difficulty of it, especially as to those languages which are most nearly allied to each other, by requiring of him a very thorough knowledge of their minute differences. Who would believe any man capable of executing or superintending translations of the Bible into Latin, English, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Danish, Swedish, and other European languages and dialects? It is not unworthy of remark, that the Bengali, Sanskrit, and Hindustani translations of Dr Carey were the basis of the other versions executed under his superintendence; but as these translations proved to be very imperfect, their imperfections would be generally transferred to these other versions, and thus, along with their own faults, must have materially deteriorated their value.

We cordially subscribe to the following sentiments of Mr Judson, of the American Baptist Mission in Burmah, in which he obviously has a reference to the Serampur versions: "My ideas of translating are very different from those of some missionaries, better men than myself, but mistaken, I think, in this particular. I consider it the work of a man's whole life to procure a *really* good translation of even the New Testament in an untried language. I could write much on this subject, but I have neither time nor disposition. I would only say, that in many instances, missionary labour has been dreadfully misdirected, and hundreds of thousands most foolishly thrown away. As to us we wish to proceed *slow* and *sure*, and to see to it that whatever we do in regard to the inspired Word is *well done*."—*Wayland's Memoir of the Rev. A. Judson*, vol. i. p. 376.

[1] Tenth Memoir of Translations, p. 37; Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1848, p. 2; Carey's Memoir, p. 594, 604; Calcutta Christian Observer, vol. vii. p. 287, 385, 387, 392, 395; Quarterly Oriental Magazine, March 1825.

his labours, which laid the foundation, and were essentially the means of their greater success. His merits as an Oriental scholar were of a high order: there are in fact few men to whom Oriental literature is under such great obligations. When he commenced his career of Oriental study, the facilities for it, which have since accumulated, were wholly wanting; the student was destitute of nearly all elementary aid. With the exception of the Sanskrit, few of the languages of India had ever been reduced to their elements by native and original writers. Grammars and dictionaries were alike unknown. The early students of these languages had, therefore, as they gathered words and phrases, to analyze and investigate the principles of their construction, and to frame, as they proceeded, grammars and dictionaries for themselves. The talents of Dr Carey were eminently adapted for such an undertaking, and to meet the necessities of himself and others, he engaged at various periods in the compilation of original and valuable elementary works. His Sanskrit grammar was the first complete grammar of that language, and made its appearance in the very infancy of Sanskrit study. It was a work of immense extent and labour, forming a quarto volume of more than a thousand pages. His labours in connection with Sanskrit literature place him high amongst the most distinguished of our Sanskrit scholars. Though Halhed had the credit of first reducing to rule the construction of the Bengali tongue, yet Dr Carey, by his grammar and his dictionary, which consisted of three quarto volumes, and other useful rudimental publications, had the merit of raising it from the condition of a rude and unsettled dialect in which there were no printed books, and but few manuscripts, to the character of a regular and permanent form of speech, possessing something of a literature, and capable, through its intimate relation to the Sanskrit, of becoming a cultivated and comprehensive vehicle for the communication of useful knowledge and religious truth.[1]

[1] Babu Ram Comol Shen, the compiler of a valuable dictionary, English and Bengali, thus speaks of Dr Carey, "I must acknowledge here, that whatever has been done towards the revival of the Bengali language, the improvement, and, in fact, the establishment of it as a language, must be attributed to that excellent man Dr Carey, and his colleagues, by whose liberality and great exertions many works have been carried through the press, and the general tone of the language of the province has been so greatly raised." "No individual," adds Professor H. H. Wilson, "is better qualified than the talented native whose words are here cited to appreciate accurately the share

In other Indian dialects, the labours of Dr Carey, though not so prominent, were more or less useful. Though in Marathi, Telinga, and Kurnata, more perfect and elaborate elementary works have since been published, prepared in the countries where these languages are spoken; yet to him belongs the merit of having set the example of acquiring, and of having under very unfavourable circumstances furnished the European student with them eans of learning, these languages. Even in the translation of the Scriptures into so many of the languages of the East, however questionable the scheme might be, it is indisputable, that not only surprising industry, but a singular genius for philological investigation, and uncommon attainments, were displayed in its execution.[1]

In May 1838,[2] a re-union took effect between the Serampur Mission and the Baptist Missionary Society, twenty-one years after a separation had virtually, and eleven after it had formally, taken place. It may not be improper to state, that the overtures for union did not originate with the Society, but with the friends of the Serampur mission in this country, who since the separation had taken part with it, and had undertaken to raise funds for its support. After the disruption, the Serampur Brethren multiplied considerably the stations in connection with themselves; but the great body of the Baptist denomination in England having taken part with the Society, the utmost exertions which their friends were able to make did not prove adequate to their necessities. The funds which they themselves were able to raise in India were also greatly diminished, and they even sustained heavy losses by the failure of the banks in Calcutta in which their monies were lodged. In consequence of these combined circumstances, the missionaries were, time

taken by Dr Carey in the improvement of the language and literature of his country."—*Carey's Memoir*, p. 597.

In reference to the Bengali version of the Bible, it has been remarked, and we doubt not truly, "Though Dr Carey's translation was written according to the English idiom and in a Bengali style that would be considered disreputable in the present day, yet *it was a great work for the time*, considering the few books in the language."—*Calcutta Review*, vol. xiii. p. 134.

[1] Carey's Memoir, p. 587, 596, 602, 609. This estimate of Dr Carey as an Oriental scholar, rests on the authority of H. H. Wilson, Esq., Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford, one of the most distinguished Oriental scholars of the present day. See also *Calcutta Review*, vol. xiii. p. 134.

[2] Dr Marshman, the last of the three Serampur missionaries, died the preceding December.

after time, reduced to great difficulties; their funds were repeatedly quite exhausted. Impelled by necessity, they called on the labourers at the various stations to say how much of their salaries they would give up; they also made urgent appeals to their friends in England for assistance; and though by these means their wants were supplied for the time, yet their difficulties and distress returned, to be again relieved in a similar manner. They were, however, at length involved in a debt of about £3000. Such were the untoward circumstances in which the Serampur missionaries found themselves in consequence of their quarrel with the Society. They had probably presumed on the strong hold which they once had of the public mind; but in this they were miserably, and, we apprehend, most justly, disappointed, a fact which may read a useful lesson to other missionaries not to quarrel with, or separate from, the societies with which they are connected on slight or insufficient grounds. Though it is not stated, yet we have little doubt that it was this incessant recurrence of pecuniary difficulties, and the little prospect there was of the Christian public adequately supporting the mission in a state of independence, that led to the proposals on the part of its friends in England for a re-union between it and the Society.[1]

[1] Periodical Accounts of Serampur Mission, vol. i. p. 431, 434, 510, 692, 700, 707; vol. ii. p. 139, 239, 255, 319.

In looking back on the Serampur Mission, it is impossible not to be struck with the fact, how much the results fell short of the great expectations which were long entertained of it. The multiplied stations established by it in India and other parts of the East,—the translation of the Holy Scriptures into such a number of languages,—the extensive system of schools,—the college for secular education and for training up native labourers, all combined together to excite such an interest and such expectations in the public mind as have rarely been entertained of any mission. Yet nearly every department of the Serampur mission proved a failure, its stations, its translations, its schools, its college; its very name was for a time scarcely found in the list of missionary stations, and even now, it is a station of only secondary importance. It would almost seem as if God had inscribed on the Serampur mission, "I will stain the pride of all glory." Would, at all events, that the friends of missions would learn the salutary lesson which it teaches, and beware of glorying in men—in their own doings, and their own success.

We are not without an apprehension that the Serampur missionaries were misled by a well-known saying of Dr Carey, which has passed into a kind of aphorism on the subject of missions, "EXPECT GREAT THINGS—ATTEMPT GREAT THINGS." This, however, is a dangerous maxim, unless it be taken with important qualifications. It must be restricted to what is wise and practicable—practicable by the men, and practicable in the circumstances; and not only so, but to what it is practicable to do well. We must look not so much to the quantity of the work, as to its quality. Extensive and

In 1851, the connection of the Society with the college at Serampur was again renewed. It was not originally, as some may suppose, connected with the Baptist Missionary Society; it was an undertaking of the Serampur missionaries themselves. Arrangements were now entered into for forming a connection between it and the Society; but the college council continued an independent body as constituted by the charter, and the direction of its affairs was vested exclusively with it. The college having, however, been established for the double object of imparting a superior secular education to natives of the country, and of training up labourers for the various branches of missionary work, it was agreed that the missionary department should be rendered auxiliary to the operations of the Baptist Missionary Society; and with this view, the council agreed to grant to the Society, free of expense, the use of the college buildings, including residences for a divinity tutor and for divinity students, and that the secular classes of the college should also be open to the students without any charge.[1]

In 1853, the following were the stations connected with the Baptist Missionary Society in India:—

| Begun. | Stations. | Begun. | Stations. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Calcutta and Sub-stations. | 1816 | Benares. |
| | | 1851 | Cawnpur. |
| 1799 | Serampur. | 1811 | Agra. |
| 1828 | Barisal. | 1826 | Muttra. |
| 1812 | Chittagong. | 1817 | Delhi. |
| 1812 | Dacca. | 1849 | Chitaura. |
| 1808 | Jessore. | | |
| 1804 | Cutwa. | 1812 | CEYLON. |
| 1804 | Dinajpur. | | Colombo. |
| 1818 | Suri, Birbum. | | Kandy, and Sub-stations.[2] |
| 1816 | Monghir. | | |

The total number of native members connected with the churches at the various stations, was in India 1140, and in

varied labours may bulk more in the public eye; but if the work is ill done, as in this case it is very apt to be, it will probably be found of no great value as regards either its immediate or more remote results.

[1] Miss. Her. 1846, p. 322; Ibid. 1852, p. 6. [2] Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1853, p. 53.

Ceylon 516, making together 1656.[1] This number may appear inconsiderable, compared with that in some other missions; but it ought to be remembered, that as our Baptist brethren do not baptize the children of the converts, a considerable allowance must be made on this account. It is a common idea, that none but the lowest orders of the people will embrace Christianity; but this is a great mistake: among the converts, there were a number of Brahmans, and others of the highest castes. Many of the baptized, however, afterwards apostatized, and that, in some instances, not long after their baptism. The number of backsliders, we apprehend, was owing partly to some of the missionaries, particularly the native preachers and others raised up in India, admitting persons to baptism without sufficient evidence of their Christian character; and partly to the peculiar circumstances of converts from among the Hindus, who are exposed to temptations so numerous and so powerful, that people in England can form little conception of them, while at the same time, their very imperfect views of divine truth, and their natural imbecility of mind, render them an easy prey to the snares and enticements with which they are surrounded. Even those of the converts who maintained their stedfastness, were by no means without their imperfections: many of them shewed much of the general corruption of human nature, and of those peculiar defects which belong to the Hindu; but yet their character was, on the whole, materially improved by the gospel, and was in various respects ornamental to it. Some who died gave pleasing evidence of the power of religion, in soothing and supporting the mind in the prospect of eternity.[2]

We must not, however, estimate the importance of the Baptist mission in India simply by its more immediate results. Perhaps there is no mission, if we take into account its whole bearings, which has had, directly and indirectly, so great and extensive an influence in regard to the propagation of Christianity in the world, and particularly among the heathen, as the Baptist mission in India.

[1] Rep. 1853, p. 56, 58. [2] Per. Acc. vol. vi. p. 301, 310.

## SECT. II.—JAMAICA.

In December 1813, Mr John Rowe sailed for Jamaica, and after his arrival he settled at Falmouth, on the north side of the island. Moses Baker, a man of colour, had for many years laboured among the slaves in that quarter, and baptized a considerable number of them, but being now old, he was desirous of obtaining help from England. Mr Rowe was accordingly sent to his assistance, and as new and promising fields of usefulness appeared to present themselves in various parts of the island, other missionaries were from time to time sent to occupy them, until at length stations were formed not only in Kingston, Spanish Town, Montego Bay, and others of the principal towns, but in many country parts of the island. . Numerous congregations were collected, thousands of the negroes were baptized and formed into churches, and there were also numbers who passed under the name of Inquirers. In carrying on their labours, the missionaries employed to a large extent persons from among the people themselves, who were called Leaders: it was, in fact, chiefly through their means that the work was carried on, or at least that the number of members and inquirers were so multiplied.[1]

In the history of the Methodist mission in Jamaica, we have already given numerous details of the hostility of the White people to missionaries. Though the Baptist missionaries were at first favourably received by some of the planters, yet, after some years, they and their congregations participated largely in that opposition; they were, in fact, more obnoxious to the colonists than any other denomination on the island. It is not necessary, however, to enter into extended details of the persecutions which they suffered, they were so similar to those of which we have already given an account.

In December 1831, an insurrection of the negroes, as we

[1] Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 289, 502, 678; vol. vi. p. 73, 236, 338; Miss. Herald, 1829, p. 84; Narrative of Recent Events connected with the Baptist Mission in Jamaica; Kingston, 1833, p. 2-24.

have already stated, broke out in the parish of St James', on the north side of the island, and quickly spread to the neighbouring parishes. It originated with persons connected with the Baptists, and accordingly, while a terrible outcry was raised against missionaries generally, yet against none was it so violent as the Baptist. Martial law having been proclaimed, three of the missionaries, Messrs Whitehorne, Knibb, and Abbot, were required to join the militia, the exemption from bearing arms usually granted to the ministers of religion ceasing under martial law. But their compliance with this order did not shield them from further oppression and insult. Two days after, they were arrested and hurried away under a guard in a canoe to the head-quarters at Montego Bay, a distance of twenty-one miles; but here they were, after a few hours, liberated on bail.[1]

A few days after, Mr Burchell, another of the missionaries, who had been on a visit to England, arrived off the island with some other fellow-labourers; but in consequence of the violent excitement which prevailed, the commander-in-chief, Sir Willoughby Cotton, directed him not to land immediately, but to go on board the Blanche frigate, then in Montego Bay harbour. His papers were at the same time taken for examination by the civil authorities; and though they were afterwards returned to him with an intimation that they were not found to contain any thing objectionable, this was accompanied with a recommendation, that for his own safety and that of the colony he should at once return to England. This, however, he declined doing, as he could not consent to leave the island in any way that might be considered or represented as dishonourable. He was kept as a prisoner nearly other three weeks, when the custos or chief magistrate wrote that he would be detained no longer, there being no evidence against him. This, however, did nothing to abate the fury of the colonists. He was assured that if he set his foot on shore his life would not be safe. Yielding, therefore, to the advice and remonstrances of his friends, he resolved to go on board an American vessel bound for New York, which was to sail the following day; but no sooner was this known,

[1] Facts and Documents connected with the late Insurrection, p. 9; Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1832, p. 25, 29; Anti-slavery Reporter, vol. v. p. 394, 405.

than a petition was drawn up, begging the custos to detain him; and as that magistrate refused to do so, a man of colour of the name of Samuel Stennet, who had been in jail on suspicion of being concerned in the insurrection, was got to swear that Mr Burchell and Mr Gardner, another of the missionaries, had said to himself and others, that the slaves were to be free after Christmas, and that, therefore, they were to fight and to pray for their liberty. On this charge both the missionaries were arrested and thrown into the common jail, which, however, Mr Burchell would never have reached alive, had not a body of the coloured people surrounded him on his landing, and protected him from the rage of his enemies. Before, however, their trial came on, Stennet acknowledged that he had sworn falsely, and that he had been instigated to do so by four gentlemen whom he named, one of whom assured him that the country would give him £10 a-year, and that he would make it £50. The bill against Mr Burchell was accordingly thrown out by the grand jury, no other evidence besides that of Stennet being offered in support of it. Even now, however, the rage of his enemies did not cease. They beset him in his lodgings, and appeared to threaten his life, upon which the chief justice advised him to leave the island, and having procured a military detachment to guard him through the streets, he personally accompanied him to the beach, where he embarked in a ship of war, and two days afterwards, he sailed for the United States.[1]

Mr Gardner was afterwards brought to trial, but the evidence alleged against him so completely broke down, that the attorney-general gave up the case, and declared he must be acquitted, which was done accordingly. Though Mr Knibb was also to have been tried, the attorney-general, finding how grievously he had failed in the case of Mr Gardner, abandoned the prosecution.[2]

So infuriated, however, were the colonists against the Baptists, that they destroyed their chapels at Montego Bay, Salter's Hill, Falmouth, St Ann's Bay, Ridgeland, Rio Bueno, Brown's Town, Savannah La Mer, and Ebony, and likewise other property in various parts of the island, avowing their determination to be

[1] Miss. Herald, 1832, p. 30, 36, 45; Facts and Documents, p. 18; Narrative of Recent Events connected with the Baptist Mission in Jamaica, p. 64, 71.

[2] Narrative of Recent Events connected with the Baptist Mission in Jamaica, p. 74, 86.

satisfied with nothing short of rooting them out of the country. Among the actors in these scenes of outrage, were numbers of magistrates and officers of the militia, men who by their office were bound to be the protectors of the inhabitants, and we also find a clergyman of the Church of England, the Rev. B. Heath, the Rector of Lucea, who was afterwards shot in a duel. The value of the property thus destroyed was estimated at the time at about £12,000, but it was afterwards stated to amount to £17,900.[1]

[1] Facts and Documents, p. 3, 8; Narrative of Recent Events connected with the Baptist Mission in Jamaica, p. 114; Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1835, Appendix.

The following is the estimate in Jamaica currency, formed at the time, of the sums which would be required to build the chapels, and to replace the other property which had been destroyed :—

*Chapels.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Montego Bay, pulled down at mid-day by the inhabitants, headed by several magistrates, | £6000 | 0 | 0 |
| Salter's Hill, burnt by order of the captain of militia stationed at Latium, | 4000 | 0 | 0 |
| St Ann's Bay, pulled down by the inhabitants of the parish, | 3500 | 0 | 0 |
| Falmouth, pulled down by the St Ann's militia, while occupied as barracks, | 3000 | 0 | 0 |
| Ridgeland or Fuller's Field, burnt by two overseers, | 1000 | 0 | 0 |
| Rio Bueno, burnt, | 1000 | 0 | 0 |
| Brown's Town, pulled down by the inhabitants, | 800 | 0 | 0 |
| Savannah la Mer, pulled down by the parishioners, | 700 | 0 | 0 |
| Ebony, burnt, | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| Stewart's Town, injured to the amount of | 250 | 0 | 0 |
| Total amount of Chapel property destroyed, | £20,750 | 0 | 0 |

*Mission Property in Houses rented.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Gurney's Mount, pulpit, benches, &c. | 300 | 0 | 0 |
| Putney, benches burnt, | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| Lucea, benches and lamps, | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| Ocho Rios Pulpit, pews and benches, | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| | £21,250 | 0 | 0 |
| Chapel at Lucea belonging to the General Baptist Society, but occupied by the Particular Baptist missionaries, pulled down, offered for sale for | 900 | 0 | 0 |
| Losses in horses, furniture, clothes, books, &c., partly belonging to individual missionaries, and partly to the Society, about | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| | £22,650 | 0 | 0 |

To this might be added, considerable expenses incurred by travelling, expresses, and trials in the courts of law.

For all this destruction of property, no redress could be obtained from the Jamaica House of Assembly; but on a representation being made to the Home Government, it agreed to make, in the first instance, a grant of £5510, being the amount of debts due

Fresh outrages continued to be committed on the missionaries in various parts of the island. One night a band of White men, principally overseers and book-keepers from the neighbouring estates, attacked the house of Mr Baylis at Mount Charles, about eighteen miles from Kingston. Armed with swords, pistols, and muskets, they rode up to it howling like a pack of savages, and after wounding the watchman, a poor old negro, they broke open the house, fired their muskets and pistols in each of the bed-rooms, demolished the window of the small chamber in which Mrs Baylis and her infant were lying, so that the bed was nearly covered with the fragments of glass, and one of them took a lighted candle and attempted to set fire to the room. An alarm, however, being given, the ruffians made a precipitate retreat without fully accomplishing their wicked designs.[1]

A still more ferocious attack was made on Mr Kingdon at Savannah la Mer. On going to re-occupy that station, he was met with all manner of threats and insults: sometimes, it was said, he should be sent on board a ship; sometimes, tarred and feathered; sometimes, murdered. Mrs Robe, in whose house he held meetings for prayer, and for teaching the people to read, after he had procured its registration in the Bishop's Court, was subjected to fines, amounting to £30, for suffering an unlawful assembly of slaves in her house, and for attending the same. One night, about 9 o'clock, a party in disguise, and armed, to the number of about fifty or sixty persons, marched up the street where Mr Kingdon lodged, and, wheeling about in front of the house, commenced a furious attack on the door and windows. A few of his friends had assembled in the house, in the hope of preventing such an attack, of which there were some apprehensions, as there had been a meeting of the Colonial Church Union in the town that day; and some females in an upper apartment, imprudently threw out boiling water on the

on the chapels at the time of their demolition; but as this still left a deficit of £12,390, the government subsequently intimated that it would furnish a moiety of that sum, on condition that the Society raised the other half. A subscription was accordingly opened for this purpose, and was so successful, that more than double the amount required to secure the sum promised by government was raised, nearly £14,000 having been contributed.—*Facts and Documents*, p. 3; *Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc.* 1835, Appendix.

[1] Anti-slavery Reporter, vol. v. p. 240; Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1832, p. 30.

assailants, which extinguished an ignited rocket beneath, and drove them back for a moment. Immediately after, however, they opened a fire into the windows of the upper storey, and in return, the party within fired some shots at them. One or two of them were slightly wounded, but none within the house were injured. Though shots came in at both windows of the small study where Mr Kingdon and his wife were, yet they both escaped unhurt. Before the firing was over, they were advised by their friends to escape if possible, which they accordingly did. Mr Williams, one of the magistrates, having arrived, and attempted to pacify the mob, they promised to desist if Messrs A. and J. Deleon, to one of whom the house belonged, and who had both particularly befriended Mr Kingdon, would with him quit the house; but as they and others of his friends were leaving it, the miscreants treacherously fired on them, though happily without wounding any except one of their own party. They now attempted to pull down the house, entered it, and broke all the furniture; but as they were not able to effect their purpose without the help of axes, they renewed the attack on the following night, when they fully accomplished their design. They also nearly destroyed the house of Mr John Deleon, and that in the presence of and in spite of every exertion made by the Custos and others. The Custos and others of the authorities exerted themselves for the protection of Mr Kingdon, while he at their desire agreed to leave the town, but though he did so, a warrant for his apprehension, signed by one of the magistrates named Whitelock, was sent after him, and he was thrown into jail, where the two Deleons and others of his friends had been sent the night before, on the charge of having fired on the people in the street. After lying in prison between three and four weeks, during which they were subjected to the tyranny of an inimical jailor, Mr Kingdon and the two Messrs Deleons were liberated on bail, each for £500, and the like sum by their sureties; but as the mob were greatly incensed at this, they had to make their escape from the jail to the sea-shore, and there embark in a canoe. At the assizes the attorney-general sent in no bill against Mr Kingdon, being convinced that he was not concerned in the conflict; but true bills were found against his

friends Mr John Deleon and Mr Dolphy for felony, and they were again thrown into jail, there to wait their trial on this charge, though they had been only defending their own lives and property. The court even refused to admit them to bail; but on a memorial being submitted to his Excellency the Governor, he took such steps as resulted in their liberation on bail by the chief-justice. Whether they were ultimately brought to trial does not appear.[1]

This was not the only act of hostility to the Baptists at Savannah la Mer. When Mr Gardner sent to that place for his furniture and books, he found that the whole had been thrown into the highway, and nearly all destroyed. The very foundations of the chapel had been dug up, and the stones carted away from the spot at mid-day.[2]

Others of the missionaries, when they proposed again commencing their labours, which had for a time been suspended, were refused licences by the magistrates for themselves, or for the houses in which they designed holding their meetings; and some on preaching in one parish, on the ground that they had been licensed in another, (which was afterwards declared by the highest legal authorities to be the law of the island), were apprehended and thrown into prison. At Montego Bay, one Mrs Renwick was fined in £20 for allowing a meeting in her house, though no legal evidence was adduced of any slave being present. The magistrates appeared to be determined to put a stop to the labours of the missionaries; and, with this view, they insisted on their not preaching without being themselves licensed, and likewise the houses in which the meetings were to be held, while, at the same time, when applications were made to them for these purposes, they refused to grant licenses either for the one or the other.[3]

[1] Miss. Herald, 1832, p. 83, 90; Ibid. 1833, p. 13.

In the "Narrative of Recent Events connected with the Baptist Mission in Jamaica," published in 1833, we find the following statement: "Messrs J. and A. Deleon, after having lost property to the amount of several thousand pounds, were compelled, on being released from jail, to flee into the interior of the country, neglecting their business, and leaving their wives, children, and property, exposed to insult and depredation; and to this day they have not ventured to return," p. 147.

[2] Miss. Herald, 1833, p. 35; Narrative of Recent Events connected with the Baptist Mission in Jamaica, p. 139, 147, 157.

[3] Miss. Herald, 1832, p. 70, 78; Ibid. 1833, p. 20, 35, 36, 39.

These are only a few examples of the outrages committed on the Baptist missionaries, and on the people who were connected with, or who befriended them; but, combined with the accounts which we have already given of the treatment of the Methodists, they sufficiently shew the spirit of hostility which prevailed at this time in Jamaica against missionaries, not excepting any one denomination.

After some time the opposition to the Baptists gradually subsided throughout the island. This was very much owing to the wise and firm conduct of Earl Mulgrave, the new governor, who shewed himself the decided friend of the missionaries and of religious toleration. But though the persecution of the Baptists was by this means stopped, the dislike of them continued for years to be very general throughout the island, and it was much increased by the imprudent conduct and the violent language against the White people of more than one of the missionaries, particularly on the subject of wages to the negroes, when slavery was finally abolished.

Dislike of the Baptist missionaries, and of the system pursued by them, was not indeed confined to the irreligious portion of the community. They appear to have made enemies to themselves very generally of the ministers and missionaries of other denominations throughout the island. Many and grievous were the charges brought against them by pious ministers of the Church of England, by the whole of the Presbyterian missionaries, and by nearly all the Independent missionaries and catechists; and some of the most serious of these charges were admitted and lamented by several of their own number. How far they were true or false, we are not prepared to say. It is, perhaps, scarcely possible to pass a sound and intelligent judgment upon them in this country. It was in Jamaica only that they could be duly investigated, but no investigation of them could be satisfactory, which was made either on the one hand by Baptists only, or on the other by Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Independents. The investigation required to be made, not by partizans on either side, who were probably disposed beforehand to acquit or to condemn the accused, but by intelligent, unbiassed, straightforward, honourable men, who would sift the charges to the bottom, and carefully weigh

the evidence before them, who would have no object in view but to ascertain the truth, and who would give forth a full, fair, honest, and impartial verdict to the world.[1]

In August 1842, the missionaries and churches in Jamaica

[1] Though we are not prepared to pronounce judgment in regard to the charges brought against the Baptist missionaries, we think it right to give the following brief statement of the chief of them, with a few remarks as to some of them.

1. That the missionaries did not give due instruction to the people connected with them; that they left them chiefly to the care of persons called Leaders, either male or female; that these leaders were themselves generally very ignorant and superstitious; that some of them exercised a very arbitrary and tyrannical authority over the people under them, or were even scandalously immoral in their conduct; that instances were not wanting of their employing their power and influence for the seduction of females who were seeking, through them, admission into the church; that when a leader himself was a delinquent, it was rare to find among the private members any daring enough to inform upon him; that in some cases the leader was so powerful, and excision would have been followed by the loss of so many members and inquirers, who would have withdrawn with him, that though satisfactory information of wicked conduct on his part was received, the missionary did not venture to call him to account; that in other cases, in which the missionary proceeded so far as to receive an accusation against a leader, and to manifest a willingness to hear evidence against him, the accused promptly met the charge with a threat to withdraw from the church, and to carry his class along with him, if it should be persisted in; and that in some instances, when the missionary would not yield but proceeded to expel the guilty man from the fellowship of the church, the latter took that course, and was able not only to set the sentence at nought, but to set up as a minister himself, and forthwith baptized hundreds to form his church.—*Remonstrance of the Presbytery of Jamaica with the Baptist Missionaries*, p. 21, 27, 34, 37; *Statement and Correspondence relating to the Baptist Mission in Jamaica, occasioned by the misrepresentations of the Rev. Richard Panton, by Edward Steane*, p. 8, 10; *Barrett's Reply to the Circular of the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society*, p. 9; *An Exposition of the System pursued by the Baptist Missionaries in Jamaica, by the Missionaries and Catechists of the Missionary Society in that Island*, p. 7, 12, 15, 17, 25; *Milne*, Falmouth Post, Sept. 1, 1841, p. 5; Sept. 8, 1841, p. 5; Oct. 6, 1841, p. 5; *Renshaw*, Falmouth Post, Oct. 13, 1841, p. 4; *Whitehorne*, Morning Journal, Oct. 11, 1841; *Reid*, Morning Journal, Nov. 18, 1841.

2. That great laxity prevailed in the admission of church members; that the missionaries received persons into the church not only chiefly on the instruction, but on the authority and recommendation of the leaders, and that the great criterion which many of these men employed in judging whether they would recommend their followers for baptism was their dreams, which they consider as the work of the Spirit, and which generally consisted of the wildest and most absurd vagaries; that multitudes were baptized who were ignorant of the commonest principles of religion, whose notions were utterly unscriptural, and often exceedingly wild and stupid, and who gave no evidence of a change of heart or of personal piety: some were even immoral persons, living in gross sin.—*Remonstrance of Presbytery*, p. 22, 27; *Barrett's Reply*, p. 12; *Exposition of the System of the Baptist Missionaries in Jamaica*, p. 11, 12, 22; *Vine*, Falmouth Post, May 5, 1841, p. 5; *Wooldridge*, Falmouth Post, Sept. 8, 1841, p. 5; *Milne*, Falmouth Post, Oct. 6, 1841, p. 5; *Reid*, Morning Journal, Nov. 18, 1841.

3. That the discipline of the Baptist churches in Jamaica was most lax; that it was left in a great measure to the leaders and deacons, and that they concealed and connived at sin in those under their care—(*Remonstrance of Presbytery*, p. 34); that the

became independent of the Society in England; the people having undertaken to provide for the support of their own ministers, and also for the spread of the gospel around them.[1] Whether this resolution was adopted simply from their ability

corruption found in them was so gross that, if it could be fully disclosed, it would exceed belief; that persons known to all the class to which they belonged, and to all the village in which they lived, to be dishonest, drunkards, sabbath-breakers, and unclean persons, were members of them, and went on for years unchallenged in their sins; that individuals entrusted with the charge of schools, and permitted to occupy the pulpit on Sabbath-days, had been notoriously charged with gross, nay the grossest sins, and yet the missionaries, and the churches with which they were connected, failed to exercise the necessary discipline, and neither cleared them as innocent, nor condemned them as guilty.—*Exposition of the System of the Baptist Missionaries in Jamaica*, p. 12, 24.

4. That the missionaries, through the leaders, exacted large sums of money from the various classes of their people; that the sums thus raised were often far from being given voluntarily, but were extorted from the people; and that there were instances of persons being excluded from the Lord's table when the money required of them was not forthcoming: that the moneys thus drawn from the people were not duly nor publicly accounted for; that while the missionaries raised very large sums in Jamaica, they continued to receive their salaries from the Society in England, and that some of them, by means of the sums so raised, maintained an extravagant style of living, utterly inconsistent with their rank and character.—*Remonstrance of Presbytery*, p. 38; *Exposition of the System of the Baptist Missionaries in Jamaica*, p. 13, 21, 26; *Vine*, Falmouth Post, May 5, 1841, p. 5; *Barrett*, Morning Journal, Oct. 23, 1841.

5. That the system of giving tickets to their members and inquirers was attended with many and great evils; that these were given to persons not only without discrimination, but often without any knowledge of the individuals; that multitudes got them who were never in a Baptist place of worship, nor ever saw a Baptist minister; that a sum of money was paid for them, and that they appear to be sold to all or any who will pay for them, like any other purchaseable commodity; that inquirers' tickets were given to persons known to be living in fornication; that they were a source of great delusion, were with many a substitute for true religion, and were viewed by them as a passport to heaven; and hence they were often buried with the dead in their coffins.—*Remonstrance of Presbytery*, p. 42; *Barrett's Reply*, p. 11; *Exposition of the System of the Baptist Missionaries in Jamaica*, p. 10, 16, 19, 22; *Statement and Correspondence*, p. 6, 12; *Evan. Mag.* 1842, p. 400; *Milne*, Falmouth Post, Sept. 22, 1841, p. 6; *Reid*, Morning Journal, Nov. 18, 1841.

6. That the Baptist leaders, and many of the missionaries also, were exceedingly uncharitable toward other churches, and attached a very undue importance to baptism administered by immersion; that many, at least, of the former appeared to consider persons not so baptized as scarcely Christians, while such as were baptized in this way, they thought had their sins pardoned, were new creatures, and were sure of heaven; that the leaders, and also the missionaries, endeavoured to keep their people from attending on the ministrations of other denominations, though they had not the opportunity of attending on those of their own; that the missionaries were the Ishmaelites of the community; that they appeared to think the Baptists should have a monopoly of Jamaica, and sought by all manner of arts to injure, and to destroy, if possible, the stations of other denominations in the island.—*Remonstrance of Presbytery*, p. 24, 25, 47; *Exposition of the System of the Baptist Missionaries in Jamaica*, p. 22; *Barrett's*

[1] Miss. Herald, 1843, p. 4.

and willingness to maintain Christian ordinances among themselves, and from their desire that the contributions of British Christians might be employed in diffusing Christianity in other lands, or whether it was hastened on by the discussions which

*Reply*, p. 6, 16; *Vine*, Falmouth Post, May 5, 1841, p. 5; Morning Journal, Sept. 10, 1841.

7. That while the people were led to attach a very undue importance to baptism by immersion, they were not Baptists in the ordinary sense of the word; that a large proportion of them, including many of the leaders and deacons, had their children baptized, or as they call it christened, in the Church of England, and that the leaders, both male and female, stood, in some instances, as godfathers and godmothers for the children, not only of married persons, but of such as were leading immoral lives, and came under the vows required of them in the baptismal service; that there was not, perhaps, a missionary or minister of any denomination in the island who had not had frequent applications from people belonging to the Baptist churches to baptize or christen their children; that the Baptist missionaries had even substituted a ceremony for infant baptism, which consisted in laying their hands on the children, and blessing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, with the view of pandering to the prejudices of their people, who accepted this as an equivalent for infant baptism, or as they call it, Christening.—*Remonstrance of Presbytery*, p. 48, 62; *Statement and Correspondence*, p. 9; *Barrett's Reply*, p. 4; *Exposition of the System of the Baptist Missionaries in Jamaica*, p. 22.

8. That most disgraceful and superstitious practices prevailed in the meetings of the leaders and members of the Baptist churches; that some of these practices were connected with the Obeah and Myal superstitions, which prevailed greatly among them in some places, or they were mixed up with other foolish and fanatical notions, forming a gross mixture of heathenism and Christianity.—*Remonstrance of Presbytery*, p. 38, 49, 56.

These charges were brought against the Baptist missionaries in the strongest and most unqualified terms by their various accusers, and, on the other hand, they were generally, with the exception of that in regard to the people getting their children baptized, which was attempted to be explained away, as stoutly denied by the missionaries themselves.—*Statement and Correspondence*, p. 3, 5, 11, 15; *Statement by the Baptist Missionary Society*, January 1842, p. 4; *Evan. Mag.* 1842, p. 188; *Baptist Herald and Friend of Africa*, May 31, 1843, p. 2, 4, 6, 7.

It is, at first sight, not easy to believe that such monstrous charges as most of these are, could be true. That any class of Christian missionaries, and especially that missionaries of the Baptist denomination, which professes to follow so closely Scripture authority and example, and which is generally supposed to be particularly strict in its communion and discipline, should admit of such practices in their churches, seems so improbable—so utterly incredible, that on first hearing of them, one is naturally disposed at once to reject them as palpable mistakes or gross calumnies.

But neither, on the other hand, is it easy to believe that so many Christian ministers belonging to various religious denominations, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, and even Baptists themselves—united by no common ties, resident in all different parts of the island, and without any combination among them—should allege the existence of these evils, and should agree so much in their allegations in regard to them, and give so many particular details respecting them; that in making these statements some at least should appear to have been actuated by an honest and earnest desire for the reformation of the alleged evils, while others subjected themselves to obloquy and suffering on account of the testimony they gave, and yet that after all the

were then going on in England, relative to the conduct of the missionaries and the character of their churches, we do not know; but we cannot help thinking, that on the latter account, the time was ill chosen for issuing a declaration of independence,

charges should be false. This, in fact, is scarcely less difficult of belief than the other supposition, however incredible it might at first sight appear.

The testimony of the Baptist missionaries who took part in the charges, deserves special consideration. Mr Whitehorne, a native of Jamaica, who was bred to the law, but who had now been a missionary for a number of years, thus wrote to the Society of the leader and the ticket system: "A detail of the evils which are produced by these two contrivances would fill a volume." "It is enough for me to declare, that in my opinion they degrade and demoralize the people to an incredible extent—that so mischievous do they seem to me, as to lead to the belief of their being an artifice of the devil for deluding thousands of wretched souls in this land; and that I have never read or heard any one thing concerning them, be it never so bad, but I could furnish at least one counterpart.

"These devices, however, form the *substratum* of the great prosperity of the Baptist Mission in Jamaica, of which so much is heard. It is by the untiring zeal of the leaders to extend, by any means, their power, and by the *inexplicable* veneration in which those little tickets are held, that the thousands of persons are brought and kept together, and the thousands of pounds are obtained for building elegant chapels, schoolhouses, and for all other purposes. The hasty visitor—the passing spectator—looks at the imposing surface, and is lost in raptures; he knows nothing of the hideous machinery beneath; he sees the exterior of the people, but is ignorant of the ruinous effect upon their souls and morals of those very means which produce the pleasing aggregate. Such a person is in the position of the inexperienced visitor at the theatre, where gay scenery, elegant dresses, and painted faces occupy the foreground, while behind the curtain lay concealed filth and vice and squalid wretchedness." "With the deep conviction on my mind that the ministers of large congregations, especially those employing leaders, do not, and cannot know many of their people,—with the intimate knowledge I possess of the kind of evidence on which principally they accept them as Christians—and with the abundant reasons I have for believing that very few of them, comparatively, have a particle of religion, or are in morals at all superior to the common herd—I must confess I read of the multitudinous baptisms weekly announced, with feelings little short of disgust. I mourn on account of the contempt into which 'Christian immersion' is thus brought among opposing Christians—the injury inflicted upon pure Christianity in the minds of sceptics and blasphemers—and the ruinous delusion which is thrown around the consciences of the ignorant, unreflecting multitude." —*Morning Journal*, Oct. 11, 1841.

In another letter addressed to the Rev. Mr Renshaw, a minister from America, Mr Whitehorne says, "The nature of the leader system is this: a man of some influence upon the estate (usually in the time of slavery, the driver of the gang, or some other principal person) commences a meeting; this may be either before or after he has been attending a chapel. He collects a lot of persons, from 10 to 200 in number, and after some absurd and superstitious forms and ceremonies, they become his spiritual 'children,' and they own him as 'daddy.' The sway for good or evil which is now established and exercised over them is unbounded; their obedience, their labour, their property, and their entire persons are under his sovereign control. He goes to a minister and carries his troop of 'children' along with him; by means of a few hackneyed religious phrases, he (the missionary) is easily persuaded to receive them into his congregation, and the 'daddy' is duly installed as leader." "I have known some very

unless it had been accompanied by effective measures for obtaining a thorough and impartial investigation of the grave and serious charges which had been brought against them. This was loudly called for, both for their own sakes, if they were

good men among the leaders (some of whom, by the way, have loudly condemned the system); they, however, are the exception. For the most part, the leaders are proud, overbearing, avaricious, and lascivious men; the flock have to pander to their views, and they have a galling yoke to bear." "My firm conviction is, that the leaders as a class are among the worst people in the island. What, then, is the religion which they retail to the people? and what the churches they are principally instrumental in constructing?"—*Falmouth Post*, Oct. 13, 1841.

Mr Reid, another of the missionaries, in a letter addressed to the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society, but which he published in Jamaica, says, "I publicly avow my belief that the leader and ticket system is not more unscriptural in its character than it is demoralizing and soul-destroying in its operation.

"I am prepared with evidence to prove—evidence arising from facts which have occurred within the reach of my own observation, the following points in this system:

"1. That the leaders generally have not only been destitute of the knowledge of salvation, but that they have been grossly superstitious.

"2. That the services performed by the leaders in their classes were such as to render it next to impossible for those connected with their classes to become acquainted with the gospel.

"3. That the greater number trusted for salvation in the superstitious observances of the class-room, to the possession of a ticket, and to admission into the church.

"4. That in consequence of these things, the majority of those who have been baptized were, at the time, strangers to a change of heart, and many knew neither who Jesus Christ is, nor what he has done."—*Morning Journal*, Nov. 18, 1841.

In consequence of the views published by Messrs Whitehorne and Reid, the connection of both with the Baptist Missionary Society was dissolved by the Committee (*Morning Journal*, June 3, 1842; *Bapt. Herald and Friend of Africa*, Oct. 19, 1842, p. 320), a measure which can scarcely fail to excite suspicions in the mind of neutral persons, considering the circumstances under which it was adopted.

Mr Kingdon, another of the missionaries, speaks in most unfavourable terms of the state of religion in the Baptist churches in Jamaica, and considers the leader and ticket system as among the prominent causes of "this sad state of things;" nor was this a mere temporary feeling, it had been his view for years, and he refers to three others of the missionaries who had years before expressed similar opinions.—*Morning Journal*, June 22, 1842.

Mr Coultart, another of the missionaries, who died some years ago, and of whom the Committee speak in the highest terms (*Report*, 1837, p. 21), in a private letter, written in July 1835, makes the following statements: "As to rejoicing in great numbers, I cannot look back upon such accessions as legitimate. A large and indiscriminate gathering in may tell at home where realities are unknown; but when truth is made known, these will tell as exaggerated hopes do, of shame and loss and disappointment." "Hitherto we have begun at the wrong end; baptism without teaching or discipleship, is very unscriptural. The common tale which hundreds have told, and hundreds would tell, of loving God and hating sin, and having forsaken the ways of the world, does not inspire belief in me now, though it did once, before my convictions were what they are, *i.e.*, generally speaking. There are scarcely any who know what the work of God upon the heart means—no scriptural conversions to any amount, I mean." "I

innocent, and for the sake of the Baptist Missionary Society, and of the general cause of Christian missions. We are well aware of the difficulty there would have been in obtaining men possessed of the qualifications necessary for carrying on such an

do not expect our missionary brethren in the towns will come to this self-denying system speedily. They do not get much among the people; they do not therefore see them as they are. No man shut out from a very intimate acquaintance with the people, will believe the active operation of sin, its constant and aggravating development." —*Exposition of the System of the Baptist Missionaries in Jamaica*, p. 32.

It is stated that Mr Coultart wrote numerous letters to the Committee, in which he fully unfolded his sentiments in regard to the great numbers baptized, and the indiscriminate admission of church members by his brethren, and that nearly the last thing he did before his death was to repeat his written testimony on this subject.—*Barrett's Reply*, p. 3, 10.

To these statements by some of the Baptist missionaries themselves, we may add, that the Rev. Mr Renshaw from America, who settled over a church composed originally of persons whom Mr Whitehorne had excluded when he dissolved his own church, with the view of forming another on more scriptural principles, came after some time to entertain similar opinions of the corrupt state of the Baptist churches in Jamaica. —*Falmouth Post*, Oct. 13, 1841, p. 4.

In fact, in the very numbers baptized by the missionaries, there were strong grounds of apprehension that due care and discrimination were not exercised by them in the admission of church members. In January 1842, the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society made the following statement: "In the last ten years the members of the churches have been multiplied from 10,000 to 30,000, the number of chapels from fifteen to fifty, while the congregations amount to about 80,000."- *Statement by the Baptist Missionary Society*, p. 2.

Mr Philippo, one of the missionaries, gives the following table of the numbers of the baptized, &c., in successive years from 1835 to 1842.

| | Baptized. | Restored. | Excluded. | Marriages. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1835 | 2606 | 210 | 156 | 1468 |
| 1836 | 2950 | 205 | 213 | 881 |
| 1837 | 2120 | 283 | 296 | 705 |
| 1838 | 2874 | 352 | 267 | 1942 |
| 1839 | 3457 | 161 | 541 | 1614 |
| 1840 | 4684 | 420 | 461 | 1256 |
| 1841 | — | — | — | — |
| 1842 | 2659 | 340 | 777 | 496 |

—*Philippo's Jamaica, its Past and Present State*, Lond. 1843, p. 297.

In one day, we find 170 persons added to Mr Burchell's church; in one year 330, and in another year no fewer than 647. In one year Mr Taylor of Old Harbour received 357 members into the church in Vere and that in Clarendon; in another year Mr Knibb of Falmouth baptized 385 persons. In one year Mr Clarke of Jericho baptized 519 persons, and in another year 630. In about five months Mr Philippo added by baptism between 500 and 600 to his church at Spanish Town.—*Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc.* 1836, p. 20, 22; *Ibid.* 1837, p. 18, 19, 24; *Ibid.* 1838, p. 24; *Statement by Bapt.*

investigation as was required, and of the heavy expense which it would have involved; yet still the case was of that important and urgent kind, that no effort at least should have been spared to obtain such an investigation as we have described.

*Miss. Soc.* January 1842, p. 9; *Exposition of the System of the Baptist Missionaries*, p. 11; *Miss. Her.* 1836, p. 29. Such numbers excite our jealousy, and lead us to fear that the charge of laxity in the admission of church members, and other charges in relation to this matter, may have had but too good a foundation. We know of no example in the history of missions where multitudes were admitted to the communion of the church in which this was not the result of unscriptural laxity, and it would require very clear and conclusive evidence to satisfy us that the present case was an exception to so general and well established a fact.

We are well aware that much ignorance and much prejudice often prevail among different denominations in regard to each other; that these, when circumstances arise to call them into action, are apt to give rise to evil surmisings and evil speakings of one another, and that there are few parts of the world where this has been more lamentably exemplified than in the Island of Jamaica.* Few persons, in consequence of this, are qualified to weigh Jamaica evidence. This originally led us to reject the evil stories which we heard of the Baptist missionaries, and it has all along made us slow in believing them. It is necessary to bear in mind, that many of the details on which the missionaries of other denominations found their charges, were not known to them personally; that they must very generally have received their information from others, often from negroes, and it is well known that negro testimony is not much to be relied on. Probably too, the missionaries of other denominations were, in many instances, in consequence of the provocations they had received, too ready to listen to and to give credit to evil stories about the Baptists, and too eager to criminate them.

But, on the other hand, it is of importance to remark, that though many of the details of corruption in the Baptist churches should be found unsupported by adequate evidence, or should even be shown to be false, it will not follow that the general charge is untrue. Many circumstances may be proved to be incorrect, particular examples may entirely fail, and yet the charges themselves may be substantially supported by other and conclusive evidence.

Before we close, we cannot but express our deep regret at the course pursued by the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society in regard to this important matter. Though they professed to be anxious to ascertain the truth, and to have repeatedly investigated the charges brought against the missionaries, yet, so far as appears, no proper investigation of them ever was made or even attempted. The chief witnesses who were called were the missionaries themselves, and on their representations and protestations of their innocence, the Committee pronounced a verdict of acquittal, though they could not but know that the plea of *not guilty* would avail a panel nothing in any court

* We have often deeply lamented the unchristian and unhallowed spirit in which missionaries in Jamaica wrote of and to each other. "Your own gentle nature," says Mr Whitehorne, in a letter to the late Mr Dyer, secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, "has often, doubtless, been sorely grieved by the acrimonious spirit in which our missionaries, in common with many other Christian ministers in the island, are in the habit of indulging in their speeches, letters, and public communications. It matters not whether the subject be political or religious, or the person attacked be Jew, heathen, or Christian, of the same or of a different sect, the whole vocabulary of invectives is brought into requisition. No motive seems too base to be imputed to an opponent, no feeling too bitter to be entertained against him, nor any language too gross in which to clothe it."—*Morning Journal*, Oct. 11, 1841. This is no exaggerated statement. What a spectacle this to exhibit before the ungodly inhabitants of Jamaica!

The whole body of the missionaries were not satisfied as to the practicability and wisdom of relieving the Society altogether of the burden of their support; but the Committee had for some years past found much difficulty in maintaining its extended missions, and the great number of members in the churches in Jamaica, and the liberality which they had long manifested, naturally gave rise to expectations both in England and Jamaica, that they were able and ought now to support their own pastors. This was certainly a most important and desirable object; but the proposal appeared ultimately to have been premature. The congregations in Jamaica had expended large sums in the erection of chapels, schools, and mission-houses; but though they had contributed a large amount for these objects, there were also considerable sums which had been borrowed from the banks, which were then very ready to make advances of money on loan. Commerce, however, took so unfavourable a turn, that these establishments judged it necessary not merely to restrict, but to recal their advances. The missionaries were reduced in consequence of this to great perplexity and distress. Mr Knibb, through whose influence the proposal to relieve the Society of the further support of the missionaries had been carried, was deputed to England to try and obtain assistance; and on his laying the case before the Society, they voted

of law, nor would it be received by any rational man as a proof of innocence. But we object not to the witnesses only: we object equally to the judges. They were themselves parties in the cause. If the missionaries were guilty, the Committee were deeply involved in their guilt, for having for so many years permitted such monstrous evils to exist in missions supported by them at great expense and under their care and control. They were, therefore, quite disqualified for trying the question; for no man is fit to be a judge in his own cause. They accordingly appear not to have been open to conviction, but to have been prepared to resist all evidence. "Knowing the pious and devoted character of the missionary brethren, 'men who had hazarded their lives' for the diffusion of the gospel in Jamaica" (these are their own words in a letter to the churches in that island), "the Committee never believed—THEY COULD NOT BELIEVE—these accusations."—(*Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc.* 1847, p. 41.) In perfect unison with these words was the conduct of the Committee. Towards the witnesses *for* and *against* the missionaries, they acted on quite opposite principles. Of the one they were most easy of belief: of the other, they were most incredulous, not excepting even some of their own missionaries. They sought, in fact, in one way or other to discredit every man whose testimony was unfavourable to their views.—(*Statement by the Baptist Missionary Society*, January 1842, p. 3, 10, and *Reports, passim.*) Before the question can be settled, before we can hope to receive an impartial verdict, we must have other judges than the Committee of the Society, as well as other witnesses besides the missionaries.

the sum of £6000 for the liquidation of the debt on the chapels, on the understanding that the people themselves would provide for the remainder. This was done on the distinct understanding that the missionaries and the churches in Jamaica were not to look to the Society for further support or aid, that this was to be considered as a final grant, and that henceforth they must depend entirely on themselves. But though on this subject the Committee held firm and decided language to the missionaries and the churches in Jamaica, many circumstances combined to reduce the ability of the people to contribute for these ends. The planters in Jamaica were from various causes involved in great commercial distress, the cultivation of many estates was abandoned, there was a great reduction in the wages of the labourers, and many were even thrown out of work altogether, so that the members of the churches were no longer able to contribute as they had once done. A worldly spirit also greatly prevailed, and rendered many of them less willing than formerly. There was likewise much declension among the members, and the unsoundness of the religious profession of many of them now became manifest. Great numbers joined what were called the Native Baptist Churches,[1] while others threw aside religion

[1] We shall here give a few notices regarding the Native Baptists, as we think their history is not without instruction.

The first Baptist preacher in Jamaica was a Black man named George Lisle, who, though a slave, had been the pastor of a Baptist church in Georgia. He was brought to Jamaica about 1782 by his master, a British officer, who died soon afterwards, leaving his slaves their freedom. Soon after his arrival, he began to communicate religious instruction to the slaves and people of colour in Kingston and its neighbourhood; and he appears to have been labouring among them so late as 1822.

Other Black and Brown men became preachers to their countrymen in different parts of the island. They met, it is said, with much opposition and even persecution, but they are represented as having been exceedingly useful.

Of George Gibbs we are told, that "he laboured with great diligence and zeal, in the midst of persecution and privation, while all around was darkness and spiritual death. He was once thrown into Spanish Town jail, and confined there four days for preaching the gospel of Christ. Frequently he was taken while on estates at night and cast into a dungeon, and sometimes had his feet made fast in the stocks. Nothing discouraged, he persevered in travelling from place to place, making known Christ and his salvation to the perishing multitudes around him, and formed those of them who believed into a Christian church. Owing to the fearful state of Jamaica at that time, he baptized and administered the Lord's Supper under the shade of night, in unfrequented places, where his persecutors were not likely to come on him or his helpless flock. After a time, a piece of land was privately bought, and a sort of chapel was erected upon it. This was surrounded by swamps, and ground covered with trees and

altogether. In consequence of these and other circumstances, the contributions of the churches fell greatly off; and as a result of this, some of the missionaries were reduced to great pecuniary difficulties, and some left the island on account of

bushes. Here for a time they worshipped God, concealed from the view of their enemies, and hoped their secluded retreat would not become known. Soon, however, it was found out by two White men; the worshippers fled, and the building was speedily levelled to the ground.

"For years in succession, these poor creatures were liable to frequent, arbitrary, and excessive punishment, and in numerous instances they were called to endure the bitter effects of the same spirit that kindled the fires of Smithfield, and originated the cruelties of the Inquisition."

Of Moses Baker we are in like manner told, that soon after his arrival in Jamaica, he "began to speak to his poor countrymen about the Saviour, and found many of them disposed to hear. Amidst the greatest disadvantages, 'the word of the Lord grew and multiplied,' till in the course of little more than twenty years, it was computed that seven or eight thousand had renounced their heathen principles and practices, embraced the gospel, and been baptized."—*Cox' Hist.* vol. ii. p. 12, 17, 21, 24; *Philippo's Jamaica*, p. 270, 279; *Quarterly Papers, Bapt. Miss. Soc.* p. 30, 306.

What truth there is in these statements, we do not know; but we acknowledge we stand in great doubt of them, particularly as regards the usefulness of these early Baptist preachers. There is too much reason to fear that the instruction given, by some of them at least, was not only very imperfect, but was mingled with many false and superstitious notions; and it is alleged, that the early Baptist missionaries having been brought into connection with some of the native congregations, and many of the members having been received into the churches which were formed by them, there was thus introduced into them an evil leaven, which, with other circumstances, had a most baneful influence upon them."—*Remonstrance of the Presbytery of Jamaica with the Baptist Missionaries*, p. 55, 57; *Exposition of the System pursued by the Baptist Missionaries in Jamaica, by Missionaries of the London Missionary Society*, p. 8.

Mr Thomas Knibb, who was sent out to Jamaica by the Baptist Missionary Society in 1822, thus writes of the negro preachers soon after his arrival: "There are many persons who profess to be teachers who are as ignorant of the gospel as a Hindu or Hottentot. They preach to and live upon the people, and tell them tales that are as ridiculous as they are irreligious. One woman in the neighbourhood of Annatto Bay is looked up to with the greatest reverence. She calls herself Mammy Faith! She pretends to forgive sins to all she pleases, and many of the negroes are so weak as to fall down before her to obtain pardon. Some of the Black people go about the island preaching and baptizing. They generally have a book to preach out of, but sometimes mistake a spelling-book, or a dictionary, or any other book, for a Testament, and sometimes preach with it upside down."—*Miss. Her.* 1823, p. 74.

The Native Baptist churches in Jamaica have rapidly increased of late years. Great numbers of the members of the churches connected with the Baptist missionaries joined them. Some of these were deacons or leaders. Quarrels and differences having arisen between them and the missionaries, they were expelled by or broke off from them, set up for themselves, and generally carried along with them numbers of the people. In 1840 was formed the Native Baptist Missionary Society. In that year there were in connection with it "fourteen ministers, who had under their care twenty-five stations with 8264 persons attached to them as 'members of Society.'" In 1841, the very next year, the increase was 5323, making in all 13,687 persons. The church,

the insufficiency of their means of support. Afterwards, there came a fearful visitation of the cholera, which cut off great numbers of the members of the Baptist as well as of other churches, and gave rise to great distress and poverty throughout the island. These combined circumstances led to earnest and reiterated appeals by the missionaries to the committee in England, but they, feeling the importance of maintaining inviolate the principles which had formerly been laid down, and of keeping up a spirit of independence in the Jamaica churches, did not judge it advisable to grant them aid from the funds of the Society. They, however, opened a special subscription for giving assistance, to a moderate amount and for a limited time, to those pastors whose churches were not able to provide for their full support.[1]

In 1843, a theological institution was commenced in Jamaica for the purpose of training up a native ministry. It had great difficulties to contend with in the first instance. Most of those who originally entered it, were selected chiefly on the ground of what was considered their piety. They possessed very little preliminary education, and had in fact every thing to learn. Most of them were also married men, and the domestic circum-

originally formed by George Lisle in Kingston, consisted in 1826 of only thirty-nine persons; but in 1842, they amounted to 3700.

The Black and Coloured preachers of the Native Baptist churches were generally exceedingly ignorant. Some of them could not read or write, and were not even able to utter a single sentence intelligibly. Some were of doubtful and even of bad character, dishonest, quarrelsome, licentious persons. They, however, took to themselves and gave to one another the high-sounding title of *Reverend*.

Some few of the people who attached themselves to the Native Baptist preachers, may have had sufficient knowledge of what religion is, as to lay a foundation for "repentance toward God and of faith in our Lord Jesus Christ;" but the vast majority of them were grossly ignorant. Their religion consisted of a strange jumble of superstition, puerilities, and ridiculous ceremonies. Dreams had a great place among them, and it was chiefly by them as a test of character that persons were admitted as members of the churches. Many of them were grossly immoral.—*Christian Examiner*, vol. i. p. 219, 251, 252; *Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc.* 1837, p. 19; *Ibid.* 1838, p. 28; *Ibid.* 1842, p. 31.

In the history of these native Baptist churches we have a striking illustration of the evil and danger of ignorant teachers. "If," says our Lord, "the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch." There is at present a great call for a native agency; and missionaries had need to take care that those whom they send forth to teach others are themselves first well taught. We fear this is not always duly attended to.

[1] Memoir of the Rev. William Knibb, p. 404, 421, 474, 476, 480, 495; Miss. Her. 1845, p. 120, 141; Ibid. 1847, p. 85; Ibid. 1848, p. 22; Ibid. 1851, p. 57; Ibid. 1852, p. 11, 24; King's State and Prospects of Jamaica, p. 92, 106.

stances of at least some of them proved a great hinderance to their studies. Several discontinued them altogether; but those who persevered made creditable progress in them. Afterwards, more care was taken in the selection of students. It was resolved to admit in future none but unmarried men, unless in very peculiar circumstances. They were also required to possess a greater amount of previous knowledge. The number was always small, but it is stated they were promising young men as regarded both talents and piety. After passing through their course of education, several of them became pastors of churches in Jamaica; others were employed as schoolmasters and assistant-preachers.[1]

In 1852, the members of the churches connected with the Baptist Western Union in Jamaica, amounted to about 18,403. These churches were thirty-eight in number. Some of them were under native pastors; few of the old missionaries remained. The Western Union does not embrace the whole of the churches formerly in connection with the Baptist Missionary Society; what has become of the others does not appear. The numbers connected with them are much less than in former times. In 1842, the year in which they assumed independence, the total number of members was 33,658, and of inquirers 14,353. The diminution of the numbers of particular churches, is in some instances still more striking.[2] How far this may arise out of an improved character of the church members, we are not able to say.

Besides the missions to India and Jamaica, the Baptist Missionary Society sent others to Honduras, to the Bahama Islands, to Trinidad, to St Domingo, and to Western Africa. That to Honduras is no longer connected with the Society.

[1] Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1844, p. 51; Miss. Her. 1844, p. 333; Ibid. 1847, p. 139; Ibid. 1850, p. 28, 106; Ibid. 1851, p. 172; Ibid. 1852, p. 109; Ibid. 1853, p. 47.

[2] Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1843, p. 43, 66; Ibid. 1853, 49, 61.

# CHAPTER IX.

## PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

### SECT. I.—SOUTH SEA ISLANDS.

In September 1795, an institution was formed in London, on a large and respectable scale, for the propagation of the gospel among the heathen, under the name of The Missionary Society. It was composed of Christians of various denominations, who came forward in this great cause with a unanimity and a zeal never before witnessed in modern times. The flame kindled in the metropolis quickly spread over the whole country; it extended even to the Continent of Europe and the shores of America. The institution of the Missionary Society was every where hailed as a new era in the history of the Christian world.[1]

Scarcely was the Missionary Society instituted, when it turned its attention to the islands of the South Sea. The voyages of

[1] Sermons at the Formation of the Missionary Society, p. iii; Transactions of the Missionary Society, vol. i. p. xiv.

The individual who had the honour of giving rise to the London Missionary Society was the Rev. David Bogue of Gosport. It was an address by him on the subject of missions, in the Evangelical Magazine for September 1794, which led to the establishment of that Society.—*Bennet's Memoirs of the Rev. Dr Bogue*, p. 169, 193. *Sermons at the Formation of the Missionary Society*, p. iii. No great movement, indeed, ever takes place, either in the church or in the world, without the public mind being in some degree prepared for it. Such was the case with the Reformation and with the first revolution in France, and such also was the case, at this time, in regard to missions to the heathen. Of late years the thoughts of various individuals in different places and belonging to different denominations, were turned to the subject. In the very year now named, the Rev. Melville Horne, late chaplain of Sierra Leone, published "Letters on Missions, addressed to the Protestant Ministers of the British Churches," which, though one of the earliest, is also one of the most powerful appeals which have ever appeared on the subject. As, however, Luther was the more immediate instrument of originating the Reformation, so to Dr Bogue belongs the honour of giving rise to the London Missionary Society.

discovery made by order of His Majesty George the Third, in the Pacific Ocean, had brought to light innumerable groups of islands before unknown; but as they afforded little to excite the ambition of princes, or the avarice of merchants, they were again sinking into oblivion, and were ready to be abandoned to that state of ignorance and barbarism in which they were originally discovered.[1] Immediately, however, on the formation of the Missionary Society, the Rev. Dr Haweis, rector of Aldwinkle, in Northamptonshire, delivered before them a Memoir on the most eligible field for the commencement of their operations; and in this discourse he drew so enchanting a picture of the islands of the Pacific Ocean, that the directors resolved to commence their operations by a mission to that quarter of the world.[2] With this view they began to raise subscriptions, which poured in upon them from every quarter of the country; to examine and select missionaries, who came forward with alacrity and zeal to offer their services; and to make preparations for their distant voyage, and their settlement in the places of their destination. These, and innumerable other circumstances, which it is needless to notice, required no small degree of exertion; but every difficulty vanished before the energy and zeal of the Missionary Society.[3]

In August 1796, twenty-nine missionaries[4] embarked at Lon-

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. x.

[2] This was not the first time that Dr Haweis had proposed a mission to Tahiti. It was an object on which his heart had long been set, the reading of Cook's Voyages having, many years before, excited in him a strong desire to have missionaries sent to that island. In 1787, or perhaps a year earlier, he brought the subject under the notice of the Countess of Huntingdon, who entered warmly into the proposal. Two young men of the name of Waugh and Price were engaged to go. In 1791, a passage was obtained for them from government, in a vessel commanded by Captain Bligh, formerly of the Bounty, who was about to sail a second time to the South Sea Islands, to convey thence the bread-fruit-tree to the West Indies; but finding that they could not obtain episcopal ordination before going out, they declined their engagement; and the Doctor adds, in reference to their subsequent conduct, "The event left me no cause for regret."—*Ellis' History of the London Missionary Society*, vol. i. p. 6.

[3] A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, in the years 1796, 1797, 1798, p. 3.

[4] It is painful to read over the list of the missionaries and of their previous occupations. Four of them were ordained before going out; but we do not know that any even of these were educated for the ministry, unless perhaps Mr Lewis. With the exception of the surgeon, nearly all the others were of occupations which would indicate them to have been persons of the most ordinary education—shopkeepers, carpenters, smiths, bricklayers, weavers, shoemakers, &c. Some of them were also very young, two

don on board the Duff, a vessel purchased by the Society, and commanded by Captain James Wilson, a gentleman who for several years past had retired from sea, but who cheerfully came forward with an offer of his services on this interesting occasion. They were detained about a month at Portsmouth, waiting on the convoy; but they at length finally sailed from England; and after an agreeable passage of about seven weeks, arrived at Rio Janeiro, on the coast of Brazil. Here they laid in such stores as were deemed necessary, and then proceeded on their voyage, designing to go round by Cape Horn; but they now met with such violent contrary gales, that the captain judged it advisable to desist from the attempt, and to take the eastern passage, though it extended the remaining part of the voyage from six to twelve thousand miles. But as the wind was favourable, they sailed forward for seven weeks together, without any material obstruction, at the rate of about two hundred, and sometimes even of two hundred and fifty miles, in twenty-four hours. When they came near the longitude of the Cape of Good Hope, they encountered a most tremendous storm. The waves rolled mountain-high, while the water in the gulf between them was as smooth as a peaceful lake. Now they mounted up to heaven; immediately they went down into the deep. When they sunk into the gulf between the billows, the swell of the sea was so enormous, that the wind blew over their heads, and

only twenty years of age, and other two twenty-one."—*Miss. Voyage*, p. 3; *Evan. Mag.* vol. iv. p. 206, 385. The Missionary Societies, both in England and Scotland, appear to have had, at their commencement, a very low standard as to the education of their missionaries. An idea then prevailed that piety and zeal were the main qualifications of a missionary; and that a man might do very well as a missionary to the heathen whom no one would ever have thought of for a minister at home. In 1801, the London Missionary Society began to place young men who offered themselves as missionaries under the care of the Rev. Mr Bogue of Gosport, for their education; *Reports of the London Missionary Society* from 1795 to 1814, p. 148; *Bogue's Memoirs*, p. 218; but it still continued to send out persons who were but slenderly educated to some of the less civilized parts of the world. Scotland was in no respects before England as to the education of its early missionaries; and it was many years later of adopting efficient means for providing well-educated agents.

Most of the early missionaries to the South Sea Islands had probably never counted the cost, and were in fact scarcely able to do so. The work was new, and was attended with many and peculiar difficulties; they could, in fact, have little conception of either its nature or its requirements. When we take all circumstances into account, we shall scarcely find room to wonder at some of the painful things which occurred in this mission, a remark which may be extended to others of the early efforts of our Missionary Societies.

the sails, though very lofty, were completely becalmed. Then, as they rose on the following wave, it blew such a hurricane, as almost to carry away their masts. In this manner they were driven along for four successive days; but though the gale was so tremendous, they were preserved in safety by Him "who holdeth the winds in his fists, and treadeth on the waves of the sea."[1]

As they drew near the end of their voyage, the missionaries began to make arrangements for their settlement on the different islands. Most of them made choice of Tahiti as the scene of their future labours; some of Tongatabu, one of the Friendly Islands; and two of St Christina, one of the Marquesas.[2] Of these missions, we shall now proceed to give some account, beginning with that to Tahiti.

## Art. 1.—Society Islands.

### Tahiti.

In March 1797, the Duff, after a voyage of between five and six months, reached Tahiti, with the whole body of missionaries on board. On their arrival, they were welcomed by both the chiefs and the people with the greatest demonstrations of joy. The natives came on board the ship with the utmost ease and frankness; and when Captain Wilson, accompanied by several of the missionaries, prepared to land, numbers of them came flying along the beach to meet them; and as the boat approached, they ran into the sea, drew it as far as they were able, and then placing the strangers on their shoulders, carried them on shore. Every day they came to the ship in their canoes, laden with cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, and roasted pigs. Each of the principal men was eager to have one of the missionaries for his Tayo or friend, which is a sacred temporary engagement, customary in all the South Sea Islands, made and ratified by an exchange of names between the parties. The Tayo sup-

[1] Miss. Voyage, p, 5, 8, 18, 39, 43; An Authentic Narrative of Four Years' Residence at Tongatabu, p. 37.

[2] Miss. Voyage, p. 53.

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plies his visitor with cocoa-nuts, and every kind of provision, during his stay; and he expects in return, some small presents of nails, beads, or similar articles; and, at parting, a gift of a hatchet, or some other useful piece of hardware, with which he thinks himself richly rewarded for all his attentions. On the whole, indeed, the chiefs and the people seemed to vie with each other, who would shew their visitors the most kindness and respect.[1]

[1] Miss. Voyage, p. 56; Authentic Narrative, p. 50, 52.

How different were the sensations of the Tahitians at the appearance of the Duff on their shores from what they were thirty years before, when they were visited by the Dolphin! This island, it is supposed, was originally discovered by Quiros, a Spanish navigator, in 1606; but the knowledge of it was entirely lost in Europe until it was again discovered by Captain Wallis in 1767. The following account of the views of the natives on that occasion, which Mr Cover, one of the missionaries, appears to have collected from themselves, is so natural, and yet so interesting, that though foreign to our subject, we cannot forbear introducing it in this place:—When Captain Wallis approached the island in the Dolphin, the Tahitians were struck with astonishment at the extraordinary appearance of the ship, and formed various conjectures respecting it. Some supposed it was a floating island, an idea which seemed generally to prevail, being strengthened by a tradition which is current among them, that the smaller peninsula was originally driven from its situation in some distant part of the ocean by a tremendous gale of wind, and striking against the east end of Tahiti, occasioned a violent concussion of the island and then coalesced with it. But on the nearer approach of the vessel they were induced to alter their opinion, and could not account for such a strange appearance, which now filled them not only with astonishment but with alarm. When the ship came to anchor in Matavai Bay, and they discovered men on board of her, their apprehensions subsided a little, and judging them to be enemies, they instantly collected their canoes together, and determined to attack them without delay. With this view, they surrounded the vessel, armed with spears, clubs, and stones, and perceiving that the men on board had no such weapons in their hands, thought they should obtain an easy conquest, and commenced a violent assault with stones. The captain, who no doubt observed their hostile designs, was prepared to receive them, and, in return for their shower of stones, fired his great guns at them. The sudden explosion struck them with terror and amazement: they instantly fled in all directions, crying, "The God is come! The God is come!" pouring, as they imagined, thunder and lightning among them. Having escaped to the mountains, they waited with terror and anxiety the result of this strange and unexpected visit. With the view probably of shewing them the destructive power of his cannon, and of deterring them from again attacking his ship, Captain Wallis discharged several guns loaded with bar and chain shot, which made such terrible havoc among the bread-fruit-trees, that the Tahitians concluded the country would soon be laid desolate. Panic struck, and conscious of their inability to resist beings who had the command, and were under the protection of such a powerful god, who emitted fire upon them with such loud and manifest tokens of his anger, they deemed it necessary to appease him, and also the people who came with him. They accordingly despatched a messenger with the usual emblems of peace, a pig and a plantain-leaf. These being accepted by Captain Wallis, a friendly intercourse was opened between him and the natives; and though their opinion of the ship was now corrected, their astonishment at her bulk and construction was increased, and the dread of the destructive weapons she carried not in the least abated.—*Theological Magazine and Review*, vol. ii. p. 488.

Encouraged by these favourable circumstances, Captain Wilson, two or three days after his arrival, informed Otoo the king, through the medium of an interpreter, of the design of the voyage. He told him that he had brought with him a number of good men, who had left their own country, and come to Tahiti solely with the view of being useful to him and his people, by instructing them in the best and most excellent things; that, on their part, they required only the grant of a piece of land, stocked with bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees, and so large as to contain a garden, and to admit of houses being erected upon it; that they should be allowed to live unmolested on the island, and should on no account be required to intermeddle in their wars, nor to employ their arms, unless in self-defence. Captain Wilson added, that if he consented to these proposals, they would immediately land and settle in the country; if not, they would go to some other island. Great pains were taken to make every thing plain to the king; but it is doubtful whether he understood one-half. He said, indeed, they might take what land they pleased; and, about a week after, the district of Matavai, with a large house upon it, was ceded to them in due form.[1]

Matters being thus arranged, the following missionaries now landed, and took up their residence upon the island: the Rev. John Jefferson, John Eyre, Thomas Lewis, and James F. Cover, Messrs J. A. Gilham, surgeon, Benjamin Broomhall, William Henry, Samuel Clode, Henry Bicknell, Peter Hodges, Henry Nott, Rowland Hassel, John Cock, Edward Main, Francis Oakes, James Puckey, William Puckey, and William Smith, who, with five women and two children, made in all twenty-five persons. The house assigned for their use was said to have been built by Pomare, the king's father, for Captain Bligh, of the ship Bounty, whom he expected to return and settle on the island. It was a large spacious building, of an oblong figure, a hundred and eight feet in length, and forty-eight in breadth. The roof was supported by numerous wooden pillars, some eighteen, some nine feet high, was beautifully thatched with entwined leaves of the palm-tree; and the whole was sheltered on every side by screens of bamboo. On taking possession of it, the first thing the mis-

[1] Miss. Voyage, p. 63, 73, 76.

sionaries did, was to enclose it completely with a thick bamboo rail, in order to prevent the natives from crowding too much upon them. The several apartments were next planned, and partitions of smaller bamboo begun; but owing to the great distance which the natives had to go for the materials, the work proceeded but slowly, though one man stripped his own house in order to supply them. In the arrangement which was made, the apartments of the missionaries were all at one end, and to prevent disputes, were chosen by lot; next to them were marked out the store-room, the library, and a place for the surgeon and his medicines; the remaining space was left for a chapel, which communicated with the outer-door.[1]

The missionaries had not been many days on the island, when they attempted to address the Tahitians on the subject of religion, employing, as their interpreters, one or two Europeans, who had resided among them for several years. The people listened to them with great attention; and, in general, professed to be mightily pleased with what they heard, acknowledging it was "all very good." Mawroa, the husband of Pomare's sister, even declared, he was resolved to throw away the gods that could neither see, nor hear, nor speak, and worship the English God. Manne Manne, indeed, the aged high priest, remarked, "that the missionaries gave them plenty of the word of God, but very few axes, knives, or scissors;" though this was not true, for they distributed articles of that description among them in great abundance. They also made some attempts to check the atrocities of the Arreoies, a society in Tahiti who murder every infant born among them. One of the Arreoies having come to visit them, together with his wife, then big with child, the missionaries embraced this opportunity of remonstrating with them against the murder of their offspring; and even offered to build a house for the reception of pregnant women, and to take the children under their care as soon as they were born. The mother appeared to feel the workings of nature in her breast, and seemed willing to spare the infant; but the brutal chief was obstinately bent on its destruction. He acknowledged, indeed, that it was a bloody act; but pleaded in his behalf, the established nature of the practice; the loss of

[1] Miss. Voyage, p. 60, 65; Authentic Narrative, p. 51.

all his privileges, and even the total dissolution of their society, should it become common to save their children. He left them, at that time, apparently resolved to destroy the child; but, a few days after, he came and promised, that should it be born alive, he would bring it to them. Pomare, and Ideah, his wife, who were also members of the Arreoy society, were particularly spoken to on the same subject. They had not, indeed, cohabited together for some time, but they lived on the same terms of friendship, and in as great dignity as ever, though he had taken another wife, and she one of her own servants. She was even then pregnant by this fellow, and therefore the missionaries took occasion to reason with her on the shocking nature of murder, especially in a mother; they also promised to take the child as soon as it was born, and that afterwards it should be no further trouble to her; but to this she would not consent. They then addressed Pomare, and entreated him to interpose his authority in suppressing this unnatural practice, and likewise to prohibit the offering of human sacrifices. All this the wily chief promised to do, saying, "Captain Cook told them these things should not be done; but he did not stay long enough to instruct them." Manne Manne, the high priest, who had shewn them much attention ever since their arrival, having come in during this conversation, they told him that if he offered any more human sacrifices, he would utterly forfeit their friendship, and might look upon them as his enemies. He, accordingly, was not backward to give them his promise; though probably it was with no design of ever fulfilling it.[1]

As Christianity and civilization have a natural and intimate connexion together, the missionaries, while they instructed the Tahitians in the truths of religion, endeavoured to introduce among them the useful arts of life. Having erected a forge, a few weeks after their arrival, Messrs Hassel and Hodges began to work at the trade of smiths. The natives flocked around them, and were astonished at the ease and rapidity with which they wrought their tools. They were greatly frightened, however, with the sparks and the hissing of the hot iron in water: no sooner did these begin, than they fled in all directions. Pomare was delighted beyond measure with the bellows and the

[1] Miss. Voyage, p. 70, 75, 80, 153, 156, 224.

forge: he caught the blacksmith in his arms, all dirty as he was, and joined noses with him, an expression of the highest satisfaction in these islands.[1]

Such, indeed, was the respect in which the missionaries were held by the Tahitians, that Otoo and his queen brought a large present to Mr Cover and his wife, desiring to become their adopted children, and promising to regard them as their father and mother. Pomare and Ideah brought them a still larger present in the evening, and begged them to receive the king and queen as their offspring. It is almost incredible, indeed, what quantities of provisions were poured in upon them: at one time they had no less than a waggon load of fruits, besides a multitude of hogs and poultry.[2]

Captain Wilson, after establishing missions in Tongatabu and St Christina, returned to Tahiti, after an absence of more than three months, and, to his great joy, he found the missionaries still in high favour with both the chiefs and people. Encouraged by this circumstance, he finally left the island; and after revisiting the other settlements, and touching at Canton for a cargo of tea, he returned to England, having accomplished the whole voyage in less than two years.[3]

Sanguine as had been the hopes of the Missionary Society at the departure of the Duff, they were now elevated beyond all measure on her return. Nor was this feeling confined to them; it pervaded the whole Christian world; every man who took an interest in the cause of missions, now seemed big with expectations of success; if any at least entertained other views, they scarcely dared to express them.[4] Animated by such views, the

[1] Miss. Voyage, p. 159, 161. [2] Ibid. p. 152. [3] Ibid. p. 152.

[4] The Missionary Society having appointed a day of thanksgiving for the return of the Duff and the promising aspect of the mission, Dr Haweis, one of the preachers on this occasion, drew the following glowing picture of the success with which God had crowned the undertaking:—

"In this voyage, to tell of all his wonders, my time would fail, and my ability would be unequal. I will just refresh your memory with the following hints of some of the great things done for us, in the swiftness, the safety, the health, and the success of the voyage, particularly respecting the great object we had in view.

"First, The swiftness of the passage. This will be the admiration of every nautical man by profession. Who ever heard, in the most prosperous voyage of the ablest navigators, of a hundred and eighty-three degrees of longitude passed in the short space of fifty-one days? Moving often at the rate of two hundred and twenty, or thirty miles a day, and so steadily before the wind, as seldom ever to interrupt the daily exercises of prayer and praise, of study or repose.

directors determined to lose no time in prosecuting a work which they appeared to have so successfully begun. Shortly after the return of the Duff, they passed a resolution to undertake another voyage to the Pacific Ocean, "for the purposes of

"Secondly, Shall we not, with thankfulness, admire the safety of the conveyance? Not a mast sprung, not a yard lost, not a sail split, not an anchor left behind. To traverse more than twice the circumference of the globe, especially amidst the lurking shoals, the hidden rocks, the low islands of the Southern Ocean, must, it is well known, be full of danger. They felt it, and sometimes were at their wit's end, going up to heaven, and sinking down into the deep, shaken by the pealing thunder, embayed without a passage, and once suspended on the dreadful reef. I read and trembled. But 'he that dwelleth under the defence of the Most High, shall be safe under the shadow of the Almighty.' I was ashamed, humbled, comforted, when, in the midst of the most awful scenes, I heard one of my brethren say, 'We took the wings of faith, and fled in prayer to the God of our mercies; and, when we had sung an hymn, presently the storm abated, and we lay down comfortable, and fell asleep.' Ah! 'so he giveth his beloved sleep.'

"Thirdly, Their health. What a miracle of mercy hath our vessel been! Of about sixty persons, during nearly a two years' voyage, not one hath been lost. Not only a hair of their head hath not perished, but those who have returned are fat and well-looking; and every man and woman is reported in better health than when they left the shores of their native country. What disease, misery, and famine, have we not often heard of in voyages of far less extent and duration? The great physician had determined, that the inhabitants of his ark should not complain 'I am sick.' Few vessels have ever been so long without touching for refreshment, or performed so vast a run as thirteen thousand eight hundred miles, without the sight of land. But except the common well-known effects of the sea, or the indisposition of an individual, not a scorbutic complaint appeared, no spreading fever, no infectious disorder, no dangerous accident, or broken bone. Passing through climates so different, tender women and children, many of whom had never seen the sea till they embarked upon it, unaccustomed to such food or accommodation, they reached Tahiti, after a five months' voyage, without an individual sick. All the way they had plenty of provisions; their water sweet, abundant, and never failing; and not a creature wanting any manner of thing that was good.

"But I reserve the most important particular till the last, the success of the voyage respecting the great object we had in view. We had passed in safety the dangers of the deep, and were ready to encounter the greater danger apprehended from the shore; not, indeed, by myself or those who knew the real state of these islands. We were convinced, if the Lord conveyed our missionaries in safety to the place of their destination, OUR WORK WAS DONE. Where are now the cannibals that were to devour us? Where the heathen to seize our property and persons? Where the helpless infants with their mothers, a prey to savage arms? These vain terrors at least, brethren, are dissipated. I need not tell you the reception we have met with. Welcomed as angels from heaven; furnished with every necessary for subsistence and for comfort; heard with reverence, and courted as if our favour and friendship were the first of blessings. I use no exaggeration; I recite simple facts. The news of our intended residence among the Tahitians and other islanders, were received with transport. The king and every chief crowded around the missionaries; the whole land was before them; they had to choose the Goshen where they would set up their tents. Set up their tents do I say? Behold a spacious mansion, surrounded with bread-fruits, cocoa-nuts, and the beautiful evee apple, ready

visiting and assisting the missionaries already there, of adding to their number where circumstances might render it expedient, and of planting the gospel in other islands, where it should appear most eligible, from their extent, population, or other

prepared for their reception, sufficient to accommodate the whole body of missionaries. They are met on the beach by the king and his chiefs, led by the hand amidst the crowd of surrounding and admiring natives, and not only put in possession of such an abode, but the whole district of Matavai, with all its produce, solemnly ceded to them for ever; a territory sufficient to maintain ten thousand persons. Each chief is eager to secure the friendship of the individual missionaries, and as their tayos, to invest them with their authority, and admit them to a participation of all they possess. So far from danger or subjection to tyrannical or savage rule, the Lord hath made them princes, in a manner, in all the lands of the heathen whither they have gone. It was mockingly said, 'The trees, I suppose, produce hot rolls for breakfast.' It is true, those who ventured to those distant lands, little thought what they should eat, or what they should drink; yet it is singular, that our brethren, with united voice, declare their bread-fruit is prepared for them, and equal to the nicest white bread in England. But they have applied it to a nobler use. The admiring heathen have seen it broken as the symbol of our most sacred mysteries, and received by the holy brethren, as the body of their Lord, and the pledge of his dying love.

"But I must not detain you with other particulars. I will only add, these are the least of our missionary mercies. The natives have shewn the most uncommon attention, from the greatest to the least of them. They frequent our worship in multitudes, confess our God to be greater than their own, and desire to know more of Him and his word; though we can only yet preach through an interpreter, and by translations which we begin to read to them in their own tongue, and which they hear with reverence, and say, they generally understand. They have already brought their children for instruction, and our school is opened; many know all their letters, and begin to join them with great docility. The chief priest of the country is most friendly to the missionaries, and seconds their instruction, assuring the people it is 'my tyo,' good; and says, they must amend their manners. 'I am too old to learn,' says he, 'but our children will be taught all these wondrous things which we see, and know the speaking book.'

"The missionaries have not indeed manna rained round their tents, but they have meat as sweet as the quails; and bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, and a multitude of vegetables brought daily; and a twofold provision for the Sabbath, much more than they can possibly consume, and which are distributed to the servants and natives. Our brethren are active; they have acquired much of the language, have formed themselves comfortable residences, and every day are employed in labours to make known His name, and to proclaim His glory, for whose sake they have gone forth to the heathen with their lives in their hands; and proved the truth of His promises, in a measure of which we have no adequate conception: 'Whosoever will lose his life shall preserve it; and whosoever hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life.'

"Unable to enter into further particulars, I shall only add, as the result of the fullest inquiry and intelligence, that nothing can appear more promising than the beginning of our labours in these isles of the sea. The fields, indeed, appear white for harvest: they regard us as beings of a superior order; they feel and confess their own inferiority; they hear us in silent awe; and they seem ready to embrace our message, as soon as we are able to communicate it to them. Ah! brethren, do not

favourable circumstances." Such, indeed, were the energy and zeal manifested on this occasion, such the liberality of the Christian public, such the eagerness of multitudes to go abroad as missionaries, that within little more than three months from the time this resolution was taken, the preparations for the voyage were completed, and the ship was ready to sail.[1]

In December 1798, the Duff sailed from England on her second voyage to the South Sea Islands, under the command of Captain Robson, with twenty-nine missionaries on board, and the Rev. Mr Howell of Knaresburgh as superintendent of the mission. Five of the missionaries were ordained to the ministry; several of them possessed some degree of medical knowledge; most of the others were artisans of various descriptions. The letter of instructions from the Directors of the Society, with regard to the conduct and arrangement of the mission, displays in general much good sense, extensive information, and calm consideration of the subject; though it is probable, they little expected the difficulties and disappointments for which they in this manner endeavoured to make provision.[2]

Hitherto the Missionary Society had beheld its operations crowned with success, beyond the expectations even of its most

your hearts burn within you at the tidings you have heard, and joining in one vast burst of praise and adoration with angels and archangels, and all the company of heaven, can we but shout around the throne: 'Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing?'"—*Thanksgiving Sermons before the Missionary Society*, August 6. 1798, p. 49, 56.

Such was the representation which Dr Haweis drew of the success of the South Sea mission, a representation much beyond the truth, and which was calculated to raise very unfounded expectations as to its future progress. Contrasted with the subsequent history of the mission, it presents a salutary warning of the danger of indulging premature hopes of success, and of being fascinated with early appearances, an error into which the friends of missions have been but too apt to run. In making these remarks, nothing can be further from our intention than to detract from the memory of Dr Haweis. Though he was too rhetorical in his representations both in the Memoir in which he originally proposed the mission to the South Sea Islands, and in the Thanksgiving Sermon which he delivered on this occasion, it was a fault which arose out of the excellences of his character, the liveliness of his fancy, the warmth of his heart, the ardour of his piety, the catholicity of his spirit, and the deep interest which he took in every thing relating to the undertaking.—(See *Campbell's Maritime Discovery*, p. 247, 256, 261.) Had Dr Haweis never done any thing in the cause of Christianity, but propose the mission to the South Sea Islands, that alone would have crowned his name with imperishable honours; and we can deeply sympathize with the feelings of delight which the good man must have experienced in the evening of his days, when he received, time after time, the pleasing tidings of its success.

[1] Evan. Mag. vol. vi. p. 378, 509.

[2] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 3, 38.

sanguine members. But now the sky grew dark; the clouds began to gather; the storm burst at once in various quarters. It was like an electric shock to the Christian world. The Duff had not left England two months, when she and all the missionaries on board were captured off Cape Frio, by the Bonaparte, a French privateer of twenty-two guns, and upwards of two hundred men. The morning of the day she was taken was clear and fine, and it was just possible to descry a vessel at a prodigious distance, but as its appearance was very insignificant, being only like a fishing smack, the missionaries, in general, were disposed to pay little or no attention to it. It appeared very improbable that an enemy's ship should be cruising in that quarter, and the idea that it would inevitably fall into the hands of the Portuguese dispelled every fear. During the preceding part of the voyage, they had uniformly been alarmed on the sight of any strange sail, and committed themselves to the protection of the Most High; but, on this occasion, as they were apprehensive of no danger, so they offered up no prayers for deliverance. The event shewed that their security was founded on presumption; but yet it is proper to remark, that had they known the utmost of their danger, it was not in their power to have shunned it, as there was a still calm during the early part of the day, so that they could make no way at all, and they apprehended that the same was the case with the other vessel. Indeed, from the best observations they were able to make with their glasses, she seemed to be riding at anchor, about twelve o'clock; whereas, it afterwards appeared, that she was advancing toward them by the help of her sweeps, at the rate of several miles an hour; but with all her port-holes shut, the better to conceal her hostile design. About four in the afternoon there sprung up a light breeze, and they made the best use of it they were able, being now within a few leagues of Rio Janeiro, and impatient to reach that port, in order to obtain refreshments. With this view alone, and not from any apprehension of danger, they made all the sail they could; and though they perceived the other vessel doing the same, it gave them little or no concern. What, then, was their astonishment, when about ten o'clock at night, after they had spent the day in the most perfect security, she fired a gun to

bring them to. The moon had hitherto shone bright; but a light squall now sprung up; the sky was obscured by a thick cloud, and a heavy shower of rain began to fall. At that moment, the first shot was followed by a second, the direction of which was so near the Duff as to be heard in the air, and seen in the water. Most of the company, however, were still disposed to hope the best; and that, when it was understood who they were, and what was their design, they would be allowed to proceed on their voyage without further molestation. But this hope quickly vanished when she came up to them: then the haughty tone of her English interpreter not only rendered them suspicious of danger, but made some of them literally tremble. The enemy, with little ceremony, ordered them to send off their boat; and as this was not done instantly, they again bellowed forth the authoritative command, threatening, in case of refusal, to sink them to the bottom. The first mate now hastened on board the Bonaparte; and, in a short time, he returned with the painful intelligence, that the Duff was a prize, and that all the men, without exception, must leave her immediately, and go on board the privateer. The feelings of the captain, the missionaries, and the crew, on receiving this order, it is more easy to conceive than describe. The married brethren, in particular, were overwhelmed with consternation and distress; the thought of leaving their wives and their children in the hands of lawless sailors, swallowed up every other consideration. The officers, who had come on board armed with cutlasses, executed the order with so much despatch, that no opportunity was afforded those who had no wearing apparel but what they had on, to procure a further supply, a circumstance which afterwards tended not a little to aggravate their distress. Some of the sailors, indeed, had already taken possession of the cabins, and were enriching themselves with the spoils; while others drove the missionaries and the crew into the boat, as if they had been so many sheep for the slaughter, without inquiring whether the number herded together could be accommodated or not. Even after it was as full as it could well hold, they threw down upon them from the ship whatever baggage was to be conveyed to the privateer, without the smallest regard to their safety. On entering the Bonaparte, the pri-

soners were struck with the scene: it seemed a kind of hell in uproar. The noise and confusion which prevailed on board, combined with the forlorn appearance, the squalid looks, and the barbarous manners of the crew, filled the missionaries with grief and horror. They stood all together near the stern of the vessel, to which they were directed as they entered, till about two o'clock in the morning, gazing on one another as helpless objects of commiseration, lost in astonishment, sunk almost into a state of mental torpor, incapable of making one consolatory reflection for their mutual comfort, unable to reconcile their present disastrous situation with the gracious superintending providence of God, and ignorant of what trials they might yet be called to suffer. They were, at length, conducted by a sentry below deck, to the place where the sailors slept. Here they had to spend their nights while on board the Bonaparte, though during the day they were permitted to come on deck. This place was so low that they could scarcely stand upright in it, and so small that they had scarcely room to lie; while, at the same time, the smell was so noisome, the heat so intense, and the air so close, that they were almost suffocated to death. They now learned the value of water, by the painful experience of the want of it. Such as in England they would not have employed to wash their hands, they were now glad to use for quenching their thirst; and even of this, though they were oppressed with the heat of a vertical sun, they were allowed only a scanty quart in twenty-four hours. Besides, the sailors, in passing to and from their hammocks, trod over them; and the vermin, from their beds, dropped upon those under them; while the sentinels who stood on guard, in passing to and from the lantern, used to thrust the points of their swords between them, to feel for room where they might put their feet. The sailors also plundered them of what little property any of them still possessed. Such of them as had time or recollection, on the night of the capture, brought with them a small bundle of clothes; but now they lost them in whole, or in part, through the rapacity of these miscreants, who left many of them without a shirt to change with another. This was unknown to Captain Carbonelle, the commander of the privateer; and, indeed, when he was informed of it, he ordered the

rogues to bring all their hammocks, bags, and boxes, on the quarter-deck, and desired the missionaries to claim what was their property. By this means some of them recovered part of the articles stolen from them; but this transaction heightened the enmity of the wretches against them, which they did not fail to manifest in future, as far as was in their power.[1]

Indeed, as Captain Carbonelle and his officers became acquainted with their character and the nature of their undertaking, they alleviated to the utmost of their power the pains of their captivity, and were disposed to shew them every indulgence. The captain expressed his concern for their mode of living, which necessity, not choice, imposed upon him. He always endeavoured to encourage their confidence and hope by his gentle treatment, his friendly conversation, and his courteous manners, instead of impressing them with servile awe, by the frowns of his countenance or the authority of his office. When the Instructions of the Missionary Society to Captain Robson were communicated to him, he seemed to feel exceedingly on their account. Had he known, he said, who they were and the cause in which they were embarked, he would sooner have given £500 out of his own pocket than have met with them; but now the laws of his country and the claims of his officers and men compelled him to act as he did.[2]

For some time the missionaries knew not what would be their destiny, whether they would be detained as prisoners of war, or set at liberty upon their arrival in port. As was natural to persons in their situation, hope and fear alternately prevailed. In general, most of them were enabled to cast their cares on God; but yet, on some occasions, they appear to have been torn with anxiety and agitated with the most tumultuous passions. Their capture afforded a trial of their missionary temper; and it must be acknowledged that the character of some of them did not appear in a very favourable light. There were several who manifested an impatient, discontented, refractory spirit; a want of all subordination, of union, and of brotherly love.[3]

[1] Howel's Particulars of the Second Voyage of the Duff, p. 23, 35, 82; Gregory's Journal of a captured Missionary, p. 18, 24, 28, 52, 68.

[2] Howel's Particulars, p. 41, 49; Gregory's Journal, p. 27.

[3] Howel's Particulars, p. 52, 54, 55, 62, 69, 114, 178, 238, 264.

The Bonaparte was out on a three months' cruise, so that the prospect before them was not the most pleasing; but having in less than a fortnight taken other three prizes, Captain Carbonelle altered his original design and sailed for Monte Video, in the Rio de la Plata, where he arrived within three weeks after the capture of the Duff; and thus the captivity of the missionaries was providentially shortened.[1]

On their arrival they had the happiness to learn that the Duff had reached Monte Video ten days before them. Immediately on being taken possession of by the French, she had been despatched to that port under the command of M. Riviere, as prize-master, with the women and children on board, a circumstance which had occasioned both them and their partners in life the greatest anxiety and distress, as it was uncertain when, or even if ever, they should see each other again. Captain Carbonelle, however, had kindly suffered Mr Turner, the surgeon, to accompany them, in order to afford them medical aid, in case of any indisposition occurring among them. Indeed, though the sailors were disposed to pilfer and otherwise maltreat them, yet the officers uniformly shewed them the utmost attention, treating them with the greatest politeness and the most scrupulous delicacy. Every regard was paid to their convenience and comfort, as well as to their personal safety. Whatever provisions were on board were at their command; and they were told they had only to mention what they wanted, and if it was in the ship it was granted them. When any of the live stock was killed they always had the preference, and were permitted to make their choice before either the officers or the seamen; and upon their arrival at Monte Video they were immediately supplied with apples, pears, peaches, figs, and melons, which, considering the time they had been at sea, were a most delicious repast to them, though some, from using them too freely, experienced the bad effects of their indulgence. To crown the whole of these mercies, they had now the pleasure of seeing their husbands in safety; and the joy which they mutually felt at meeting was somewhat in proportion to the pain they had experienced at parting.[2]

[1] Gregory's Journal, p. 24, 58.

[2] Howel's Particulars, p. 71, 95; Gregory's Journal, p. 65, 67, 70, 76, 83.

During their stay in South America the missionaries were not confined as prisoners of war, but were permitted to leave the ship during the day, and to go about without molestation. Not only did Captain Carbonelle and his officers continue to shew them the greatest attention, but even the Spaniards in general treated them with the utmost civility. At all the cottages where they called they met with much hospitality; the inhabitants cheerfully supplied them with the best their tables could afford, and in many instances refused to accept of the smallest remuneration. Two of the women who were pregnant being near the time of their delivery, and the house where they lodged being extremely inconvenient for such an occurrence, as the whole of the married people had only two sleeping apartments among them, a gentleman of Monte Video generously granted them the use of his house in the country, about six miles from the town, with all the accommodations it afforded. Here they had an orchard or garden, the fruitfulness of which is beyond description. Some of the trees appeared like a solid mass of fruit; the branches were weighed down to the earth, unable to support their burden, and thousands of apples, peaches, and nectarines lay perishing on the ground. In several instances, indeed, when the missionaries made excursions into the neighbouring country, a practice against which they were particularly warned, they were attacked by robbers, and some of them even narrowly escaped with their life.[1]

Being now, however, in a foreign land, where they had no opportunities of usefulness, and where they suffered not a few inconveniences, they were impatient to leave it as speedily as possible, but every scheme which they formed for this purpose was successively frustrated; and at length the prospect of their removal seemed in a great measure closed. They had early formed some expectations of being able to redeem the Duff, and to proceed on their voyage; but though Captain Carbonelle was favourable to the plan, they soon found that this desirable object could not be attained, unless by the immediate payment of cash, on account of the sailors usually demanding their prize-money before they leave the port where the vessel is disposed of; a thing which, in their circumstances, it was impossible for

[1] Howel's Particulars, p. 106, 116, 120; Gregory's Journal, p. 113, 118, 122.

them to accomplish. Several of the missionaries formed the idea of visiting Patagonia, and of endeavouring to plant Christianity in that inhospitable country; but on further consideration it was also found necessary to relinquish this plan. They next made an attempt to purchase a small brig, one of the prizes of the Bonaparte; and after a great deal of trouble in contracting for her, they considered the bargain as in a manner concluded. Most of the missionaries now expressed their willingness to prosecute their voyage to the South Sea Islands, provided it was deemed practicable and safe; but as Captain Robson thought the season was too far advanced for this purpose, some offered to go to the Cape of Good Hope and some to Sierra Leone, while others chose to return to England. In a day or two, however, the whole of this arrangement was unexpectedly frustrated; for notwithstanding the bargain they had made, the vessel was sold to a Portuguese merchant. The missionaries were now reduced to the utmost perplexity, as an order was issued by the Spanish viceroy to make them all prisoners if they did not leave the country within about a week.[1]

The missionaries had now nothing before them but the prospect of captivity in a distant country, unless Captain Carbonelle would take them on board the Bonaparte; and he assured them that, in that case, he would be obliged to land them on some part of the coast the first opportunity he could find, or else to carry them prisoners to Cayenne, a French settlement to the northward. Such was the dilemma to which they were reduced, when he succeeded in procuring a passage for them to Rio Janeiro in the vessel of which they had been disappointed; and he, at the same time, had the generosity to advance them several hundred dollars on account of the Missionary Society, to provide them in stores for their voyage. In a short time, they got every thing ready for their departure, and after taking an affectionate farewell of their friends at Monte Video, they embarked on board the Portuguese brig, and sailed for Rio Janeiro. The voyage, they hoped, would not occupy more than a fortnight, but to their great disappointment, it lasted about a month; and as the vessel was very small, they were extremely crowded, and suffered many other

[1] Howel's Particulars, p. 51, 99, 113, 127, 131.

inconveniences in the course of the passage. They had begun, however, to flatter themselves with the prospect of speedily entering the harbour of Rio Janeiro, when they were alarmed by the sight of a fleet of ships, one of which bore down upon them, and proved to be a frigate of forty guns. So large a vessel, with her ports open, and full of men of a strange, uncouth appearance, could not fail to strike the missionaries with alarm, after what they had lately suffered. They had soon, indeed, the satisfaction of beholding her hoist Portuguese colours; but this proved no protection to them; for as the merchant had purchased the brig without her having been regularly condemned, and as he had likewise been chargeable with some acts of smuggling, his vessel was now captured by his own countrymen.[1]

The missionaries being thus captured a second time, were ordered out of the brig, and taken on board, some of the commodore's ship, of seventy-four guns, others, of the frigate of forty, which were the convoy of the fleet. The situation of the prisoners in these two vessels was widely different. The captain and principal officers of the frigate were polite, humane, and liberal, and afforded their guests every accommodation and comfort the stores of the ship could supply. They felt for their distress, and sacrificed their own comfort to alleviate the hardships of their captivity. Every eye was ready to watch, every hand forward to supply their wants as far as lay in their power. The commodore and his first captain, on the contrary, were proud, imperious, capricious tyrants to those under their command, and cruel unfeeling monsters toward strangers. Devoid of common decency, they frequently put the missionaries to the blush; without common humanity, they as often put their feelings on the rack. They affected to consider them as convicts who had been originally bound to Botany Bay, but who, by some means or other, had made their escape; and, in fact, their clothes were now so old and shabby, and they had met with so many misfortunes, they really had something the appearance of vagabonds. It appeared to the missionaries, however, that this slander was invented merely as a pretext for assigning them a berth with the common sailors, who, in respect of intellect, were

[1] Howel's Particulars, p. 93, 138, 163, 173, 179.

little above the brutes, and in point of morals, were far below them. Their provisions were so wretched, that at first they could scarcely use them, and at the same time, so scanty as hardly to satisfy the cravings of nature. In consequence, however, of the uniform propriety of their behaviour, they experienced by degrees somewhat better treatment, and after the first week or two, they rarely met with any instance of personal rudeness. Mr Howel, who laboured under a severe stomach complaint, was able to make so little use of the ship's provisions, that for three weeks it was difficult to say on what he subsisted. His disorder rose, at length, to such a height, that he expected nothing else but that he should die of absolute want. At this very period, however, the commodore, who now understood that he was a priest, sent for him, and after apologizing for his past neglect, told him that he should have a cabin to sleep in, and that he should have the use of his own apartments during the day, and should sit at his table. He afterwards extended a similar privilege to one of the missionaries' wives who was far advanced in pregnancy, and whom he had previously treated in a very unfeeling manner. In short, he manifested toward them a degree of kindness and attention which they had little reason to expect from a man of his brutal disposition. Being set at liberty on their arrival in Lisbon, they lost no time in procuring a passage to England, where most of them arrived, after an absence of near ten months, in the course of which both their trials and their mercies had been neither few nor small.[1]

The Missionary Society had not recovered from the astonishment and distress which the first intelligence of the capture of the Duff occasioned them, when they received tidings from Tahiti of the removal of most of the missionaries from that island. To account for this painful event, it is necessary to trace the history of the mission from the time of Captain Wilson's departure.

Captain Wilson had scarcely left the island to return to England, when some of the natives formed a design to seize on the property of the missionaries; but, for the present, the plan was

[1] Howel's Particulars, p. 183, 193, 197, 201, 203, 205, 207, 214, 226, 260, 264, 212, 265; Gregory's Journal, p. 213, 217, 226, 242.

not carried into effect. They were continually, however, committing depredations upon them, and, in this, they sometimes manifested not a little ingenuity. One morning a thief was discovered to have entered the smith's shop, and carried off a number of small but valuable articles. The manner of the robbery was somewhat curious, and shews the dexterity of the rogue. He appears not to have had a knife, as by simply cutting the lashings of the sticks that formed the walls of the shop, he might have entered it with much less trouble as well as time. Instead of this, he dug out the sand from below, apparently with his hands, which are the common spade of the natives, and made a hole large enough to admit himself through, together with the stolen articles, under the ends of the sticks, which were not less than two feet deep in the ground. This operation must have taken him considerable time, and he must have been under continual apprehension of detection by the watch, who was walking round the house, and must often have passed him. The attention of the watch, indeed, was once attracted to the place, where the man was at work; but the fellow had so coiled himself up in the hole, that the guard took him for a hog, and left him unmolested. The thief, however, was afterwards discovered, and on application to the chief of the district, the articles he had stolen were restored to the missionaries.[1]

One of the earliest cares of the missionaries was the establishment of an hospital for the reception of sick natives, many of whom were languishing under the venereal and other diseases. A few at first did come, but the generality of the poor creatures seemed afraid, or were insensible to the benevolence of their design. Some even expected a present before they would take any medicine, and it was necessary that every thing should be sweet, otherwise they said it was not good. At the same time they had not the least patience, being disappointed unless they were cured in three or four days. One day, as a number of little boys were gathering bread-fruit, one of them fell from a tree and fractured his arm. Mr Clode, one of the missionaries, immediately set it, and for five days it remained in good order, but the lad being wild and inattentive, broke it again. Mr

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 2, 8.

Clode now attempted to reset it, but as the boy was in great agony for several hours, his father came and insisted on taking him home, saying, "He would carry him to a native doctor and pray to the Eatoa, and then he would soon recover." The missionaries endeavoured to persuade him to allow his son to remain with them, but all their arguments were in vain. Two of them, therefore, went next morning to the place, which was several miles distant, to see the boy; but on their arrival, they found he had died in the course of the night. He had been placed, it seems, in a cold running water, while in a very high fever, and immediately expired. The father acknowledged, with tears, his error in taking him away, and was lamenting most bitterly the untimely death of his child. Agreeably to the custom of the island, he cut himself with a shark's tooth, and had already lost a considerable quantity of blood, which he carefully caught upon a piece of white cloth and laid it down by the deceased, who was decorated with flowers and a garland round his head. Some time after, when Temaree, one of the chiefs of the island, was severely burned by an explosion of gunpowder, Mr Broomhall, another of the missionaries who possessed some knowledge of medicine, was applied to for assistance. He accordingly went, and employed what he considered as the most suitable remedies. On returning, however, next day, he was astonished at the appearance of his patient, who was now daubed all over with a thick white paste, which he understood to be the scrapings of yams. Both the chief and his wife, indeed, were mightily offended with Mr Broomhall, and would allow him to do nothing further, his first application, they said, had been attended with so much pain. Otoo, the king, likewise seemed highly displeased with him on the same account; and Mr Harris had even considerable apprehensions that he intended to murder them, but for this there seems not to have been the least foundation. Afterwards, indeed, their wrath appears to have subsided; for, in a few days, Pomare applied to Mr Broomhall to revisit the chief, who was now extremely ill, and to administer something to him that would cure him without giving him pain.[1] Thus the medical skill of the missionaries was, at first, not only of little use to the natives, but was

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 3, 19, 75.

even attended with danger to themselves. It is obvious, indeed, that among savages the practice of medicine must be followed with extreme caution, especially at first, as, if a patient dies, they will be ready to ascribe the fatal termination of his disorder to the remedies employed, so different from those which they have been accustomed to use, and, perhaps, they may even be disposed to revenge his death on the medical practitioner.

But while the missionaries were employed in these and other pursuits connected with the great object of their labours, an event occurred which drove most of them off the island, and even threatened the extinction of the mission.

In March 1798, the ship Nautilus, commanded by Captain Bishop, arrived in Matavai bay, and after taking in refreshments proceeded on her voyage; but in a few days she was driven back by a violent gale of wind. While she was on the island, two of the sailors and five natives of Hawaii, who were on board, made their escape from the ship and secreted themselves on shore. The chiefs manifested an intention to protect them, but Captain Bishop expressed his determination to recover them, especially the seamen, cost what it would. With this view he applied to the missionaries for their assistance; and as they were no less anxious than himself that the deserters should be delivered up, they resolved to send a deputation to the three principal chiefs who were then in Opare, Otoo, Pomare, and Temaree. Messrs Jefferson, Broomhall, Main, and William Puckey accordingly set off for that district, and arrived first at the house of Temaree; but as they did not think it proper to communicate the design of their journey to him alone, they requested him to accompany them to the king's house, to which he consented. On reaching Otoo's habitation, they found him seated amidst a number of his attendants, and employed in the royal exercise of cleaning a small tooth comb. He received them with the usual salutations of friendship, and asked them the occasion of their visit. But as Pomare was still wanting, being at a place about two miles distant, they forbore mentioning it until he also should arrive. They had already sent off for that chief, but apprehending the messenger might be dilatory, they resolved to proceed themselves to him, and beg him to come and meet his son and Temaree, that they might unfold

the business to them all together. By the way they passed many of the Tahitians, who saluted them with their usual frankness. When they had advanced about three-quarters of a mile, and were near the banks of a river which they had to ford, they found themselves accompanied by about thirty of the natives, but of this they took no notice, as it was a usual thing in their journeys, until suddenly three or four of them laid hold on Mr Broomhall's coat, which he had taken off and was carrying under his arm, and began to wrest it from him. Mr Jefferson went to his assistance, and asked them why they acted in such a manner. Turning his head round, he beheld Puckey on the ground and a number of the natives stripping him with great avidity, after which they dragged him to the river by the hair of the head, and made some attempts, as it were, to drown him. Casting his eyes in another direction, he saw Main in the hands of some others, who were tearing the clothes off his back. At that instant Jefferson himself was seized by four or five of the natives, who began to pull him violently in different ways, contending with each other who should have his clothes, which they would not give him time to unbutton, but stripped them off as fast as they were able. In the course of the scuffle they dragged him through the river, but without materially injuring him, though he expected nothing short of death from their savage brutality. They now appeared undetermined what to do with him. One was for taking him to the mountains, another towards the sea, but he himself entreated them to carry him to Pomare. Many of the natives who had no concern in the affair now collected together, and, seeming to feel for his situation, attempted to rescue him out of their hands. During the short contest which ensued, Puckey and Main were hurried before him perfectly naked, except a narrow slip of cloth round their loins. Jefferson requested those who had now the charge of him to conduct him and his two brethren to Pomare, a proposal to which they readily agreed. As they passed along, the missionaries were pleased to see the women express their compassion for them by their tears. At length they came to Pomare, whom they found under a shed by the seaside, with his wife Ideah and a few attendants, and were received by them with the utmost humanity. They were immediately supplied

with cloth to cover them, and were made as easy as possible by the promise of protection to themselves and their brethren. Still, however, they were anxious about the safety of Mr Broomhall, and therefore they asked the chief to send in quest of him, a proposal to which he readily consented.

After resting about an hour the three missionaries, accompanied by Pomare and Ideah, proceeded on their return to Matavai. Shortly before they came to the place where they were stripped by the natives, Mr Broomhall joined them. The savages had more than once threatened to murder him. He not only, however, escaped with his life, but was permitted to retain his shirt, trowsers, and watch; and the king, to whose house he was taken, procured him likewise his hat. On their arrival, about eight o'clock in the evening, at the mission-house, they found their brethren under arms; for the other missionaries had not only received intelligence of the disaster from a boy whom Mr Broomhall had despatched for the purpose, but they were much alarmed by various reports, as if the natives designed to attack their little settlement, and therefore they had put themselves in a posture of self-defence.[1]

Alarmed to a high degree by these circumstances, a meeting of the missionaries was called next morning; and while they were yet in a state of the utmost consternation, the greater part of them came to a hasty resolution to leave Tahiti, and to proceed in the Nautilus to Port Jackson. Before their departure, however, Manne Manne, the high priest, came to Matavai with a message from Pomare to the four missionaries who had been stripped in Opare, together with a chicken and a young plantain-tree, as an atonement and peace-offering to them. At the same time most of the articles of which they had been plundered were restored to them. When the natives understood that most of the missionaries, together with the women and children, designed to quit the island, it seemed to give them some degree of concern. But notwithstanding these favourable appearances, eleven of the missionaries, namely, Messrs Cover, Henry, Hassel, Oakes, Main, Hodges, Clode, Cock, Smith, and J. and W. Puckey, together with four women and four children, embarked without delay on board the Nautilus, and after a dis-

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 27, 29, 31, 33.

agreeable voyage of about six weeks they arrived at Port Jackson, where they met with a very friendly reception from Mr Hunter, the governor, and from the Rev. Mr Johnson and the Rev. Mr Marsden, the chaplains of the settlement. Encouraged by these gentlemen, they made some attempts to promote the interests of religion in the colony, but their exertions were attended with little or no success. Some of them, indeed, turned out extremely ill, so that their removal from Tahiti, instead of being a loss, was probably a benefit to the mission. It is likewise not unworthy of notice, that the missionaries who fled to New South Wales appear to have been exposed to greater dangers, and to have suffered severer trials, than their brethren who remained in Tahiti. Mr Hassel was robbed of nearly all he possessed, and dangerously wounded, by six ruffians, who broke into his lodgings near Paramatta; and Mr Clode was barbarously murdered, in the neighbourhood of Sydney, under circumstances of a very revolting nature.[1]

After the departure of the eleven missionaries to Port Jackson, seven others still remained in Tahiti, namely, Messrs Eyre, Jefferson, Lewis, Broomhall, Harris, Bicknell, and Nott. With the view of removing all temptation to do violence to their persons for the sake of their property, they immediately delivered up the blacksmith's shop and the public store-room into the hands of Pomare, and they at the same time offered to surrender to him their private effects if he desired it; but this he was so honourable, or so politic, as to decline. Jealousy and fear, however, continued to haunt their minds; nor was it altogether without apparent reason. Reports of the people's design to attack and plunder them were constantly reaching their ears; attempts were even made, almost every night, to rob them of what few articles they still possessed; the natives were often extremely tumultuous in their behaviour, and now took liberties with them which they durst not before have used; rumours of war were likewise prevalent through the country: all these circumstances combined could not fail to distress the missionaries, and to increase those fears which the human mind, in such a situation, is so naturally disposed to form. In a short time, indeed, war actually broke out. Pomare having killed

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 37, 71, 319; Mag. vol. viii. p. 298, 303; vol. x. p. 73.

two of the men of Opare, on account of the assault made on the four missionaries, the inhabitants of that district rose in arms to revenge their death. Peace was offered them, but they rejected the offer. The chief, therefore, attacked them without delay, drove them back to the mountains, laid waste their habitations, and killed about thirteen of them; after which they were glad to listen to terms of accommodation.[1]

By degrees the apprehensions of the missionaries subsided, as it appeared that the natives had no serious design to injure them either in their persons or property. But when they began to enjoy peace from without, a circumstance occurred among themselves which occasioned them inexpressible distress. Mr Lewis, who had of late resided by himself at a place called Ahonoo, declared his determination to take one of the native women as his wife. For some time past, indeed, his behaviour towards the Tahitian females had been extremely indecent. Several of the missionaries had repeatedly spoken to him on the subject in private, and they had likewise adverted to the impropriety of such practices in their public discourses. But as he had neglected or despised these early cautions, it was now in vain that they remonstrated with him on the impropriety and unlawfulness of the measure he proposed: and as a few months before, when this very question was agitated among them, it was agreed that, should any of their number connect himself with a heathen woman, he should no longer be considered as a missionary or as a member of the church, they not only refused to sanction his marriage, by performing the usual ceremony, but on the following day they proceeded to pass sentence of excommunication upon him. This certainly was a harsh and precipitate step. Of the unlawfulness of Mr Lewis' proposal there can be no question, since it is contrary to the express injunctions of Scripture; yet surely his brethren should have employed friendly expostulations with him in private, and church censures of a milder nature, before they had recourse to so severe a sentence. Mr Lewis had not yet, at least professedly, consummated his marriage: time, therefore, might have been allowed to elapse, to see whether he would proceed to such a measure. We cannot, indeed, but remark, that culpable as

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 39, 44, 47.

was his conduct, the behaviour of his brethren toward him appears to have been throughout unfeeling and unkind; and afterwards, when he made some proposals for an accommodation with them, they did not manifest that readiness to listen to them which the spirit of Christianity required. They continued, indeed, to supply him with such articles as he desired, so far as they were able; and it is right to add, that he, together with his wife, uniformly attended public worship on the Lord's day, and he was at the same time regular in attending to prayer and the reading of the Holy Scriptures in private.[1]

In this state of excommunication from the church Mr Lewis remained until his death, which happened about sixteen months after he was excluded by his brethren. It was sudden and unexpected, and the cause of it was never fully known. After having ascertained the fact, some of the missionaries went to his habitation, and on their arrival they found his body dressed in a check shirt, a light waistcoat, a pair of trowsers, and shoes on his feet. It was lying on a bedstead, under the roof of his house, but not in his sleeping apartment, and was covered with a piece of country cloth. His forehead, his face, his belly, and his left arm, were severely bruised; a deep cut extended over one of the corners of his mouth toward the nose; there was also a scratch or two on his hands, but nowhere any appearance of fracture. On turning him round nothing like external violence was discovered on his back, but the blood gushed from his right ear as from a fountain, and a thin, ichorous matter, of a dark brown colour, and a disagreeable smell, bubbled through his lips. His belly was prodigiously distended, and scarcely yielded to the greatest pressure; but in the small degree in which it did yield, it greatly increased the discharge from his mouth. Though he had been dead, according to the account of the natives, only eighteen or nineteen hours, the corpse was already extremely offensive.[2]

On examining into the circumstances of his death, the reports of the natives were very various and contradictory. One said, that, like a man out of his senses, he ran against the boards of his room, first at one end, then at the other; next on one side, afterwards on the other; last of all, he ran out at the door, threw himself headlong among the stones, and so was

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 57, 125. [2] Ibid. vol. i. p. 145, 149.

killed. A second said, that he was ill, and died in bed about the middle of the day. A third declared that he was not ill, but that he died suddenly. At first his wife, with whom he appears to have lived on very unhappy terms, and who displayed the utmost insensibility on this occasion, represented him as having killed himself by dashing his head against the stones. Afterwards, however, when more particularly questioned on the subject, she stated no such circumstance; but said, that after preparing for bed, he went to the door, and walked for some time up and down the pavement; at last, she heard him fall, and on going out with a lamp, she found him fallen upon a stone, and the blood running from the wounds. Laying down the light, she ran for her parents, who lived at the distance of about twenty yards; and on her return with them, he was quite dead. Her testimony, however, was extremely suspicious, not only from the circumstance of this striking variation, but there was a man who appeared to act as her prompter, and at one time, after telling her what to say, turned to his companions, and said in a private manner: "That is one part, but say nothing about stones following." Other accounts, indeed, stated, that Mr Lewis was killed by some of the natives; and upwards of a twelvemonth after it was reported to the missionaries, that he was murdered by certain persons of the place where he resided, on account of the woman with whom he had so unhappily connected himself. Though the evidence is by no means decisive, we are strongly inclined to believe that Mr Lewis fell a sacrifice to the treachery of the natives.[1]

Scarcely had six months elapsed after this melancholy event, when the missionaries in Tahiti met with a new and unexpected trial. Mr Broomhall, one of their number, declared himself an infidel. For a considerable time past, indeed, a great want of spirituality had been observed in his prayers; and in his sermons, the name of Christ was scarcely so much as mentioned. After this change took place in his religious sentiments, he became intimate with a young woman, a visitor of Pomare's sister; though, when urged by the natives to live with her, he told them he would not do so, till he had declared himself no priest; that is, that he was no longer a missionary. In vain did his

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 147, 217.

brethren reason; in vain did they expostulate with him: Mr Broomhall was proof against all their arguments, though he was so candid as to acknowledge that he now enjoyed far less happiness than formerly, when he possessed the supports and comforts of religion. The missionaries themselves appear now to have been sensible of the undue severity of their conduct to Mr Lewis; in their treatment of Mr Broomhall, at least, they acted with much less precipitation, and with much greater moderation. Finding him, however, obstinate in his infidel principles, they at length suspended him from all office in the church, and from the ordinance of the Lord's Supper; and as this had no salutary effect upon him, they afterwards passed sentence of excommunication upon him. For a considerable time past, there had been very suspicious circumstances with regard to him and some of the females of Tahiti; and immediately after his excommunication, he avowedly connected himself with one of them. He lived with her in the same house as the missionaries for a number of weeks; but as she then left him and slept with another man, he took a second mistress, with whom he cohabited until his departure from the island. Such were the moral results, or perhaps such was one cause, of his infidel principles.[1]

In May 1800, before intelligence of these painful events could reach England, twelve new missionaries sailed for Tahiti in the Royal Admiral, a ship with convicts for New South Wales, commanded by Captain William Wilson, who had been one of the mates of the Duff, in both her voyages to the Pacific Ocean. Scarcely had they left their native land, when they discovered that the prisoners had brought with them not only impaired constitutions, but the seeds of various diseases; and that now when so great a number as three hundred were crowded together, the prison became the nursery of these disorders. Besides flux and scurvy, a malignant putrid fever broke out among them, and spread most alarmingly, especially while they sailed through the torrid zone. During the voyage to Rio Janeiro, more than one half of the convicts, besides many of the sailors, were taken ill of this and other disorders; and no fewer than forty died, among whom was Mr Turner, the surgeon. Near the latitude

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 177.

where the Duff was captured, they fell in with three French frigates, and would no doubt have been taken by them, had not God in his providence inclined the commodore to accompany them to Rio Janeiro. On their arrival at that port, the fever disappeared; but it afterwards broke out again, not only among the convicts, but among the missionaries, most of whom caught it, and Mr Morris, one of them, died. During the voyage, the missionaries were not idle, but laboured with great assiduity in communicating religious instruction to the crew, and particularly to the unfortunate convicts. For some time they daily went down to the orlop deck, the place where the miserable creatures were confined, and read and explained the Scriptures, conversed, and prayed with them; and though they were a body of ignorant hardened wretches, yet some of them appeared anxious for instruction, and two prayer-meetings were established among them. Afterwards, when the fever increased and became so very alarming, the missionaries judged it inexpedient to visit them in prison; but they still embraced every opportunity of speaking to them on the subject of religion, when they were brought on deck to get the air.[1]

In July 1801, the Royal Admiral, after landing the convicts at Port Jackson, arrived at Tahiti with the missionaries on board. Having met by appointment with Otoo the king, Pomare, and others of the chiefs, Captain Wilson spoke to them concerning the reasons which induced the missionaries originally to come among them, the reception they gave them on their arrival, and the benefits they had already derived from them. He mentioned a few instances in which the missionaries had been ill-treated, and endeavoured to convince them how easy it would be for him to retaliate upon them; that these things were known in Britain; but the chiefs there, still wishing to do them good, had sent other men in the room of those whom their violence had driven away, and expected them to be better treated. Then taking each of the new missionaries by the hand, and leading them up to each of the chiefs, he introduced them by name. With this ceremony they were much pleased, and promised to protect and support them to the

[1] Evan. Mag. vol. viii. p. 255; vol. ix. p. 81, 490; vol. x. p. 73; Miss. Mag. vol. vi. p. 79.

utmost of their power. Before he went away, however, Pomare inquired, "Whether the new missionaries would not fight for him?" Captain Wilson replied, "No, they would fight none, unless in defending themselves in their own habitation." This appeared to sink their value not a little. The chief, however, replied, "Very well, if they will not fight, he would fight for them; but yet he thought it very strange that King George, who had so many fighting men, should send none to his assistance." Before the Royal Admiral left the island, the missionaries, who now amounted to thirteen, were organised into a regular body, and regulations were made for the conduct of divine worship, of their daily employments, their visits to the natives, and a variety of other circumstances.[1]

[1] Evan. Mag. vol. x. p. 283; Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 233, 241.

Mr Broomhall left Tahiti in the Royal Admiral, and on his arrival in China remained in that country in quest of a situation. Of this unhappy young man nothing was heard for several years. It appears, however, that he remained in the East and went to sea, though in what capacity we do not know. He continued for a considerable time in a course of backsliding, yet still he was not without some degree of fear on account of the consequences. Several very alarming accidents at sea, and the breaking of his thigh at Madras, contributed to arouse him from his state of insensibility, and to fill him for a season with fearful apprehensions of divine wrath. He attempted to pray, but started from his knees, shocked at his own baseness, and despairing of obtaining mercy from that God whom he had so grievously offended. In fact, he considered himself as having nothing before him "but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and of fiery indignation to devour him." Having afterwards come to Calcutta, he more than once called on the Baptist missionaries at Serampur, without, however, revealing his proper name or his former character; and in a letter which he addressed to one of them in May 1809, he drew the following dreary picture of the state of his mind:—

"I have been much engaged with my vessel of late; but the truth is, I have not known what to write. I might, perhaps, say something satisfactory of what was foreign to my feelings; but should I attempt to describe the state of my mind, I fear you would not be altogether pleased with the picture, unless you can look with pleasure upon a landscape, where the artist, in attempting to embellish the most prominent figures, had daubed it with such a collection of dark colours, that the whole piece was rendered odious. Such would be the description of my feelings. If I should say I feel daily aspirations of soul after God, yet I feel my passions chained to the earth, and my conduct such that it will not stand the test of Christianity. If prayer is at one time a delight, at others it is an intolerable burden; and though dreadfully convinced of its necessity, I can neglect it for days, almost without a sigh. I am convinced of the pleasure attending the study of the Holy Scriptures, and yet could read almost any thing in preference. I feel a pleasure in the worship of the Most High, and yet am abashed and even uncomfortable in the presence of a Christian. I am perfectly convinced of the mercy that awaits a returning prodigal, and yet I think the glory of God is concerned in shutting up the avenues to it. In short, if the law of the Eternal renders it necessary that 'the backslider shall be filled with his own ways,'

In April 1802, the tranquillity of the island was unhappily interrupted, in consequence of a dispute about Oro, which though only a shapeless log of wood, the Tahitians called their great god. At a numerous meeting held in Attahura, Otoo the king, after having in vain demanded it from the inhabitants of that district, who had it in their possession, took it from them by force. Roused with indignation by this insult, the Attahurans rose in rebellion against him, and being joined by the inhabitants of several other districts, they were at first victorious in their battles with the royalists, whom they treated with the most wanton barbarity. In this exigency, Pomare obtained the assistance of some British seamen, from one or two ships that were then on the island; and though the insurgents advanced boldly to the fight, yet they were quickly repulsed by the royalists; and no sooner did they discover the sailors, than they were overwhelmed with consternation, and fled in all directions. Seventeen were killed on the spot, and among others one of the ringleaders of the insurrection. The Attahurans, however, were not discouraged, and still refused to submit; but, at length, contrary to all expectation, peace was concluded, and

may not his justice withhold those powerful operations of the Holy Spirit, which are absolutely necessary for his return, while he keeps his conscience sufficiently awake to make him miserable? May not one in the situation now described, be deprived of every comfort, stripped of every grace, and through his folly in despising the favour of the Spirit, be suffered to proceed to the last hour of his existence, without enjoying these blessings? This letter must certainly appear strange to you; but if you had ever looked upon the Saviour as the *ultimatum* of your desires, and had really enjoyed experimental religion as a consequence, and yet afterwards had doubted of his existence—endeavoured to persuade yourself that the Bible was a forgery—the soul mortal—and consequently, that there was no hereafter; whilst your conduct corresponded with your sentiments, you would not be much surprised at it."

Soon after writing this letter, Mr Broomhall was laid on a sick-bed at Calcutta, when, we are told, God revealed his mercy to him, softened his heart, removed his fears that his sins were unpardonable, and enabled him to hope that God would accept of him through the righteousness of Jesus Christ. Hitherto he had said nothing of the situation he had held in Tahiti; but one day when he called on Mr Marshman, after some conversation about the state of his soul, he exclaimed, "You now behold an apostate missionary! I am Benjamin Broomhall, who left his brethren nine years ago. Is it possible you can behold me without despising me?" Mr Marshman's surprise at this discovery it is more easy to conceive than describe. It was now the wish of this returning prodigal to join his brethren in Tahiti; but for the present he went on another voyage.—*Authentic Narrative*, p. 204; *Circular Letters relative to the Baptist Missions in India*, vol. ii. p. 35. From that voyage he never returned. It was supposed that the vessel had foundered at sea, as it was never heard of more, and that all on board had perished.—*Ellis' History*, vol. i. p. 140.

tranquillity restored throughout the island. During these commotions, the missionaries were under no small apprehension for their personal safety, and made the best arrangements they were able for their own defence, in case they should be attacked by the insurgents. Even this subjected them to considerable loss; as they were under the necessity of destroying their gardens and their chapel, in order to clear the ground around them, and to prevent an unseen assault.[1]

Hitherto the missionaries had found the acquisition of the language attended with much greater difficulties than was expected. All the vocabularies they had seen of it were essentially defective and erroneous, not only in the fundamental principles of the grammar, but with regard to the pronunciation, orthography, and signification of the words. It was represented as uncommonly easy of acquisition; but they had found the contrary by long and painful experience. In regard to some of the common occurrences of life, a person of ordinary capacity may, indeed, soon make himself understood; but to acquire such a knowledge of it, as was necessary to convey instruction to the natives, and especially instruction of a religious nature, was a most arduous task. It was described as barren of words, but neither was this correct. It is destitute, indeed, as might naturally be supposed, of all such terms as are common among civilized nations, relative to the arts and sciences, manufactures, and commerce; but with regard to those objects with which a Tahitan is conversant, it is exceedingly copious. The simple roots are only a few hundred in number; but these, by the help of affixes and prefixes, may easily be multiplied to five or six thousand, so as to express ideas with the utmost precision. The Tahitian language abounds with vowels, in even a greater degree than any navigator who had given specimens of it ever imagined. Many words consist entirely of vowels, each of which has a distinct enunciation; but the rapidity with which the natives uttered them, rendered it extremely difficult to catch the precise sound. As a natural consequence of this structure of their words, many of them have nearly the same pronunciation, though widely different in sense; a circumstance which proves a source of no small

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 64, 110.

embarrassment to a learner. Besides, the Tahitians make frequent use of abbreviations, by which means the words were often so shortened, that the missionaries were extremely puzzled, and mistook them for new terms. The people, too, often adopted their erroneous pronunciation, as persons in every country are apt to do to children, and thus instead of correcting, confirmed them in their mistakes. From these and a variety of other circumstances, the progress of the missionaries in acquiring the language was extremely slow, and it was often no easy task to unlearn what they had with great difficulty previously learned.[1]

Ever since their arrival on the island, the missionaries had endeavoured, by conversation and other means, to disseminate among the natives some knowledge of Christianity; but now the time arrived when they were able to proclaim to them, "in their own tongue, the wonderful works of God." Just before the outbreaking of the insurrection, two of them, Messrs Nott and Elder, made a circuit through the island, and preached the gospel in every district except Attahura. The natives assembled to hear them, in companies of from twenty to a hundred and sixty; and numbers of them listened with considerable attention, though others appeared exceedingly careless, and acted in a very disorderly manner. After the suppression of the insurrection, the missionaries proceeded in their labours of love, and even extended them to the island of Eimeo, which is about twelve miles distant. In some cases, the natives seemed pleased with what they heard, and said it was "good talk," but in other instances, they treated it with indifference and contempt, and appeared perfectly hardened in their evil ways. It was next to impossible to convince them of the value of the soul, or even to make them understand its nature, for most of them seemed to consider it as something without them, that resided in the other world, and visited them only at certain seasons, as, for instance, in dreaming. One evil very prevalent among them was the taking of the names of Jehovah and Jesus Christ in vain, though they were cautioned against it in almost every discourse. One day, Mr Jefferson heard some of them speaking in a familiar way of Jesus Christ; but they asserted he was a god of no power, and that their idol Oro was the mighty god,

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 117, 135; vol. iii. p. 179.

They, at the same time, affirmed, that the god of England was not good, in proof of which they alleged, the diseases introduced among them by our sailors, and the shipwreck of the Norfolk, a vessel which had been lately lost upon the island. One man, in particular, of a most savage aspect, pointed to a deformed person present, and protested that such things could not be the work of their own god Oro, but of the evil god of England. Indeed, they seldom failed wantonly to call on the missionaries, to look on those who had broken backs, the ague, the flux, the venereal disease, all of which, they alleged, came from England. In short, they attributed to us all their evils, and said there were very few men left; nothing but stones remained, to use their own emphatic phraseology.[1] The bodily diseases under which many of them laboured, instead of disposing them to embrace the gospel, irritated them against it; and, as if the missionaries had been only mocking them, they replied, "You tell us of salvation, and behold we are dying;" and when they were told it was the salvation of their souls from the wrath of God, not of their bodies from disease in the present life, they answered, "We want no other salvation, but to live in this world." Often, when the missionaries exhorted them to turn from their idols, and to worship the true God, they asked, Whether any of the chiefs had believed, and turned to Jehovah? They frequently mentioned Pomare's killing men for sacrifices to their idols, and told them to go and preach to him and the

[1] It is satisfactory to learn from the missionaries, that there is no good reason for thinking that all, or even most, of these diseases were introduced into Tahiti by ships from England; and they suppose that the Tahitians themselves did not believe the charge, though they often brought it forward. Captain Cook, they said, brought the intermittent fever, the crooked backs, and the scrofula, which broke out in their necks, breasts, groins, and armpits; Vancouver the bloodyflux, which in a few months carried off great numbers of them, and then abated; and some alleged it was Bligh who brought the scrofula among them. The missionaries, however, assert, that they got no disease from England except the venereal disorder. As it is said neither Cook nor Vancouver had a sick person on board, the flux and fever, if this statement be correct, could not be introduced by them, nor did the missionaries know of any ship which had either of these diseases on board when at Tahiti; and as intermittent fever, which is the most common and most fatal of their disorders, is not an infectious disease, but arises from the effluvia of marshes, it could not have been communicated by contagion from any of our sailors, even had they been labouring under it. With regard to the crooked backs, the Tahitians themselves allow that they are the effect of the Hotatte, a disease very prevalent on the island, and which could not come from England, as it does not prevail in this country.—*Miss. Trans.* vol. ii. p. 120, 349.

king. Besides, they said, that if they embraced the Christian religion, their own gods would kill them. Many of them, indeed, acquired considerable knowledge of the doctrines of the gospel; but their hearts remained unsanctified, and their conduct unchanged. They were wonderfully bigoted to their own superstition and idolatry; and though they sometimes acknowledged that they were fools and knew nothing, yet they quickly had recourse to their vain delusions, and by means of these refuges of lies, smothered the convictions of their consciences. Hence, it often happened, that when, at one time, the missionaries met with any encouragement among them, the very next time they visited them, they were more discouraged than ever.[1]

In September 1803, Pomare, the father of the king, died very suddenly. One day after dinner, he and two of his men got into a single canoe, and paddled towards the brig Dart, a vessel from London, which was then lying off the island. When they had almost reached her, the chief suddenly felt a pain in his back, which caused him to raise himself with a jerk, and put his hand to the place affected; but no sooner had he done this, than he fell with his face to the bottom of the canoe, and never spoke more. As Pomare was a warm and stedfast friend of the missionaries, especially at first, it may not be improper to give a short sketch of his history and character.

Pomare was born in Opare, and was by birth the chief of that district only; but by his superior talents, together with the assistance of the deserters from the various ships which visited Tahiti, particularly the crew of the Bounty, he raised himself to a kind of sovereignty over the whole island. With regard to his personal qualities, he was a savage of unusual grace and dignity; tall, stout, and well-proportioned. There was something in his appearance which indicated him to be no ordinary man; grave in his countenance, majestic in his deportment, engaging in his manners; but under the appearance of candour, he concealed no small degree of hypocrisy. In prosperity, he was insufferably haughty to his enemies; in adversity, he was no less dejected in his own mind. As a governor, he was extremely oppressive; but yet it was generally allowed that the island had enjoyed a much greater degree of tranquil-

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 57, 121, 123, 126, 133, 286, 303, 327, 338.

lity during his reign, than while the several districts were independent of each other. Perhaps, however, the most remarkable trait in his character was a species of prudence and foresight, rarely found among savages; a mind which was capable of forming certain plans, and of adhering to them, with a view to the distant advantages which would result from them. Erecting houses, building canoes, and cultivating the ground, were favourite employments with him; and the works of this description which he accomplished, place both his talents and his power in a very extraordinary light. His conduct to such Europeans as visited the island, and the countenance he gave the missionaries in particular, were the effects of this political foresight. Resisting, in the first instance, that natural impulse which would have tempted a savage to plunder them without delay, he encouraged them to settle on the island, in the hope that he himself and his country would ultimately reap greater and more permanent advantages from them.

But though Pomare was the friend of the missionaries, he was, at the same time, the very soul of the superstition of his own country. Many were the morais and altars reared at his command all over the island; and besides innumerable costly gifts of canoes, clothes, and other articles, he was continually offering up human sacrifices to propitiate the wrath of his idols. On the whole, the Tahitians considered Pomare the greatest chief they ever had: it is at least certain, he did not leave his equal on the island.[1]

Besides preaching the gospel throughout the island, the missionaries, especially Mr Davies, now began to pay particular attention to the instruction of the children, in the hope that some serious impression might be made on their young and tender minds. The number who, in various places, submitted to be catechised, was on the whole considerable, and the progress which they made was as great as could reasonably be expected. This exercise, however, though highly important, was attended with many difficulties, some of which it may not be improper to mention.

First, There was no way of collecting any number of children

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 147, 292, 295, 297; Turnbull's Voyage Round the World, vol. ii. p. 236; Relig. Mon. vol. ii. p. 213.

together. It was necessary to go to the several places or houses where they were; to take one here, another there, and two perhaps in a third place. They often refused to go even twenty or thirty yards to meet with others, a circumstance which consumed much time, and materially diminished the utility of the exercise.

Secondly, To find convenient time was no easy matter. After the novelty of the catechising was over, every little engagement was deemed an apology for neglecting it. Sometimes all were fishing, or they were in the mountains seeking plantains; at other times they were preparing their ovens, or there was some diversion going on in the neighbourhood. To try to teach them at such seasons was perfectly vain.

Thirdly, The presence of the adults was a serious inconvenience. It was very rare to find the children alone, some of the old people being usually at hand. This would have been an advantage, if they would have listened with attention; but instead of this, they commonly kept up an incessant chattering among themselves, or with the children, so that often nothing could be done for noise and clamour. At other times, they would sit close to the children, and whisper in their ears the most nonsensical and ridiculous answers, with the view of affording diversion to the company. Such of the children as were come any length, they endeavoured to put to shame, by mocking and laughing at them. Besides, they frequently contradicted whatever was said, and spoke of Jehovah and of Jesus Christ in the most contemptuous manner.

Fourthly, The wandering disposition of the young people, was no small bar to their improvement. In Tahiti, every child able to climb an ooroo or a cocoa-nut tree is independent of its parents, and wanders wherever it pleases, without regard to them or any of its friends. Hence, they rarely remained long enough in one place, to learn any thing to purpose; the same children could seldom be catechised twice successively; and as they were often absent for a fortnight or three weeks together, they usually forgot much of what they had learned by the time they returned.

Lastly, The Tahitians had an idea that the missionaries were their debtors, and ought to pay them for submitting to

instruction. Instigated by their parents, the children used often to say to their teachers, "You come here frequently, but what do you bring us? Give us pins, beads, and fish-hooks, or else we will not be taught." As the missionaries had no presents to give, the young people became shy, and some, when they saw their teacher coming, would run away and conceal themselves till he was past.[1]

But notwithstanding these various obstacles, Mr Davies and others of the missionaries persevered in their catechetical labours among the children; and could their young pupils have been instructed more frequently, and by themselves, there is no doubt they would, in a short time, have made considerable progress in Christian knowledge. Many of them, even as it was, learned the whole of the catechism, which the missionaries had prepared in the Tahitian language; and numbers of them continued to retain what they had been taught, after they had been absent for several months.[2]

Not long after the missionaries settled in Tahiti, Otoo the king begged one of them to teach him the Hebrew language, and asked, at the same time, Whether the king of England was acquainted with it? What had excited in his mind this strange desire, it is not easy to conjecture, unless, perhaps, the singular appearance of the Hebrew characters had caught his fancy.[3] He now, however, made an acquisition, which to him was of a more useful and substantial nature, having learned from the missionaries to read and write his own language. Of this we have an interesting specimen, in a letter which he addressed to the Missionary Society, in reply to one which they had written to him. It was composed entirely by himself in the Tahitian language, was then translated by the missionaries into English, and of this the king, who, since the death of his father, had assumed the name of Pomare, wrote the following copy:[4]

*Matavai, Tahiti, January* 1*st*, 1807.

FRIENDS,—I wish you every blessing, friends, in your residence in your country, with success in teaching this bad land,

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 306, 315. [2] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 321. [3] Ibid. vol. i. p. 51.

[4] A fac-simile of this letter may be found in Volume Third of the Missionary Transactions. The characters are well formed, and the whole is written with considerable ease and neatness.

this foolish land, this wicked land; this land which is ignorant of good, this land that knoweth not the true God, this regardless land.

Friends, I wish you health and prosperity. May I also live, and may Jehovah save us all.

Friends, with respect to your letter you wrote to me, I have this to say to you, that your business with me and your wishes, I fully consent to, and shall consequently banish Oro, and send him to Raiatea.

Friends, I do therefore believe and shall obey your word.

Friends, I hope you also will consent to my request, which is this. I wish you to send a great number of men, women, and children here.

Friends, send also property and cloth for us, and we also will adopt English customs.[1]

Friends, send also plenty of muskets and powder, for wars are frequent in our country. Should I be killed, you will have nothing in Tahete. Do not come here when I am dead. Tahete is a regardless country; and should I die with sickness, do not come here. This also I wish, that you would send me all the curious things that you have in England. Also send me every thing necessary for writing; paper, ink, and pens, in abundance. Let no writing utensil be wanting.

Friends, I have done, and have nothing at all more to ask you for. As for your desire to instruct Tahete, 'tis what I fully acquiesce in. 'Tis a common thing for people not to understand at first; but your object is good, and I fully consent to it, and shall cast off all evil customs.

[1] The Tahitians now carried their affectation of English dress so far, that they would give almost any price for an old black or blue coat and a shirt. No man thought he could go before the king on public occasions with any appearance of consequence, unless he had a musket, a coat, and a shirt; or, at least, a coat to accompany his musket. Some of them, it may easily be supposed, would make very grotesque figures. Their regard to England was manifested by other circumstances. Among other ceremonies which took place on the king's return from Eimeo, where he had been for some time, was the sending of a piece of cloth and a small hog to the missionaries as a present for King George. On all public occasions, the names of the principal chiefs are called over, and something given for each of them; if they are not there themselves, some person answers in their name, and receives the present. Ever since the time of Captain Cook, His Britannic Majesty has had the honour of having his name added to the list; and when it is called, if any Englishman be there, he answers and receives the present; if there is none, it is given to the natives.—*Miss. Trans.* vol. iii. p. 170, 172.

What I say is truth, and no lie; it is the real truth.
This is all I have to write; I have done.
Friends, write to me that I may know what you have to say.
I wish you life and every blessing.
May I also live, and may Jehovah save us all.

POMARE, King of Tahete, &c., &c.[1]

For my Friends,
The Missionary Society, London.

In November 1808, Messrs Eyre, Henry, Davies, Elder, Tessier, and Warner, six of the missionaries, after labouring so long with little or no appearance of success, left Tahiti, and retired to Huahine. Of late years, great quantities of muskets and gunpowder had been introduced into Tahiti by the various ships which visited the island; they were, in fact, the principal articles which they bartered with the natives. The missionaries had long been apprehensive that this would at length give rise to a civil war, especially as the king was resolved to have all the muskets into his own hands, and the people were no less determined to retain them; a considerable party was already formed against him, and matters appeared for several years to be drawing to some great crisis.[2] The storm, however, had been averted so long, that the missionaries had almost begun to flatter themselves with the continuance of peace; but they lately received a letter from the king, informing them, that it was likely the island would soon be involved in war, and warning them to be on their guard. From this period, the alarm became general; the rebel party daily increased in numbers and in strength; and it seemed as if hostilities would commence immediately. Meanwhile, the brig Perseverance, from Port Jackson, anchored in Matavai Bay; and Pomare, notwithstanding his strong attachment to the missionaries, advised them, especially the married brethren, to consult their own safety, by embracing this opportunity of leaving the island. At one time, he himself intended to quit Tahiti, and actually obtained a passage in this vessel to Huahine; but afterwards he changed his mind, apprehending he would by this means lose all his authority at home. "Perhaps, however," said he,

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 175.

[2] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 36, 189.

"the people may ere long cut off my head, as the people of France treated their king;" for it seems that event was not unknown even in the islands of the Pacific Ocean. Agreeably to the advice of the king, the missionaries resolved to leave the island; but on learning that he had determined to stay, it was agreed that Messrs Hayward, Nott, Wilson, and Scott, who were all unmarried, should remain with him, a circumstance which appeared to afford him great satisfaction.

For some weeks after the departure of the missionaries, there was a cessation of hostilities between Pomare and the rebels; but the king, infatuated by one of his false prophets, ventured at length to attack them; and as they had the advantage not only in respect of numbers, but of ground, his party was repulsed, some of his principal warriors were slain, and numbers of muskets taken by the enemy. Encouraged by this success, the rebels now overran the country, and committed terrible devastations. The houses of the missionaries were burnt, their gardens laid waste, their plantations demolished, their cattle seized, and the rest of their property plundered. On receiving intelligence of Pomare's defeat, the missionaries who still remained on the island sailed to Eimeo; the king himself followed them in about three weeks, and, after some time, all of them, except Mr Nott, retired to Huahine. Pomare afterwards returned to Tahiti and engaged the rebels, but was again defeated with the loss of twenty-four of his warriors, so that he was now obliged to act only on the defensive, until he should receive some reinforcements which he expected.

In October 1809, the whole of the missionaries in Huahine, with the exception of Mr Hayward, sailed from that island for New South Wales. Considering the past inauspicious history of the mission, the war in Tahiti, their expulsion from that island, the destruction of their houses, the loss of their property, the improbability of Pomare's restoration, the slaughter which was likely to take place before the establishment of tranquillity, even should he eventually be restored, they thought it could serve no valuable purpose to persist in cultivating a field which for so many years had proved so completely barren, and which now afforded, if possible, less prospect of fruit than ever. On arriving in New South Wales, they obtained a supply of their

present necessities, and were provided with the means of supporting themselves in useful and respectable situations.[1]

Thus terminated to human appearance the mission to the island of Tahiti, the inhabitants of which had not known the time of their merciful visitation, and now it seemed to be closed for ever. Such had been the revolution in the sentiments of the Christian world, that this mission, which at first excited such mighty expectations, and which threw all others into the shade, had long been considered as a kind of forlorn hope. Its total abandonment appeared now the voice of God in his providence, and that so plainly expressed, that it seemed scarcely possible to mistake the interpretation; its resumption, we believe, would have found few or no advocates. The population of Tahiti was now so small, and was diminishing so rapidly, that it seemed not improbable the present race would become extinct in the course of a few years. Captain Cook computed the inhabitants at 204,000; Forster, who accompanied him as a naturalist, calculated them at 121,500; but there is little doubt that both these estimates were greatly beyond the truth. Mr William Wilson, on the arrival of the Duff, made a tour of the greater part of the island, with the express view of ascertaining the population, and from the observations he made he estimated it at 16,050 souls. The missionaries, about six years after, stated that the inhabitants did not exceed seven or eight thousand; some of them even supposed there were not more than five thousand. The population, indeed, was diminishing every year in consequence of the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, the murder of their infant children, the practice of human sacrifices, and the havoc of the venereal disorder, and other

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 328, 332.

Among the many trials of the missionaries, none had been more keenly felt by them, or had a more injurious influence on the mission, than the want of supplies and letters from England. They received supplies from England only twice during the twelve years they had been on the island, viz., by the Royal Admiral in 1801, and by the Hawkesbury, a small colonial vessel, in 1806. Nor did they receive letters much more frequently, though ships often arrived from which they occasionally obtained newspapers or magazines, and though they wrote to England by almost every vessel giving minute accounts of their proceedings.—*Ellis' Hist.* vol. i. p. 197. It must have been a sore aggravation of their other trials to find themselves thus apparently neglected and abandoned by the Society and by their friends in England, and cut off as it were from the Christian and the civilized world.

maladies.[1] Cheerless, however, as was the prospect before them, the missionaries did return; and now their labours were attended with a success which at once surprised and delighted the friends of missions.

In July 1811, Messrs Bicknell and Scott, and a few weeks after, Messrs Henry, Davies, and Wilson, sailed from New South Wales for Tahiti. They had not been long in the colony, when they felt a wish to return and resume their labours on that island. Pomare had of late written them several letters in the most affectionate strain, entreating them to come back, and expressing the deepest sorrow at their absence. On reaching the Georgian Islands, they took up their residence on Eimeo, where the king then resided, as the continuance of peace in Tahiti appeared somewhat doubtful.[2]

Though Pomare had formerly treated the missionaries with the utmost friendship and respect, and had learned from them to read and write his own language, yet he had shewn no disposition to embrace the gospel. He was even averse to religious instruction, and whenever the subject was introduced, artfully endeavoured to evade it. But about twelve months after their return he came to them, and offered himself as a candidate for baptism, declaring that it was his fixed determination to worship Jehovah the true God, and expressing his desire to be further instructed in the principles of religion. This resolution he gave them to understand, was the result of long and increasing conviction of the truth and excellence of the gospel. With him this does not appear to have been merely the cold assent of the understanding: his sinfulness and misery appear to have made a deep impression on his heart. His letters now formed a striking contrast to that which he addressed a few years before to the Missionary Society: they breathe a spirit of contrition for his sins and of deep anxiety about his eternal interests, which are rarely found among the princes of this world.

"May Jehovah and Jesus Christ," says he, in one letter to the missionaries, "may the Three-One, our only trust and

[1] Cook's Second Voyage, vol. i. p. 349; Forster's Observations during a Voyage round the World, p. 217; Miss. Voy. p. 181, 215: Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 129, 144, 336; vol. iii. p. 36; Quarterly Chronicle, vol. i. p. 366.

[2] Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 387, 444.

Saviour, bless you! May my soul be saved by Jesus Christ! May the anger of Jehovah towards me be appeased, who am a wicked man, guilty of accumulated crimes, of regardlessness and ignorance of the true God, and of an obstinate perseverance in wickedness! May Jehovah also pardon my foolishness, unbelief, and rejection of the truth! May Jehovah give me his good Spirit, to sanctify my heart, that I may love what is good, and that I may be enabled to put away all my evil customs, and become one of his people, and be saved through Jesus Christ, our only Saviour. You indeed will be saved, you are become the people of God; but I may be banished to hell; God may not regard me: I am a wicked man, and my sins are great and accumulated. But O that we may all be saved through Jesus Christ. May the anger of God toward us all be appeased, for all of us have been disobedient to him as our Lord and Master. Look at the beasts; they are all obedient to him as their lord and master; but we have not obeyed our Lord and Master. Surely we are fools!"

After mentioning in another letter that he had been taken ill a few days before, he adds: "My affliction is great; but if I can only obtain the favour of God before I die, I shall count myself well off. But oh! should I die with my sins unpardoned, it will be ill indeed with me. Oh, may my sins be pardoned, and my soul saved through Jesus Christ! And may Jehovah regard me before I die, and then I shall rejoice because I have obtained the favour of Jehovah!"

"I continue," says he, in another letter, "to pray to God without ceasing. Regardless of other things, I am concerned only that my soul may be saved by Jesus Christ! It is my earnest desire, that I may become one of Jehovah's people; and that God may turn away his anger from me, which I deserve for my wickedness, my ignorance of him, and my accumulated crimes."

On another occasion he says, "I perfectly agree to your request in your letter lately wrote to me, my dear friends, in which you desire my permission to cut down the Tamanu and the Amai.[1] Cut them down without regarding the consequences, for a keel for our vessel. What will be the consequence? Shall

[1] These, we suppose, were sacred trees.

we be destroyed by the evil spirits? We cannot be destroyed by them; we have a great Saviour, Jesus Christ. Where you lead, regardless of consequences, I this evil man will follow."

"The Three-One can make me good. I venture with all my guilt to Jesus Christ, though I am not equalled in wickedness, not equalled in guilt, not equalled in obstinate disobedience and rejection of the truth, that this very wicked man may be saved by Jehovah Jesus Christ."[1]

In June 1813, Messrs Scott and Hayward, in consequence of some favourable reports which had from time to time been received from Tahiti, went over to that island with the view of ascertaining the truth of these accounts, and were happy to learn various circumstances of a more favourable nature than could previously have been imagined. The example of Pomare in renouncing the religion of his ancestors, and in embracing Christianity, produced, as might be expected, a powerful sensation among the inhabitants of Tahiti. Instructions which had lain dormant, and convictions which had been stifled for years, now appeared to revive. Two individuals in particular, Tuahine and Oito, who had formerly been servants of the missionaries, now appeared to be seriously impressed by the gospel. As they separated themselves from their companions, often conversed together and retired to the bush to pray together, the singularity of their conduct soon attracted observation. Many mocked and derided them; but several young men and boys attached themselves to them; and the little band, without any missionary to teach them, agreed to cast off their idols, to refrain from the evil customs of their country, to observe the Sabbath, and to worship Jehovah alone.[2]

Messrs Scott and Hayward, after making a tour of the larger peninsula of Tahiti, returned to Eimeo, with Tuahine, Oito, and their companions, who accompanied them for the purpose of attending school and of enjoying the means of religious instruction. Previous to their arrival, some favourable symptoms had appeared among the domestics of the missionaries and others of the inhabitants of that island. After several conversations with the individuals who had lately come from Tahiti, and with

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 188; vol. iv. p. 5, 8, 14.
[2] Ibid. vol. iv. p. 130.

others who appeared desirous of instruction, the missionaries, at the close of a public meeting for divine worship in the native language, gave notice, that on the following evening there would be a meeting different from any they had ever held before, and to it they invited all who sincerely renounced their false Gods, and desired to relinquish their evil customs, who wished to receive Jehovah as their God, and Jesus Christ as their only Saviour, and to be instructed in his Holy Word, in order that they might put down their names in a book, that they might know who they were. About forty attended the meeting, and of these thirty-one cheerfully came forward to have their names put down, as being of the character now described. Some others declined this for the present, and the missionaries pressed no one, but urged on them all attendance on the means of religious instruction. With those who gave in their names, the missionaries held special meetings beside their ordinary ones for the general instruction of the natives; and they had from time to time the satisfaction of adding others to their number.[1]

Besides the congregation in Eimeo, which now increased so much that it became necessary to enlarge the place of worship, there were numbers in Tahiti who publicly renounced idolatry, observed the Sabbath, and met together to worship the true God, and were known by the name of Praying people. There were also a number of the same description in Huahine, and Raiatea, and in the small island of Tapua-manu. The number of those who renounced idolatry in the several islands, was probably not less than between five and six hundred, among whom were most of the principal chiefs. Two of the missionaries made a tour through Huahine, Raiatea, and Taha, and had large and attentive congregations, who, contrary to former usage, assembled of their own accord. The gods of the natives appeared to be falling into great disrepute: everywhere the people called them "bad spirits," "foolish spirits;" but the God of the missionaries, they called "the good spirit."

In 1815, the idolatrous chiefs in Tahiti, provoked by the apostasy of such numbers of the people, united together in a confederacy, though previously some of them had been rivals

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 131, 139, 144, 150.

and enemies, to check the progress of so alarming an evil. A night was fixed on when they were to fall on the professors of the new religion, and exterminate them without mercy; but some of the parties being rather dilatory in their movements, and secret intelligence of the plot having been conveyed to the converts, they escaped to the island of Eimeo, before their enemies attacked them. The disappointed chiefs now quarrelled among themselves, and the Attahurans fell upon the party which had invited them. In the contest which ensued, the latter were defeated, and among the slain, was one of their principal chiefs, and a promoter of the war. The Attahurans being joined by the inhabitants of other two districts, burned, and plundered, and laid waste the country. The question about religion seemed now entirely forgotten: the different parties fought to revenge quarrels which had originated many years before.[1]

Meanwhile Pomare remained in Eimeo, maintaining a strict neutrality in the contests between the different parties in Tahiti, but receiving all who fled thither for safety. Peace having been at length restored between the contending parties, the people who had fled on account of their religion were invited to return and take possession of their lands. In consequence of this, Pomare and his adherents proceeded to Tahiti in company with the different parties of refugees, in order to reinstate them in their possessions in a formal manner, agreeably to the ancient custom of the island. On their approach, however, the idolatrous party appeared on the beach to oppose their landing and fired upon them. By the order of the king, the fire was not returned, but a message of peace was sent to them. An apparent reconciliation having taken place, several of the people returned peaceably to their own lands. Scarcely, however, had a few days elapsed, when the heathen party, taking advantage of the Sabbath, and of the time when the king and the other converts were assembled for divine worship, made a sudden and furious attack upon them, expecting that, being taken by surprise, they would be thrown into confusion, and prove an easy conquest. In this, however, they were mistaken. Having anticipated such a stratagem as a probable occurrence, the missionaries had warned their people of it before their departure

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 273.

from Eimeo, in consequence of which they attended worship under arms, and though they were at first thrown into some disorder, yet they soon rallied again. A warm and furious battle ensued, and several fell on both sides. As the whole of the Christian party were not engaged at once, such as had a few moments' respite fell on their knees, crying to Jehovah to protect them, and to support his own cause against the heathen. Soon after the commencement of the battle, the chief of Papara, the principal man on the side of the idolaters, was killed. As soon as this was known, the whole of his party were thrown into confusion, and in a short time entirely routed. Pomare treated the vanquished with great moderation and lenity. He gave strict orders that the fugitives should not be pursued, and that the women and children should not be injured. Not a woman or child, accordingly, was hurt, nor was the property of the vanquished plundered. The bodies of the slain, contrary to the common practice, were decently interred, and the corpse of the chief of Papara was conveyed in a respectful manner to his own district.

Struck with the events of the war, the idolaters unanimously declared they would no longer trust to their gods, which had deceived them and sought their ruin, but would embrace the new religion, which must needs be good, since it taught its votaries so much mildness and forbearance. Pomare was now, by universal consent, established in the government of the whole of Tahiti and its dependencies, which he had lost by the rebellion seven years before. He constituted chiefs in the several districts, some of whom had for a considerable time made a profession of Christianity. Idolatry was completely abolished both in Tahiti and Eimeo. The gods were destroyed, the morais demolished, the Arreoy society dissolved, human sacrifices and the murder of infants abolished. The fate of the great god Oro, which had formerly occasioned such commotions, is not unworthy of notice. At the close of the war, when the idolaters had given up their cause, Pomare sent some of his followers to destroy the house and altars of the idol in Taiarabu. It was supposed by some that the inhabitants of that district would oppose the measure, but they made no resistance. After burning the house and demolishing the altars and morais, the

party brought away the idol on their shoulders, stripped of all its ornaments. The log of wood which constituted the body of the god was taken to Pomare and was set up in what might be called his kitchen, to hang baskets of food upon, a very despicable use in the eyes of a Tahitian. His family idols, which had been transmitted to him from his ancestors, the king presented to the missionaries, that they might either destroy them or send them to England to shew the inhabitants of this country what foolish gods the people of Tahiti had worshipped. They were accordingly forwarded to London, and were deposited in the museum of the Missionary Society, a memorable trophy of the triumph of Christianity in the Georgian Islands, calculated to awaken at once the deepest commiseration for those immortal beings, who could make such monstrous figures the object of their worship and confidence, and the liveliest joy at the thought that they were now utterly abolished.[1]

In 1817, Messrs William Ellis, J. M. Orsmond, L. E. Threlkeld, C. Barff, R. Bourne, D. Darling, and John Williams, arrived at Eimeo as a reinforcement of the mission. Though the missionaries had occasionally visited Tahiti for the purpose of preaching to the natives, yet none of them had as yet settled on that island. On the arrival, however, of so considerable a body of new missionaries, it was resolved not only to re-establish the mission in Tahiti, but to form stations in the Society, or as they are often called, the Leeward, Islands. Matavai, the original seat of the mission in Tahiti, was first occupied. Three other stations were formed, one in the district of Pare, another in the district of Papara, and a third in the district of Attahura. Several other stations were afterwards established in different parts of the island.[2]

In June, 1818, Messrs Davies, Ellis, Williams, and Orsmond, proceeded to Huahine with the view of commencing stations in the Leeward Islands, most of which had already renounced

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 359, 426, 431 ; Quarterly Chronicle, vol. i. p. 255, 260.

[2] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 10 ; Ibid. 1820, p. 4 ; Ibid. 1822, p. 7 ; Ibid. 1830, p. 6. The whole group is often called the Society Islands, and we think this the more convenient designation ; but it was originally divided into the Georgian or Windward Islands, including Tahiti, Eimeo, Tetaroa, and Tapua-manu, and the Society or Leeward Islands, consisting of Huahine, Raiatea, Taha, Bora-bora, Maurua, and Tubai.—*Rep. Miss. Soc.* 1819, p. 4.

idolatry and made a profession of Christianity. They were accompanied by several chiefs of the Leeward group, who had sometime before left their own islands to assist Pomare in regaining the sovereignty of Tahiti, and who, during their stay, had participated in the general desire which prevailed for instruction. Shortly after the commencement of the mission in Huahine, Tapa and other chiefs of Raiatea came to invite some of the missionaries to that island, to instruct them and their people in the word of God; and two of them, Messrs Williams and Threlkeld, accordingly settled on that island. Mai, one of the chiefs of Bora-bora, sent the missionaries a letter reminding them that Jesus Christ and his apostles did not confine themselves to one country or one place; and after some time Mr Orsmond commenced a station on that island also; Mr Bourne, another of the missionaries, settled in Taha; and the other smaller islands were occasionally visited by the missionaries, and were furnished with native teachers.[1] Such were the arrangements which were made for the Christianization both of the Windward and the Leeward Islands.

There often appears something extraordinary and quite unaccountable in the renunciation of idolatry, and the profession of Christianity, by the natives of the South Sea Islands. In the progress of our history, we shall find frequent examples of this. It is like an effect without a cause; and many, in their wonder, are ready to ascribe it to the unseen working of a Divine hand, and look on it as so plainly the work of God, that no one can mistake or doubt it. But if the nature of the case were better understood, there would be found little ground for such conclusions. In many of the islands, the renunciation of idolatry did not arise, at least in the first instance, from any right understanding of the evil of idol worship, or of the nature of Christianity; it was simply the result of the example and authority of the chiefs. So long as they adhered to the religion of their fathers, the people had no thought of changing it for any other; but so soon as they declared in favour of the new religion, their subjects were ready to follow them. They would now perhaps destroy their morais, deliver up or burn their idols,

[1] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1818, p. 53; Ibid. 1819, p. 3; Ibid. 1820, p. 10; Ibid. 1822, p. 33; Quart. Chron. vol. ii. p. vii.

profess Christianity, erect places of worship, and even observe the Sabbath ; while yet they continued to indulge in the most degrading vices, living like the beasts of the fields. The change was at the beginning, in most cases, merely in name: it wanted not only purity, but reality.[1]

In travelling through Tahiti and the other islands, the missionaries were received by the inhabitants in the most friendly manner. A few years before, it was scarcely possible to collect a congregation: the missionaries were obliged to entice them to hear the word, and frequently, when they were endeavouring to gather a few together, the people would make their escape, skulking behind the trees or bushes. Now large congregations assembled of their own accord: some even came a distance of many miles. Their eagerness for instruction, and their regularity in attending on the means of grace, might have put multitudes of the professors of religion in Christian countries to the blush. Frequently the service had to commence before the ordinary time, in consequence of the house being full. Instead of a multitude of idols, morais, and altars, there were now churches in every district: except here and there a heap of stones, scarce a vestige of the old religion was to be seen. The questions, which the natives put to the missionaries, relative to points doctrinal, experimental, and practical, were often extremely pertinent. Family worship was established in almost every house, and secret prayer was the practice of almost every individual. In those places where there was no preaching, the

[1] Quart. Chron. vol. ii. p. 427, 445.

Of some of these statements, we have an illustration in the case of Raiatea. Tapa, the principal chief of that island, had two years before the arrival of the missionaries publicly renounced idolatry and professed Christianity, and his example was followed by many of the people.—*Miss. Trans.* vol. iv. p. 428. Mr Williams soon after his arrival among them writes, "It is very delightful to see them on Sabbath morning very neatly dressed, and going to the house of prayer. After the service they return to their homes and eat what had been prepared on the previous day. After the meal they go again to chapel. I assure you, you would be delighted to observe the attention of many to the word of God." But, adds Mr Prout, the biographer of Williams, "Pleasing as was their reception, and promising as were the appearances around them, the missionaries soon discovered that the moral state of the people was to the lowest degree debased and discouraging. 'Their customs,' they write, 'are abominable;' too abominable indeed to allow of the insertion of the passages which allude to them in these pages. 'All the inhabitants have now made a profession of Christianity. It is the *national* religion, and as such it is adopted by the people. In a word, they are a nation of Antinomians.'" —*Prout's Life of the Rev. John Williams*, p. 60, 63, 179.

natives had prayer-meetings among themselves. The Rateras and some of the priests took the lead in their religious exercises, engaging in prayer by turns. The propriety, fluency, and earnestness, with which some of them expressed themselves on these occasions, were truly wonderful. The strictness of the natives in observing the Sabbath was also remarkable. It often afforded the missionaries singular pleasure, to look around them on a Saturday afternoon, and see the smoke ascending from the cooking-houses of the people, who were preparing their victuals for the ensuing Sabbath. Not a fire was lighted, not a canoe seen on the water, not a journey undertaken, not the least kind of worldly business done on the Lord's day. When Mr Crook, who had previously been a missionary in the South Sea Islands, was returning to Tahiti, he was astonished on his arrival, that none of the natives made their appearance, as the vessel sailed along the shore, and that no smoke arose from their dwellings. At first, he was afraid that the island had been laid waste, and the inhabitants destroyed; but while he was indulging in these apprehensions, one of the sailors, a Tahitian, remarked that the natives were observing the Sabbath; that on that day, they now did no work, nor cooked any victuals, nor went out of their houses, except to worship God; but spent the whole of its sacred hours in the exercises of religion, or in teaching one another to read. The vessel, at length, anchored in Matavai Bay; but not a native made his appearance until next morning, when great numbers came on board, bringing with them the usual tokens of hospitality, presents of cloth, food, and fruit of various kinds.[1]

Besides instructing the natives in the principles of Christianity, the missionaries taught them to read and write their own language, and, in some instances, arithmetic. In this attempt, they formerly met with little encouragement; now their exertions were crowned with singular sucess. The schools in each of the islands, were attended by some hundred persons, including adults and children. Many of the scholars were afterwards scattered among the neighbouring islands, and employed themselves in communicating to others the knowledge they had ac-

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 142, 152, 428; Quart. Chron. vol. i. p. 263, 270, 321, 366, 368; Evan. Mag. vol. xxvi. p. 174, 273, 314, 359; vol. xxvii. p. 349; vol. xxx. p. 457.

quired. By this means, the art of reading and writing was much more rapidly and extensively diffused, than could possibly have been effected by the missionaries alone. Pomare even issued orders, that school-houses should be erected in every district of Tahiti and Eimeo, and that the best instructed of the natives should be employed in teaching others.[1]

Besides school-books, catechisms, and other small works, the missionaries prepared a translation of the Old and New Testament into the Tahitian language.[2] Some of these works were first printed in England or New South Wales; but on obtaining a press of their own, they were better able to supply the urgent demands of the natives for books. With the view of encouraging the people to learn, they formerly distributed the works they printed gratis; but as this spirit no longer required to be cherished, they now very wisely resolved to take payment for them. The Gospel of Luke, which was the first of the gospels that was printed, was sold for three gallons of cocoa-nut oil; and though the edition consisted of three thousand copies, yet multitudes of the natives were grievously disappointed, that no more were to be had. Nothing could exceed the eagerness of the people to obtain copies: while waiting for them they would scarcely retire to sleep at night, lest they should be disappointed; they would not even stop till they were bound; but insisted on having them as they were, and they got the skins of goats, and dogs, and other animals, for the purpose of binding them themselves. Such as did obtain a copy, took such care of it, as shewed the high value they set upon it. A cover was immediately made for it, and a bag or basket was provided in which to carry it about: some were even afraid to take it

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 275, 428; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 8; Evan. Mag. 1823, p. 162; Quart. Chron. vol. ii. p. 158, 315.

[2] It is gratifying to the author of this work to find, that among the pieces translated into the Tahitian language was the Catechism, which forms the first part of his "Christian Instructions for Children from three to seven years of age."—*Rep. Miss. Soc.* 1827, p. 16. It was also translated into Rarotongan, *Ibid.* 1835, p. 17; into Chinese, *Ibid.* 1825, p. 47, and 1826, p. 26; into Tamil, *Ibid.* 1825, p. 99; into Malagash, the language of Madagascar, *Evan. Mag.* 1825, p. 310; and into Sichuana, the language of the Bechuanas in South Africa. Into the last-mentioned language was also translated his "Selection of Passages of Scripture for Young Persons to commit to Memory."—*Evan. Mag.* 1830, p. 503; *Rep. Miss. Soc.* 1833, p. 92. He is not without the hope that if these two small pieces were more generally known to missionaries, they might find them not unworthy of translation for the use of their schools.

out, lest it should get dirtied or torn; they were also afraid to leave it at home, lest it should be injured in their absence. A native who possessed a book was seldom seen without it, except when he was at work: the people might frequently be seen sitting in circles, beneath the shade of a wide-spreading tree, and reading to each other in their own language the wonderful works of God. Books, in short, were now the most valuable property in these islands.[1]

In Tahiti, which was so lately the seat of the most cruel and degrading superstition, there was even established a Missionary Society for promoting the propagation of Christianity among the Heathen. At the public meeting held for forming it, Pomare reminded the natives how much of their time used to be spent in worshipping idols; how large a part of their property was consecrated to their service; how many of their lives were sacrificed to their honour; and that all this was done for what was no god, being nothing more than a piece of wood, or a cocoa-nut husk. He explained to them the means by which the heralds of mercy had come thither, for the natives imagine that the missionaries may go on board a ship, as they themselves go on board the canoes of one another, and be conveyed free of expense wherever they please; but the king told them that was not the case; that a great quantity of money was given to the captains of vessels, to carry them to the scene of their labours; and that this was furnished by good people in England, who wished "the word of God to grow." It was by such means that they now enjoyed the light of the gospel, and he thought it was right that they should endeavour to send it to other lands, which were still in darkness; and, though they had no money, yet they might give pigs, arrowroot, cocoa-nut oil, and cotton, "to buy money." He contrasted how little they were now called upon to give in the service of the true God, with what they used to spend in the worship of idols. He insisted, however, that there should be no compulsion; that whatever was given, should be given voluntarily, and that those who did not contribute, should not be evil spoken of on that account. He closed his speech, by proposing that all present, "who wished

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 282; vol. iv. p. 147, 276, 360; Quart. Chron. vol. i. p. 257, 271, 288, 300, 305, 447, 490; vol. iii. p. 37, 75, 361; Evan. Mag. vol. xxiii. p. 516; vol. xxvii. p. 349.

"the word of God to grow," and who agreed to his proposal, should signify their mind, by holding up their hand. Instantly, every hand in the assembly, which consisted of two or three thousand persons, was raised in token of their readiness to unite in the glorious work of propagating the gospel of Christ among the heathen. The contributions were to consist, agreeably to the king's proposal, of cocoa-nut oil, arrowroot, and other productions of the island, which were to be accounted for to the Missionary Society in London. Similar societies were formed in Eimeo, in Huahine, in Bora-bora, and in Raiatea, with a branch at Taha. The produce of the cocoa-nut oil, sent to England by these associations was, on one occasion, not less than £1877 : 3 : 7.[1] An interest in missions was kept up among the natives for some years; but the contributions afterwards fell off greatly.

Amongst other fruits which the introduction of Christianity into Tahiti and the neighbouring islands produced, it was pleasing to witness the improvement which it effected in the moral and civil condition of the people. The female instead of being merely the slave of the man, was now raised to a level with him as his companion. Formerly the sexes ate separately, a custom which proved the source of many and great evils; now the whole family assembled together at the same meal, men, women, and children. Concubinage, which was common among the chief men in the islands, prior to the introduction of Christianity, was now unknown; and though formal marriages did not take place among the natives in general, yet the principle of the marriage union was strictly and almost universally observed. Not only did the horrid practice of infanticide cease, but mothers who once destroyed their infant offspring, now manifested to their children a remarkable degree of tenderness and affection, and some deeply lamented the loss of their little ones, who had fallen a sacrifice to the unnatural and cruel custom. Prior to the introduction of the gospel, it was common for the women to flock, for the basest of purposes, on board the ships that occasionally touched at the islands; now this custom not only ceased, but was considered by them, in general, as ex-

[1] Quart. Chron. vol. i. p. 442, 446, 496, 498; vol. ii. p. 157, 233; Evan. Mag. vol. xxviii. p. 349; vol. xxvii. p. 82, 171; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1822, p. xcv.

ceedingly disgraceful. The sports of the natives were formerly highly indecent, and spread a moral contagion through the great mass of the population; now they had entirely altered their character; and, in fact, among the various remarkable changes which took place in these islands, none appeared to the missionaries so singular as the complete cessation of these abominable and fascinating amusements. The sick and aged, who used formerly to be considered as a burden, and were sometimes buried alive by their own relations, were now treated by them with kindness and humanity. Under the reign of the ancient superstition, when any great calamity occurred, several of the natives used to be sacrificed to appease the wrath of the offended gods. At the instance of the priests, the king sent off messengers in various directions, who were commissioned to enter the peaceful dwellings of particular individuals previously marked out as their wretched victims. It sometimes happened that the messenger entered as a friend, and was hospitably entertained as such, when seizing his opportunity, he struck his host to the ground a lifeless corpse. The terrified relations of the murdered person instantly fled, whilst his body was carried off as a sacrifice to the Morai. This cruel custom, however, had now entirely ceased; a human sacrifice was a thing unknown. In consequence of the abolition of these various practices, the population of the islands, which had been rapidly diminishing, promised soon to increase: even already, there was a visible difference in the number of children.[1]

But though many cruel practices had utterly ceased, and many crimes which formerly prevailed were seldom heard of, there was reason to fear that vices of a very heinous character were still practised by some of the natives, a fact which will excite no surprise in the minds of those who reflect on the deep depravity of human nature, the inveteracy of evil habits, and the short time which Christianity had as yet exerted its benign and purifying influence in these islands. Among the many causes which obstruct the improvement of morals, we may particularly notice the uncontrolled condition of the young. Among a people just emerging from a state of barbarism, the advantages resulting to children from the prudent exercise of parental

[1] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1820, p. 13.

authority, can scarcely be expected; but in Tahiti and the neighbouring islands, the children were so independent of their parents, in regard to subsistence, that they enjoyed the most unbridled licence. A lad, if punished by his parents, would absent himself from home for weeks or months together, roving from one district to another, or even to other islands. The efficacy of parental authority was lost on a boy, who found himself as happy and more independent among strangers, than under the roof of his father. From the same cause, it was scarcely possible to obtain a regular attendance of the children at school.[1]

With the moral improvement of a people, the arts of civilization are intimately connected; but these for some years made little progress among the inhabitants of Tahiti and the neighbouring islands. Formerly, the property of the natives was arbitrarily demanded from them by the king and the chiefs; but since the reception of Christianity, the rights of the people were better understood, and what was once a compulsory requisition, was now in general converted into a civil request. One great check to industry was thus partially removed, for it is not to be expected that men will shew much disposition to labour for that of which they may be deprived the very next day by the authority or caprice of another. Still, however, the general mildness of the climate, and the natural fertility of the soil, rendered the natives in a great measure independent of regular labour. Idleness, indolence, and roving habits, were, as a consequence of this, prevalent among them; for men will not readily work to procure that of which they feel no need. To create therefore among them artificial wants, appeared one of the most likely means of forming them to habits of industry, and of promoting among them settled residence.[2]

With the view of creating among them artificial wants, and at the same time furnishing them with the means of supplying them, the directors of the Missionary Society were anxious to introduce among them the cultivation of the sugar-cane, and also of cotton and coffee. They accordingly sent Mr John Gyles to Tahiti with the apparatus necessary for the manufac-

[1] Quart. Chron. vol. i. p. 441. [2] Miss. Chron. vol. i. p. 441.

ture of sugar; but though he obtained a piece of land for a plantation, and the sugar-works were actually erected, the hopes which were formed of the success of the undertaking were in the first instance in a great degree disappointed. The captain of an American vessel which touched at Tahiti, told some of the natives that, should the sugar-works succeed, persons of property would come from beyond the sea and establish themselves among them; that they would seize their lands, and kill them, or make them slaves; and as an evidence of this, he referred to what had taken place in the West Indies. In consequence of this, Pomare informed the missionaries, that he could not consent to the prosecution of the sugar-works except on a very limited scale. With the view of satisfying the king, and quieting the apprehensions of the people, they advised Mr Gyles to leave the island, but though the manufacture of sugar was so much opposed at first, it came, after some years, to be prosecuted on a considerable scale, and promised to be a source of extensive and permanent benefit to the people.[1]

The directors afterwards sent two artizans, Messrs Armitage and Blossom, to Tahiti, with the view of introducing the manufacture of cotton and other mechanical arts; but the attempt was attended with many difficulties, and was not so successful as was expected. The natives found that they could purchase calicoes and other articles from the ships much cheaper than they could manufacture them from the cotton grown on the island. Indeed, it is remarked by Mr Williams, that it is not generally advisable to attempt the introduction of complex manufactures among an infant people. A nation just emerging from barbarism should rather be encouraged to direct its energies to the production of the raw material, and to exchange that with civilized countries for manufactured articles.[2]

But though the natives made no great progress in the arts of civilization, it must not be supposed they made no improvement. Their proficiency in some of the mechanical arts, their infant manufactures, their cultivation not only of the sugar-cane, but of coffee, potatoes, plantains, arrowroot, Indian corn,

[1] Quart. Chron. vol. i. p. 441; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1821, p. 5; Ibid. 1842, p. 26.

[2] Evan. Mag. 1823, p. 165; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1830, p. 10; Williams' Miss. Enter. p. 267.

water-melons, pine-apples, tobacco, and other vegetable productions; their acquisition of cattle, horses, and other animals; their more comfortable houses, and their improved dress, particularly that of the females; the increasing number of ships which they furnished with supplies; the use of money among themselves and in their commercial transactions with foreigners, were all so many steps in the way of progress. There were even a number of vessels from twenty to eighty tons built upon the islands by the natives themselves, some of which they sold, and others they employed in fetching cargoes of pearl-shell from a group of islands about two or three hundred miles to the eastward, to sell to the English and American traders, who were continually visiting their shores. By these means, they obtained considerable supplies of European clothing and other useful commodities, in exchange for articles of native produce, thus at once increasing their comforts and improving their habits. Nor were these improvements confined to Tahiti; they extended also to others of the islands, some of which made even greater advances than that far-famed isle.[1]

In the island of Raiatea, in particular, the spirit of improvement was kindled through the exertions and example of Mr Williams, who appears to have possessed a peculiar genius for the mechanical arts, and who threw his whole soul into efforts for the improvement of the natives through means of them, being fully alive to the great importance of the advancement of their temporal as well as of their spiritual condition. It was truly interesting to witness so many of the natives diligently employed, some in erecting houses, others in building boats, some as sawyers and blacksmiths, others as carpenters, making very neat sofas, bedsteads, and similar articles. When the missionaries first settled on this island, the spot where they fixed their residence had the appearance of a wilderness, nor were there more than two or three houses in the district; but in the course of about ten months, the aspect of the place was entirely changed. Instead of an almost impassable wood, it presented a fine open scene, with a range of houses extending nearly two

[1] Quart. Chron. vol. ii. p. 158, 160, 225, 248; vol. iii. p. 35, 41; Evan. Mag. 1822, p. 30; Ibid. 1828, p. 361, 363; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1830, p. 5; Ibid. 1831, p. 4, 13; Ibid. 1835, p. 13; Ellis' Vindication of the South Sea Missions from the Misrepresentations of Kotzebue, p. 60.

miles along the sea-beach, in which resided about a thousand of the natives. They also erected two bridges of considerable extent, which would have done credit to any country village in England.[1]

In May 1819 was exhibited in Tahiti the interesting spectacle of a king giving a code of laws to his people, who, like himself, were lately savages and heathens. On the day appointed for its promulgation, Pomare, after singing, reading the Scriptures, and prayer by Mr Crook, one of the missionaries, stood up, and looking on the thousands of his subjects, on his right hand and on his left, addressed himself to Tati, the chief of the southern part of the island, saying, "Tati, what is your desire? What can I do for you?" Tati, who sat nearly opposite to him, arose and said: "These are what we want, the papers you hold in your hand, the laws; give them to us, that we may have them in our hands, that we may regard them, and do what is right." The king then addressed Utami, the chief of Teoropoa, and in an affectionate manner, said, "Utami, and what is your desire?" To this the chief answered, "One thing only is desired by us all, that which Tati has expressed, the laws which you hold in your hand." Having addressed two others of the chiefs, and received similar answers from them, Pomare proceeded to read and comment upon the laws relative to murder, theft, stolen goods, lost property, Sabbath-breaking, rebellion, marriage, adultery, and a variety of other matters, in eighteen different articles. After reading and explaining the several articles, he asked the chiefs whether they approved of them. To which they replied aloud, "We agree to them, we heartily agree to them." The king then addressed the people, and desired them, if they approved of the laws, to signify their approbation by lifting up their right hands. This was done unanimously, with a singular rushing noise, thousands of arms being lifted up at the same moment. Such a scene may be better conceived than described: to behold a king giving laws to his subjects, with an express regard to the authority of the word of God, and a people receiving them with such universal satisfaction, was truly a sublime and interesting sight.

[1] Quart. Chron. vol. ii. p. 56, 62; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1821, p. 14; Ibid. 1822, p. 26; Williams' Life, p. 202, 212.

The code of laws was afterwards printed and posted up in every district, and the people were thus generally made acquainted with their civil rights, as well as with their civil obligations. The code is introduced in the following manner: "Pomare, by the grace of God, King of Tahiti, Eimeo, and all surrounding lands, to all his faithful subjects, greeting: In the name of the true God; God in his great mercy has sent his word among us. We have embraced this word, that we may be saved. We desire to regard the commandments which he has given to us. In order, therefore, that our conduct may become like the conduct of those who love God, we make known unto you the following laws of Tahiti." A code of laws was also adopted by the chiefs of the islands of Raiatea and Taha. It consisted of twenty-five articles, the last of which instituted trial by jury. A similar code was afterwards adopted by the chiefs of Huahine and the tributary island of Tapua-manu.[1]

In December 1821, died Pomare, the king of Tahiti, after a severe illness of some weeks. This prince was full six feet two inches high, and was the most gigantic man on the island. He possessed a capacious mind; in knowledge of every kind he was unrivalled among his countrymen; but he was of a reserved and gloomy temper, was fond of power, and wished to have the persons and property of his subjects entirely at his disposal. He was naturally indolent, and seldom walked out except to bathe. He inherited from his father a partiality to foreigners, and was always the friend of the missionaries; but he was more averse than his people to adopt European customs. He was much feared by his subjects, and was a chief instrument in bringing about that mighty moral and religious revolution which took place in these islands. To the missionaries he rendered important assistance in translating the Holy Scriptures. He was well acquainted with the Scriptures, and with the way of salvation therein revealed; but whether he was himself a partaker of that salvation, it is not for us to judge. Notwithstanding the deep convictions which he at one time expressed of his sinfulness, he was afterwards much given up to drunkenness, and the missionaries long delayed baptizing him; but after some years, as he had been so constant and

[1] Quart. Chron. vol. i. p. 493; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1822, p. 8, 24.

persevering in promoting the interests of religion, and as it appeared to be the wish of the whole nation, particularly of the most pious chiefs, they proceeded to administer to him the ordinance of baptism, on his engaging to devote himself to the Lord, and to renounce every sin, even the appearance of evil. Upon his death, the missionaries were under considerable apprehensions that the island would be involved in confusion; but these fears were happily disappointed. His son, an infant of eighteen months old, succeeded him as king, and a regency was appointed, consisting of some of the principal chiefs.[1]

Though it was interesting to witness the progress of the arts and habits of civilized life in the distant islands of the Pacific Ocean, yet the rise of commercial interest among the natives, the eagerness with which many of them engaged in trade, and, in particular, the increased number of ships which annually visited their shores, were not unattended with evil consequences. Though there were honourable exceptions, yet seldom did a ship touch at any of the islands but it proved a curse, not a blessing; and at some of the stations there came in an overwhelming flood of wickedness and vice. Prostitution, which it was hoped had been suppressed, was revived, and was carried on to a fearful extent, destroying at once the morals and the health of the young females, as well as of their abandoned paramours.

Previous to the overthrow of idolatry in Tahiti, the inhabitants had learned the baneful art of distilling a spirituous liquor from the saccharine *Ti* root, which produced among them its customary demoralizing effects; but now large quantities of ardent spirits were imported into the islands by English, and chiefly by American ships, consisting of what is called New England rum. Much activity and perseverance were shewn in promoting the sale of this pernicious article, by hawking it about the islands, inducing the chiefs to engage in the trade, and the establishment by foreigners who had left ships touching at the island, of a number of grog shops on the shore, which became the resort of the most abandoned of the natives, and the most depraved among the crews of the ship-

[1] Quart. Chron. vol. i. p. 495; vol. ii. p. 224–229, 247; vol. iii. p. 40; Evan. Mag. vol. xxx. p. 326, 372.

ping, and gave rise to scenes of outrage and bloodshed unknown in the island since their renunciation of paganism. Prior to the importation of ardent spirits, the natives were making rapid improvement in erecting neat and comfortable dwellings, and in preparing cocoa-nut oil and arrowroot, for the purpose of purchasing European clothing and other useful articles for themselves and their families. But all improvement was in a measure suspended as the habit of drinking increased. The energies of the people were now directed to the means of obtaining ardent spirits; and instead of devoting the proceeds of their diminished labour to the purchase of clothing, hundreds of them sold the clothes they had, with those of their wives and children, to obtain that poisonous drug which was destroying alike both body and soul. Nor were the baneful effects of intemperance confined to the irreligious portion of the community. Many of the members of the church were among its victims. For one of the communicants who was excluded for any other cause, there were ten, twenty, or more, who were excluded for intemperance.[1]

With the view of checking this tremendous evil, temperance societies were formed at the various mission stations, and were productive of the most beneficial results. The queen[2] and most of the governors became members of them, and a law was passed, though not without much opposition, that no persons, whether natives or foreigners, should make use of, or have in their possession any quantity of ardent spirits, however small, under heavy penalties. This law was vigorously and impartially executed. Casks and calabashes of spirits were dashed to pieces, and their contents spilt on the ground. Some persons suggested that it might be useful to have a small reserve in case of sickness; but even this would not be allowed, a wise precaution in the case of a fickle and barbarous people. But notwithstanding this law, the runaway seamen who were living in Tahiti, and the ships which visited it, were continually

[1] Ellis' Hist. vol. i. p. 183; Asiatic Journal, 1827, p. 517, 519; Evan. Mag. 1832, p. 409; Ibid. 1833, p. 497; Ibid. 1835, p. 163; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1830, p. 5; Ibid. 1831, p. 4; Ibid. 1834, p. 5, 6; Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours of Daniel Wheeler, a minister of the Society of Friends, p. 316.

[2] Pomare's son lived only five years, and on his death he was succeeded by his only sister.

smuggling spirits on shore, even though, when they were detected, they had the mortification of seeing them spilt on the beach. Both the chiefs and the people appeared determined to prevent their introduction into the island, knowing by bitter experience their sad effects. The inhabitants of the district of Papara, in the island of Tahiti, came to an agreement among themselves, that they would not trade with any vessel or boat which should bring them to their shores; and officers were appointed to examine every boat that came to their part of the island, and if it had spirits on board for sale it was ordered away. In a short time, the importation of the poisonous drug was greatly reduced in quantity, and a general improvement took place throughout the island. Instead of squalidness in dress and impropriety of behaviour, the people once more appeared in decent clothing, and conducted themselves with order and decorum. The chapels and the schools were better attended, and there was an increased attention to divine things.[1]

The Leeward Islands were less frequented by shipping than Tahiti, and were consequently exposed to fewer temptations; but there also the people became greatly addicted to intemperance, and there also it produced its wonted noxious fruits. After some time, the chiefs and people of Huahine and Raiatea agreed to abolish the use, and to prevent by every possible means the introduction, of ardent spirits into these islands; a measure which was productive of the most beneficial results. But in Bora-bora the evil still prevailed, and there produced the most direful effects.[2]

For some years there was comparatively little drunkenness in Tahiti, but the French and American consuls, who, to the disgrace of themselves and of the countries they represented, had long endeavoured to break through all restrictions, forced at length, in spite of law, the public sale of spirits, the consequence of which was once more a great increase of intemperance.[3]

Besides intemperance, there were other causes of demoraliza-

[1] Evan. Mag. 1835, p. 168; Ibid. 1836, p. 120, 585; Ibid. 1838, p. 507.
[2] Ellis' Hist. vol. i. p. 333, 349; Wheeler's Memoirs, p. 419, 423, 427.
[3] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1842, p. 4.

tion at work among the people. It was natural to expect that in so general a reception of Christianity as had taken place in these islands, not a few would be found who had merely been carried along by the stream, without undergoing any spiritual change of their state or character. Accordingly, after a few years, many who once made a profession of religion laid it aside and shewed themselves in their true colours. The deep inwrought depravity of the unregenerate heart, the propensity to licentiousness, which on the general profession of Christianity was concealed, but neither forsaken nor destroyed, were not long held in check by the feeble influence of example, or regard to character, among a people to whom heretofore moral worth was to a great extent unknown and almost incomprehensible. The declension in the state of religion was not confined to Tahiti; it extended to the islands generally. In most of them it was much increased by wars which broke out between different parties, and which, giving birth to many of the worst passions of the human heart, were followed by a great defection among the members of the churches. It is a somewhat singular circumstance, that even these infant churches were troubled with heretical opinions, particularly with some of an Antinomian character. At one time, two individuals arose who alleged that the millennium was come, that evil no longer existed, and that every person was at liberty to live as he pleased. Two visionaries, at a subsequent period, pretended that they were inspired by the Spirit of God, and empowered to work miracles, and declared that there was no sin and hereafter no punishment.[1]

In August 1834, at a meeting of the principal people of Tahiti and Eimeo, it was proposed by the queen, and agreed to by all parties, that in future all should attend the house of God on Sabbath, and that those professing godliness, and all the children, without exception, should attend school. In consequence of this the places of worship were crowded on the Sabbath, and the schools were well attended. But according to Daniel Wheeler, a minister of the Society of Friends, who shortly after visited these islands, nothing seemed to operate more power-

[1] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1827, p. 5, 10; Ibid. 1831, p. 5; Ibid. 1832, p. 2; Ibid. 1834, p. 13; Ibid. 1835, p. 15; Ibid. 1836, p. 14; Evan. Mag. 1827, p. 397, 529; Ibid. 1831, p. 161; Ibid. 1833, p. 498, 501.

fully in producing dislike and disgust in the minds of the people than this arbitrary order, which, it is said, had no less a penalty attached to it than the forfeiture of their lands.[1] We trust that none of the missionaries had any thing to do with this unwise and ill-judged regulation, and that it is merely an example of the ignorance and shortsightedness of native legislation.

In November 1836, Messrs Laval and Caret, two Roman Catholic missionaries, subjects of France, landed in Tahiti. For some years past, measures had been on foot for undermining and destroying the missions of the Protestants in the South Sea Islands, and for bringing the natives over to the Church of Rome, and under the political dominion or influence of France. In the preceding year, an Irish religieux, named Murphy, or, as he was now called, Columban, landed in Tahiti on his way, he said, to the Sandwich Islands, disguised as a carpenter. He was clad like a man before the mast, was unshaven, smoked a short pipe, and altogether looked like any thing rather than a priest. Though strong suspicions were entertained by the authorities in regard to his real character, he was at last allowed to remain, and he spent nearly two months on the island, which he improved in preparing the way for the settlement of other missionaries. The two priests who now came to Tahiti did not land at Wilk's harbour, the usual anchorage, and the ordinary residence of the queen, but clandestinely on the opposite side of the island; a proceeding which was in contravention of a long-established law of the island, that "no master or commander of a vessel should be allowed to land any passenger without special permission from the queen and governors." After passing round the island and surveying it attentively they arrived at Wilk's harbour, where they were received and entertained by M. Moerenhout, the American consul, who was a Belgian and a Roman Catholic, and had lately come from Paris, and who promised to protect them as long as they wished to stay. Having obtained an interview with the queen, they, after telling her that the land was all to be hers, and that they had only come to teach the word of God, presented her with a silk shawl; they also offered her some gold, in the hope of inducing her to

[1] Evan. Mag. 1835, p. 295; Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labours of Daniel Wheeler, p. 365, 755, 763, 425, 760.

comply with their wishes. But the queen was not to be deluded in this way, and desired that the laws might be read to them. They, however, refused to hear them, and hastily took their departure. A messenger was immediately despatched by her orders, informing them that she would not allow them to remain on the island, and a similar intimation was made to M. Moerenhout. On the schooner being ready for sea, the queen renewed her orders to them to leave the island with her. But they having in the mean while been furnished by Moerenhout with a house, locked themselves in, and refused to allow any one to enter. The vessel was therefore detained twenty-four hours, and the house was surrounded by officers of the queen waiting for the priests to come out. The house being very low, the officers at last lifted up the latch, and three of the natives went over the wall, unlocked the door, led out the priests, and with the assistance of the officers put them and their property on board the vessel, which immediately left the island and returned with them to the Gambier Islands, whence they had last come.

Next day the consul addressed a letter to the queen, complaining that the consulate had been broken open; that the Catholics under his protection had been taken away; that the American flag had been insulted, and that he would not hoist it again, until a man-of-war should arrive to re-establish him in his office.

Though the priests were removed from the island, their designs were not to be thus baffled. Seven weeks did not elapse, when M. Caret returned in an American brig to Tahiti, accompanied by another priest, M. Maigrat. As soon as the ship came to anchor, the government sent a letter to the captain, whose name was Williams, containing a copy of the laws, and calling his special attention to the article regarding the landing of passengers. On receiving this communication, the captain wrote to the queen requesting permission to land his passengers; and his application having been refused, he repeated his request, stating that the priests were bound to Valparaiso, and that they only wished to stop at Tahiti until they could obtain a passage to that port; and that if she did not allow them to land, he would be obliged to carry them to India, whither he himself was bound. But the queen still withheld her consent. A third

letter was then addressed to her by Williams, in which he stated that if she did not give him permission to land his passengers by a certain day, he would then land them without her permission; and if she forced them on board again, he would remain at anchor, and charge her fifty dollars a day for his vessel; and that if he was compelled to take them to Valparaiso, he would demand from her majesty, by the first man-of-war, 2000 dollars for the loss he would sustain by going so much out of his way. Many threats were used, but all in vain. The queen and the governors were, however, much perplexed, and addressed a letter to the American Consul, requesting him, as in duty bound, to interfere for their protection, and to send away the brig; but Moerenhout replied, that he would not do so, but would defend the proceedings of the captain against the government.

On the morning of the day he had named, Captain Williams ordered the priests to be set on shore. The natives, by command of the queen, waded into the water to prevent the boat from landing, but they offered no violence. The captain, perceiving that his attempts would be vain, directed the boat to return to the vessel, and he soon after sailed, carrying the priests with him. Both the consul and the captain professed to be greatly enraged; and the latter, on leaving the island, threatened to send immediately a man-of-war from Valparaiso to enforce his demand of 2000 dollars from the queen. In the investigations connected with these shameful proceedings, facts were ascertained which shewed plainly that the statement that the priests merely wished to stop at Tahiti until they could obtain a ship for Valparaiso was a mere pretext; that their design from the beginning was to establish themselves on that island.[1]

Though France, in common with most of the nations of Eu-

[1] Stoddard's History of the Establishment and Progress of the Christian Religion in the Islands of the South Sea; Boston, 1841, p. 193, 195; Wilks' Tahiti, containing a Review of the Origin, Character, and Progress of French Roman Catholic Agents for the Destruction of English Protestant Missions in the South Seas, p. 1. 8, 10, 12, 14, 36; Brief Statement of the Aggression of the French on the Island of Tahiti, by the Directors of the London Missionary Society, p. 13.

The Queen soon after addressed a letter to Mr Van Buren, the President of the United States, informing him of the conduct of Moerenhout, the American consul, in regard to the Catholic priests, and requesting that he might be removed from office. The President, with a promptitude which does him honour, immediately dismissed him, and appointed another person in his room:—*Stoddard's History*, p. 198; but unhappily he was little better than his predecessor.—*Wilks*, p. 108.

rope, exercised the very same authority in regard to foreigners entering or settling in her dominions, yet the government of Louis Philippe, on receiving accounts of the removal of the two priests from Tahiti, gave instructions to Captain Du Petit Thuars to proceed to that island, and to demand from the queen reparation for the insult which, it was alleged, had been offered to France in the person of the missionaries. He accordingly required her to write a letter to the king of the French apologizing for the violence done to Messrs Caret and Laval; to pay to them 2000 dollars, or about £400, for the damage they had sustained, a sum far exceeding any expense they could have incurred by being sent off the island; and to give a salute of twenty-one guns to the French flag, which was hoisted for this purpose on the little island of Motu-Uta, a part of her own territory. With these terms, Pomare found herself obliged to comply. Under the dread of an attack from a French ship of war, she wrote an apology to the king: "I am only," said she, "the sovereign of a little insignificant island. May knowledge, glory, and power, be with your majesty! Let your anger cease, and pardon me the mistake that I have made." The money she had not; and it was only by the kindness of Englishmen on the island (not the missionaries) that she was enabled to pay it; and the powder the captain had in part to furnish, to enable her to give the salute! Not content, however, with these acts of submission, Du Petit Thuars, with a view to future designs, required the queen to receive as the consul of France, M. Moerenhout, the man who had aided and supported the priests in their resistance to her government, the caluminator of herself and her people, the instigator and director of the measures carried on against her; and who, on her representation, had been lately dismissed from the same office by the government of the United States. He also entered into a convention with her, in virtue of which, "Frenchmen of whatever profession were to be at liberty to come and go; to establish themselves, and to trade in all the islands subject to the government of Tahiti; and to be protected as the most favoured foreigners." The great object of this convention was to establish the right of French subjects to settle in Tahiti and the neighbouring islands; and there can be little doubt it had a special view to the settlement of

Romish priests. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that the queen had not the power to reject this convention when proposed to her.[1]

Scarcely were these arrangements concluded, when Captain Dumont D'Urville, the superior of M. Du Petit Thuars, who was still at Tahiti, arrived there with two French corvettes, the Astrolabe and the Zelee, meditating vengeance against the queen in consequence of the false and exaggerated accounts which he had received from the Romish bishop and the priests at the Gambier Islands, of the treatment which Messrs Caret and Laval had met with at Tahiti; but on learning the concessions which she had already made, he appears to have contented himself with seeking to inspire her with dread of the power of France. In his interview with her, he told her that he had come out of his way on purpose to inquire into the affairs of the Catholic missionaries; and when he was assured that the peace of the island required the steps she had taken for their removal, as there were persons ready for rebellion who had already sought to raise disturbance in the country, he said, "No doubt the Queen is free in her states; and nobody, not even the King of the French, can require her to change her religion. She would therefore have acted rightly had she been satisfied with prohibiting the French missionaries from exercising in any way public worship; but it was impossible not to demand satisfaction for her ill treatment of two French citizens." He added, that she might think herself very fortunate in getting so easily out of the dangerous position in which she had placed herself in regard to France, by her treatment of the subjects of that government.[2]

Soon after the departure of the French ships, the legislative body, proceeding, perhaps, on the words of the French commander, passed a law prohibiting "the propagation of any religious doctrines, or the celebration of any religious worship opposed to that true gospel of old propagated in Tahiti by the missionaries from Britain." The violation of this law by foreigners of any nation, was to expose them to forfeiture of

[1] Wilks, p. 39, 51, 56, 79; Brief Statement, p. 13.

[2] Wilks, p. 80, chiefly on the authority of a "Voyage round the World," published in the name of M. Dumont D'Urville.

right of residence, and by Tahitians of whatever rank (the sect of the Mamoia[1] being particularly mentioned) to labour on the public roads. The missionaries have been charged with being the authors or instigators of this law; but it is stated, that as a body, and probably as individuals, they disapproved of it, and that consequently it is unfair to charge them with it.[2] Indeed, while we cannot but deprecate the interference of governments in questions of a purely religious nature, we apprehend the present was not a question of a purely religious nature. The government of Tahiti despatched at this very time a letter to the Queen of England, imploring her protection; and there cannot be a doubt, that the primary object of the law was to protect themselves against the aggressions of France, of which this was but the commencement, the full development of them being reserved for future years. It is true the act had a special aspect toward religion; but it is to be recollected, that the opinion expressed by Dumont D'Urville probably suggested this as the only way in which it would be possible to prevent Frenchmen settling on the island for the purpose of spreading the Romish religion, *while they had at the same time political designs in view.* The government of France had of late become solicitous to obtain a footing in the Pacific Ocean. The Institution in France for the Propagation of the Faith, had set its eyes on the islands which spot its bosom as a field of missions, particularly on those where Protestant missionaries were already established; and each was prepared to aid in promoting the designs of the other, not merely from national sympathy, but with the view of thereby accomplishing more effectually its own purposes. It is never to be forgotten, that political and religious interests are often so mixed up together, that it is impossible to separate them; and in cases of this kind, we apprehend a government is not overstepping the limits of its legitimate powers, when it makes laws for the sake of maintaining its own

[1] This was a sect which had appeared in Tahiti a few years before, and which, besides pretending to miraculous powers, countenanced the wildest licentiousness in regard to polygamy and the intercourse of the sexes, and open rebellion against the government. Though the sect had been suppressed, and some of the leaders of it punished; yet the government was not unnaturally apprehensive that it might revive, especially as bad feelings had been engendered in the country.—*Wilks*, p. 19.

[2] Wilks, p. 80.

authority and safety, even though they should interfere, in some degree, with what is called *religious liberty*. In the best governed states, it is sometimes necessary to restrict for a time the civil liberties of the subject, with a view to the safety of the government; and we do not see why laws which restrict to some extent religious liberty, may not also be passed, if they are essential to the same end. *Salus reipublicæ est suprema lex.* If religionists are rebels, or conspirators, or abettors of rebellion and conspiracy, it is worse than folly, because they carry on their designs under the mask of propagating their religion, to plead for protection to them in the name of religious liberty, and thereby to endanger the overthrow of the *whole* liberties of a country both civil and religious, thus sacrificing the substance to the shadow of a name. Most even of the Catholic sovereigns of Europe excluded or banished the Jesuits from their dominions; and, we presume, few enlightened friends of liberty will be disposed to say that in this they did wrong. Much more was it necessary for a feeble government like that of Tahiti to protect itself against the emissaries of France, even though they professed to come from Rome. The artifice and the resistance which they made to the laws, on their very landing, was of itself a sufficient reason for sending them away.

Besides the measures now noticed, a law was passed regulating the acquisition of land by foreigners, which appears to have been dictated by the same dread of French encroachments. Columban, the Romish priest who first visited Tahiti, had suggested the plan of purchasing land, in order to establish a right of residence. M. Moerenhout having acted in opposition to the new law, was prevented by the government from occupying a certain portion of land, and he was under this prohibition, when another French corvette, the Heroine, commanded by Captain Cecille, arrived at Tahiti. The consul having represented this to the captain, it was arranged that he should insist on possession of the land, and in case he should not succeed, M. Cecille promised to prepare his guns as if for an attack, and to make the government feel that the laws must be suspended or abandoned at the will of Frenchmen, and that they must have a right not only to residence but to territory. The demand

was of course yielded. The presence of a ship of war decided the question; and the governor replied, that M. Moerenhout might dispose of the land as he thought proper.[1]

In April 1839, a few months after these transactions, a French frigate, the Artemise, commanded by Captain La Place, which had been circumnavigating the globe, came to Tahiti in consequence of instructions received at Sydney. In approaching the coast, she struck on a coral reef and sustained material damage, which occasioned her detention for upwards of two months on the island for the purpose of undergoing repairs. The officers and crew were lodged on shore, which gave rise to the grossest scenes of licentiousness with the young females; yet was not this voluptuous revelry incompatible with a deep interest in the propagation of the Romish faith. Captain La Place proposed to alter the convention made with Du Petit Thuars, and virtually approved of by Dumont D'Urville. Since the departure of these officers, it was alleged that the government had never ceased manifesting its hostility toward France, but he was determined to put an end to such a state of things. At a conference with the queen, "he began by enumerating all the wrongs of which he alleged the French had to complain; he then observed how shameful and even dangerous it was to violate the faith of treaties; and how unjust and barbarous was intolerance; and he concluded by demanding that the Roman Catholic religion should be celebrated in Tahiti and in all the possessions of the queen; that French Catholics should enjoy every privilege allowed to Protestants, and the French priests have full liberty to exercise their ministry;" thus denouncing as a crime and a violation of the treaty, the very principles which his predecessor, Dumont D'Urville, had laid down, and which, as we have already said, had probably suggested the law of which he now sought the virtual abrogation. However averse the chiefs might be to these requisitions, they had no choice but to accede to them; and the unhappy queen was conducted on board the frigate to sign this new act of submission. Even then it was judged expedient to have a feast on the occasion, and to ply them with champagne and brandy; and "when the spirits of the party were suffi-

[1] Wilks, p. 89.

ciently elevated, the treaty was produced as the crowning act of the festivity."[1]

But the machinations of France were not yet ended. In pursuance of the designs of the French government to acquire power and influence in the South Seas, Captain La Place, on leaving Tahiti, sailed to the Sandwich Islands, and there, by threatenings of war and all its direful consequences, forced the government to enter into a treaty even still more outrageous than the conditions which had been imposed on the Queen of Tahiti. The Marquesas Islands were afterwards taken possession of by France, as we shall soon have occasion to state; but the great object of her desire was Tahiti. M. Caret, one of the the priests who had formerly attempted to settle on that island in spite of the government, now returned openly, accompanied by his coadjutors, and they were of course allowed to take up their residence upon it, agreeably to the late treaties.[2]

About August 1841, M. Moerenhout, taking advantage of some discontents and disorders in Tahiti, occasioned chiefly by himself and other foreigners of a kindred character, induced four of the chiefs to sign a document calling on France to interfere for the maintenance of peace and order in the island, under the pretext that the existing government was not equal to the exigencies of the times. When this came to be known, the chiefs who had signed the document were anxious to exculpate themselves, and one of them, in name of the rest, declared in a letter, that they did not well know the nature of the document, and that it was in ignorance they signed it, and begged that it might be destroyed, and no use made of it. Pomare was then absent in Eimeo; but no sooner did she learn what had been done, than she required that the chiefs who had signed the document should be tried for high treason. She also wrote to the English and American governments, that the chiefs had been deceived by the French consul, and that she had taken no part in the transaction. She wrote likewise to Louis Philippe, the King of the French, that the whole had been done in her absence, and without her knowledge or authority.[3]

Some months after this, M. Du Bouzet, captain of the Aube,

[1] Wilks, p. 91. [2] Ibid. p. 99, 105, 114. [3] Ibid. p. 108.

a French corvette of twenty-four guns, visited Tahiti, and made new aggressions on the government. It would almost seem as if every French officer was either commissioned, or considered himself authorized to trample under foot the authorities of that ill-fated island; for, after leaving Tahiti, he transmitted to the queen a letter which he had received from his Commodore, in which, referring no doubt to the late attempt of Moerenhout, she was assured "that the French government had no intention to impose its protectorate; that it was satisfied, and had no further claims to urge." This letter was sent to Pomare, enclosed in one from M. Du Bouzet, in which he took the pains to add, "I beg distinctly to assure your majesty that I consider your late conduct perfectly satisfactory; and I am authorized to say that France does not intend to impose its protectorate."[1] When we compare these assurances with the events which quickly followed, it is natural to conclude that they were a gross and unmanly deception, designed to lull the suspicions and fears of the Tahitian government, and to put it off its guard as to the new measures which were preparing for it.

In September 1842, M. Du Petit Thuars, who was now advanced to the rank of an admiral, and was appointed commander-in-chief of the stations in the South Sea Islands, arrived again at Tahiti. He, as well as M. Dumont D'Urville, had previously visited France, and made their reports in person to their sovereign Louis Philippe and to his ministers of state. Honours and titles were awarded to them, and on their shewing, it was resolved that the Marquesas Islands should first be taken possession of in the name of the king of the French, and that, subsequently, Tahiti and the neighbouring islands must be acquired, not merely for the sake of their superior fertility, but on account of their being situated almost in the centre of the vast Pacific, whence France might extend her power, and influence, and commerce, throughout the Indian and South Seas. In pursuance of this scheme, Du Petit Thuars had already taken possession of the Marquesas Islands; and now he had come to Tahiti to carry out further these designs.

For a few days all appeared quiet on board the admiral's ship, and professions of peace were extensively circulated by the

[1] Wilks, p. 112, 117; Brief Statement, p. 15.

French. Messengers were despatched to the queen, who was at Eimeo daily expecting to be confined, and also to the principal chiefs, requesting them to come to Papeete that the admiral might pay his respects to them. The chiefs accordingly came and dined with him. A manifesto was the same day issued by him, in which, after expatiating on the kindness and benevolence of the king of the French, he accuses Pomare, her government, and agents, of numerous crimes, as violation of domicile, pillage, seizure of property, brutal violence, false imprisonment, the pillory without form of trial, and murder; but instead of proposing to institute an investigation of all or any of these charges, he proceeded to act upon them as if they were established facts.[1] On the ground of these accusations, he demanded the payment of 10,000 dollars within forty-eight hours; and in the event of their not being paid within that time, that the island should be occupied by French troops until that condition should be fulfilled; but his real object in making these demands, neither of which he knew was practicable, was to call forth a proposal from the Tahitian chiefs, that the king of the French would take the islands under his protection. A secret meeting was accordingly held with a few of the chiefs during the night, the result of which was, that four of them, being partly those who had formerly signed away their country's independence, were induced to put their names to a document written by the French consul, asking, "that the shadow of the French may be thrown over them." This document was sent to the queen for her signature. To this she felt the utmost repugnance, but her friends representing to her that her submission would be only temporary, as England would assuredly redress her wrongs, she was induced to yield. But she protested in public and in private, and by repeated and pressing appeals to foreign States, that she was betrayed and coerced, and that she had no alternative except the slaughter of her people, and the desolation of her country. Two of the chiefs, Tati and Utami, who signed the document, declared in a letter, as upon oath, that it was through

[1] It is scarcely necessary to remark, that there is no reason to believe that these charges were well founded. Mr Wilks, in his able and interesting pamphlet, completely exposes the falsehood of the last and foulest of them—murder. We have no doubt they were got up as a mere pretext to cover the injustice and oppression of the admiral's proceedings.

fear and the promise of a thousand dollars each, they were induced to sign it; and they made a similar declaration in the midst of the council of the nation and of 5000 of their countrymen. Though men who could betray their country are little entitled to credit, especially when attempting an apology for their conduct, yet there seems no reason to question the truth of their statement: it accords entirely with the whole of the perfidious course pursued by the French in the South Sea Islands.[1]

It was hoped that the British government, which was fully and officially informed of the base and oppressive means by which the queen of Tahiti was forced to yield to the power of France, and which admitted the claims that she and her people had on the friendship and support of England, would have interposed with the French government in their behalf; but it virtually acquiesced in the protectorate as a matter already settled, without an effort, or even a remonstrance.[2]

In November 1843, Admiral Du Petit Thuars again returned from France to Tahiti, with three ships of war under his command, and on his arrival he found, as usual, a new occasion for quarrel with the queen in the simple circumstance that she had introduced a crown into her personal flag, which was flying over her humble dwelling, to indicate her presence, just as the royal standard is hoisted in England wherever the sovereign may happen to be at the time. That flag was forcibly hauled down by the French; that of France was hoisted, and Tahiti was proclaimed a French colony. Pomare protested against this fresh outrage; and appealed to the king of the French against the usurpation of his officers, imploring him to reverse their acts. She also appealed to England, and in a simple yet earnest style solicited the sympathy and aid of Queen Victoria. When intelligence of the act of Du Petit Thuars reached France, the government refused to sanction it, and recalled him from his command, not assuredly from any repugnance to injustice and oppression, but probably in consequence of the indignation which the assumption of the protectorate of Tahiti had excited in England, and of the firmer tone which the British government had assumed in regard to that transaction.

[1] Wilks, p. 114, 118, 127, 129; Evan. Mag. 1844, p. 203; Brief Statement, p. 16.
[2] Evan. Mag. 1844, p. 204; Brief Statement, p. 27.

Meanwhile, the chiefs and people became uneasy, and Pomare wrote to them recommending them to do the French no harm, but to wait patiently for despatches from England and France in reply to her representations. Such a communication did her much honour; nevertheless it gave great offence to her oppressors, and she deemed it necessary for her personal safety to take refuge on board Her Britannic Majesty's ketch the Basilisk, which was then stationed off Tahiti, and she afterwards retired to Raiatea, one of the Leeward Islands.[1]

Frightened by the oppressive measures of the French, the Tahitians, both chiefs and people, to the number of about 4000, abandoned their homes and retired partly to Faaone and partly to Hidiaa, but being attacked by their oppressors, most of them retreated subsequently to the valley of Mahaena, where, with the view, not of attacking the French, but merely of providing for their own defence, they cut an entrenchment across the valley, and erected a small fort, on which they mounted two guns. Here, however, they were not allowed to remain long unmolested. The French attacked them in their entrenchments, and though they fought bravely and repelled their invaders, yet having left their defences to chase the enemy, a frigate opened a fire of grape-shot upon them and drove them back. In this action the Tahitians lost about seventy men, a great loss in the battles of the South Sea islanders. After several attacks of this kind, they left their entrenchments and retired to the bushes, but subsequently they removed their camp to Papeeno, where they erected a fort for their protection, while many of the infirm, with the women and children, took refuge in the mountains.[2]

Most of the missionary stations were now broken up, the people having forsaken their homes and fled. Mr Pritchard, the British consul, who was formerly one of the missionaries, was, contrary to the law of nations, placed under arrest by the French, and ordered to leave the island. Mr M'Kean, a young missionary, was shot accidentally in a skirmish between the French and the natives, when standing in the verandah of his own house. Four of the missionaries, Messrs Howe, Jesson, Joseph,

[1] Evan. Mag. 1844, p. 203, 483; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1845, p. 21.
[2] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1845, p. 19; Evan. Mag. 1844, p. 484, 491.

and Moore, returned to England; and the families of those who remained, removed for safety to a neighbouring island. The opportunities of labouring among the natives were now greatly limited. The missionaries, however, visited them in their camps and in the fastnesses of the mountains, and administered Christian ordinances to them, not being hindered from doing this by their enemies.[1]

In January 1845, the French attempted to extend their protectorate to the Leeward Islands, and with this view, Captain Maison, of the steamer Phaeton, hoisted the French flag in Huahine, Raiatea, and Bora-bora, but it was pulled down, both in Huahine and Raiatea, and sent back to M. Bruat, who was now governor of Tahiti.[2]

Twelve months after this attempt, Captain Bonard, of the French frigate Uranie, landed troops in Huahine, burned Fare, the principal town on the island, and gave up every kind of property, including several chapels, to plunder and destruction. The natives fled to escape impending slaughter, but being followed the next day, they bravely faced the well-armed and disciplined soldiers of France, and fought for forty-eight hours. The French sustained considerable loss, while that of the natives was comparatively small.[3]

The disaster of the French at Huahine soon became known throughout the islands, and a general rising took place. In Bora-bora they had to evacuate their forts and to quit the island. When the news reached Tahiti they produced great excitement. The steamer which brought up the wounded was preparing to return with more troops, when Pomare's adherents declared they would attack the town[4] if hostilities were continued. The steamer was detained, and shortly afterwards three frigates arrived with 200 soldiers on board. The governor now made a grand demonstration. Nothing was to be seen but military preparation. The soldiers and the sailors were equipped for bush-fighting, and drilled on the mountains behind the town. All this, however, failed to intimidate the natives. A grand

[1] Memoir of the Rev. Thomas S. M'Kean, p. 191; Evan. Mag. 1844, p. 650; Ibid. 1845, p. 155, 158, 584; Ibid. 1846, p. 63.

[2] Evan. Mag. 1845, p. 665.

[3] Evan. Mag. 1846, p. 437; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1847, p. 29.

[4] Papeete.

council of war was then convened, and active hostilities resolved on, or at least announced. It was to be a war of extermination. This also failed, and it became evident that the French did not dare to execute their threat, either in consequence of the nature of the despatches lately received, or from the remembrance of their repulse at Huahine. They were now in a dilemma, and they sought to extricate themselves by the help of the queen, who was still at Raiatea. Messengers were despatched thither to bring her up to Tahiti, though they had often declared they had abandoned her for ever. They returned in a day or two, and stated that the queen would soon be up, and in the mean while, she sent orders to her people not to fight. But the Tahitians had no confidence in the statements of the French, and they would not believe that any such message had been sent by her. The excitement was now much increased by various circumstances; and numerous annoyances, such as their being prevented returning to their own lands for bread-fruit, and the missionaries being hindered from travelling among them, exasperated them greatly. The Tahitians attacked the French; several engagements took place, in which the invaders appear to have generally had the worst of it. They were confined within gun-shot of their forts; all the country was in the hands of the natives. But the governor having soon after received fresh reinforcements, marched against their camp at Papeeno at the head of twelve or fourteen hundred men. The natives retired before this strong force to an impregnable position in the interior. The troops followed, and were repulsed with loss; the same was the result in successive attacks made by them. The French, however, had recourse, at the same time, to a barbarian and destructive course of warfare. They destroyed the dwellings and chapels of the missionaries, the houses and villages of the natives, their fields of potatoes and bananas, their bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, orange, and other trees, thus depriving them at once of shelter and of the means of subsistence. Treachery at length accomplished what they had not been able to effect by force of arms. A native of the island of Rapa, who was in the Tahitian camp of Hautana, which was immediately behind Papeete, and which opened a passage through the interior to their other two camps, discovered a path up the

face of the cliff, by which a position might be gained that would command it. He deserted from the Tahitians to the French, and offered to lead them to it, for, it is said, a reward of 200 dollars. Shortly after, all the troops marched up the valley, the great body of them placing themselves in front of the regular advance to the native camp as if about to storm it, and the natives were accordingly on the alert to defend this road. Meanwhile, the native of Rapa, with about thirty French Tahitians and forty soldiers, were scaling the cliff at a little distance, he ascending by the path which he had discovered, and lowering a rope pulled up and fixed a rope-ladder, by which the others gained the summit about a thousand feet high, and then prepared to fire on the camp which lay a little below them. The Tahitians thinking that resistance was now vain, laid down their arms and were marched in as prisoners of war.

The carrying of this position opened a passage to the other two camps at Bunaania and Papeeno. Messengers were sent to them to advise them to submit, and to intimate that they would be attacked if they continued to resist. Deeming further resistance vain, they also laid down their arms, and acknowledged the protectorate government. A general amnesty was now granted; all offences were declared forgiven, and the people were directed to return quietly to their respective districts.[1]

In February 1847, the queen, on the invitation of M. Bruat, the governor, returned to Tahiti with a view to an arrangement for her future residence on that island. She was received by him with politeness and apparent kindness. It was agreed that she should receive 5000 dollars annually, besides a considerable sum as rents of her land, offices, &c., which would raise her whole income to about 8000 dollars; that all foreign intercourse with her should pass through the protectorate government; and that all foreigners residing in Tahiti should give twenty-four hours' notice previous to any interview with her, and should state the object of their interview. These points having been settled, the governor, in a public assembly, took her by the hand, and declared that he restored her Majesty to

[1] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1846, p. 27; Ibid. 1847, p. 30; Evan. Mag. 1846, p. 491, 603; Ibid. 1847, p. 446.

all her rights and privileges as queen of Tahiti and Eimeo. All attention was paid to her; but she had no real power.[1]

The state of the island was now essentially changed from what it was previous to the arrival of the French. At every place there were two parties; one consisting of persons who had joined the enemy, the other of those who came out of the camps when they were betrayed. Nearly all the old governors, many of whom had been consistent members of the church, were laid aside by the French, and new ones appointed from among the young chiefs who had never made any profession of religion, and who, it was believed, would be entirely subservient to the will of the French government. The missionary settlements having during the late war been almost entirely destroyed, the missionaries laboured to collect again the dispersed people in villages, and to restore their fallen sanctuaries; but this, as may easily be supposed, was attended with many difficulties. The attendance of the people on public worship at most of the stations was discouraging.

It does not, however, appear, that the French government of Tahiti designed to defeat or ruin the mission. M. Lavaud, the new governor, appeared a man of conciliatory manners, and was not unfriendly to the missionaries. A law was, however, passed, in virtue of which a registration was made of all the mission lands and premises as inalienable national property, reserved exclusively for the exercise of the Protestant religion. The effect of this measure, against which the missionaries earnestly but in vain protested, was not only to convert the mission chapels, schools, and dwelling-houses into national property, but to make the mission the tenant of the government. The natives were obliged by law to keep the chapels and school-houses in repair; but the dwelling-houses of the missionaries were to be repaired at their own expense, unless the members of the churches chose to do it on the voluntary principle. To say nothing more, there was great injustice in the governor's proceedings, as he took possession of all the property of the mission, without granting any compensation for it. He said he could not allow any religious society to hold property on the island, and that the ecclesiastical buildings were not registered

[1] Evan. Mag. 1847, p. 508.

for the use of Englishmen only, but that if French Protestants came to the island, he would place them at any station which might be vacant.[1]

It appears to have been the policy of M. Lavaud to bring the mission completely under the control of the government. He employed his authority to prevent the people from repairing the missionary buildings, unless his permission to do so was first obtained, and he also employed his influence to hinder them from making their accustomed contributions for the diffusion of the gospel in other lands. When certain of the stations and districts became vacant, he would not allow the missionaries to remove thither unless his permission were previously granted. They were strictly prohibited from going to one particular locality, where two Romish priests were endeavouring to instil their principles into the minds of the young, lest, as he alleged, there should be any controversy about religion. These restrictions having been framed and passed in the assembly of the chiefs, in which, however, the influence of the governor was paramount, had all the authority of native law. They were, however, directly at variance with the treaty of 1842, by which the French protectorate was established in the island, which provided that "Every one shall be free in the exercise of his form of worship, and that the churches at present established shall continue to exist, and the English missionaries shall continue in the prosecution of their labours without molestation." Similar assurances were explicitly given by the French government to that of England.[2]

[1] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1849, p. 31; Evan. Mag. 1850, p. 50.

[2] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1850, p. 5; Ibid. 1853, p. 10.

Of the state of religion in Tahiti of late years, the accounts are conflicting. The directors express in successive reports unfavourable views in regard to the moral and religious condition of the people (*Rep. Miss. Soc.* 1840, p. 9; *Ibid.* 1841, p. 2; *Ibid.* 1842, p. 3; *Ibid.* 1848, p. 22); and it is very unlikely they would do so on insufficient grounds.

We have adverted in our account of the mission, to some causes of the declension and low state of religion among the natives; but we fear that this lay also in part with some of the missionaries themselves. In a special communication to the Rev. Mr M'Kean, dated May 31st, 1841, previous to his embarking for Tahiti, the directors say, "You have already been made fully acquainted with the actual state of the island, in a moral and religious point of view, so far as our own information extends. Suffice it then to remark that, on account of the lamentable want of spiritual religion amongst the native churches, the disorganized state of the schools, the irregularities and inefficiency of the native agents employed in them, and the general demoralization of the

In April 1851, it was announced in the government gazette, published in the Tahitian language, that Sunday the fourth day of May, being the anniversary of the establishment of the French Republic, had been commanded to be observed as a fete day in

people, we are impressed with the solemn conviction *that nothing short of the infusion of a new and vigorous principle of action will avail to counteract the existing evils, and to give solidity and permanence to that mission.*" . . . . .

"After adverting to the hinderances to the success of the mission arising out of the resort of shipping to the island for the purpose of trade, the directors add, "It were devoutly to be wished that this pernicious influence had been confined to foreigners visiting the island for the express purpose of trading. Such we lament to say has not been the case. Some of the missionaries have from time to time been extensively engaged in mercantile transactions, and the practice, besides lowering the general tone and character of the mission, has, we fear, frequently brought them into invidious and degrading competition with their own people, whose interests happened to be embarked in the same line of traffic, which must necessarily tend to loosen every bond of union between the pastor and his flock. The practice originated in the alleged inadequacy of the salaries allowed by the Society. On the occasion of recently raising the salaries, we strongly remonstrated against the continuance of the practice of trading, but having some reason to fear that the practice is not altogether laid aside, we have felt ourselves called upon to intimate in a letter, of which you will be the bearer, addressed to the brethren, that any future instance of non-compliance with our wishes on this point will involve the forfeiture of the Society's confidence."

Mr M'Kean on his arrival at Tahiti formed any thing but a favourable opinion of the natives in regard both to civilization and religion. "This land," he writes, "abounds with food for man and beast: it presents almost an exception to the universal doom pronounced against man as a consequence of sin, 'In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread;' for here, though they neither till the ground nor sow, they have abundance of food for the trouble of gathering it. From this, together with the high temperature of the climate, have resulted habits of indolence; and it is well known how congeniat such habits are with sin.

"The natives here are wonderfully forward in some things, and yet scarcely a step removed from barbarism in others. For example, they have not had a complete copy of the word of God for more than four years, and yet their knowledge of its contents would put thousands of professors to the blush in our own land. They are naturally intelligent, acute, and very curious; and hence resulted some remarkable instances of application when the complete Bible was first put into their hands. They are exceedingly fond of reading the Scriptures." "They are exceedingly fond of the figurative and metaphorical portions of the Bible; hence the Song of Solomon is quite a favourite with them. Their ingenuity and acuteness are remarkably evinced by the questions they are continually putting to the missionary.

"And yet, notwithstanding their advancement in the general knowledge of the Scriptures, they have in some things scarcely made a transition from their old habits and manners. It is hard to change the habits of a nation. Very generally, they live in the same kind of houses as they did formerly; and though the material of their clothing is now usually British, yet the quantity of covering for the body is not very generally increased. You see them yet as they did fifty years ago, I suppose, squatting down on the ground in groups of from ten to twenty, old and young, male and female, promiscuously sending round, from mouth to mouth, a piece of tobacco rolled up in paper in the form of a cigar, each taking not more than two or three inspirations, and forcing the smoke out again at mouth, nostrils, and ears. You may

France, and that it was also to be observed in all the French colonies. Among the engagements and amusements announced for the day in Tahiti, were the discharge of artillery, the reception by the governor M. Bonard, of the district governors and the chief judges, who were to be introduced by Paraita the regent, the playing of the band, and certain games, a feast to the native dancers, in the evening an illumination of the public buildings, and fireworks; the whole to conclude with a ball to be given by the governor, to which the district governors, the chief judges, and other principal persons were invited to be present. So gross a profanation of the Lord's day, could not be overlooked by the missionaries; and they accordingly took occasion, in addressing their respective congregations, to admonish them as to their duty in reference to the intended fete; but unhappily Mr Howe, in addressing a congregation of English, Americans, and other foreigners, not content with shewing

see the child of six years of age, after he has taken his mouthful, hand the cigar to his father or mother, or it may be, to his grandfather or grandmother according to proximity. They not only retain many of their old habits, none, however, involving moral turpitude (!), but what is worse, they have greedily acquired some of the very worst of British ones. There has, too, a lamentable and wide-spread spirit of covetousness crept in among them, in consequence of learning the value of money from the resort of shipping. As the specie is in dollars and half dollars, their demands for the most trifling piece of service are exorbitant. They never think of asking less than a quarter or half a dollar. The female portion of the population is still low. Although many of them have been taught to sew, yet their inveterately indolent habits render almost useless this acquirement, and they cannot brook confinement to one locality."—*M'Kean's Memoirs*, p. 116, 149, 152.

On the other hand, Mr Davies, one of the oldest of the missionaries, having been forty years on the island, remonstrated with the directors, on their low, and, as he stated, inaccurate estimate of the native churches, and he entered into various details in opposition to it, and in confirmation of his own more favourable opinion.—*Rep. Miss. Soc.* 1843, p. 2.

Mr Orsmond bears so favourable a testimony to the native churches that we confess it appears to us not very easy of belief: "Our congregations increase, and many are pressing into our churches. For goodness of temper, general moral conduct, correct scriptural knowledge, decided attachment to the gospel, and, in the aggregate, pleasing consistency as church members, I am bold to say that they are fit to be placed on a footing with any equal number of professing Christians of any church in any part of the globe."—*Rep. Miss. Soc.* 1842, p. 3. The circumstances already related of Mr Orsmond greatly detract from the value of his testimony.

Mr Jesson, a recently arrived missionary, bears, in like manner, a favourable testimony to them. "My conviction," he writes, "is, that things are in a far better state than we had a right to expect from information we had previously received."—*Rep. Miss. Soc.* 1843, p. 3.

It may here be mentioned, that by a recent statement, Tahiti contained 8557 inhabitants, including 475 foreigners.—*Calcutta Christian Observer*, 1849, p. 536.

the blessing to be expected by nations and individuals from a strict observance of the Sabbath, and the evils likely to result from its desecration, made some pointed observations, which had obviously a reference to the governor personally, and denounced the judgments of heaven upon him, if he persevered in such a course. This was reported by a son of Mr Orsmond, formerly one of the missionaries, to an officer of government; and the consequence was, that Mr Howe was summoned before the police, and as he would make no satisfactory apology for what he had said, he was informed that he must either leave the island immediately, or submit to a prosecution. Several of the principal persons, specially invited to be present at the fete, sent polite notices that they could not comply with the invitation; and the church at Pepeuriri, through one of the deacons, who was also a chief judge, presented a petition to the governor that the festivities might be postponed till the Monday; but their request was not granted. The queen stood firm until the evening of the fete, when the governor went to her personally to press her to attend the ball; and afterwards, sad to relate, Mr Orsmond, who had been nearly thirty years a missionary,[1] was sent to complete the evil work. The queen's reply when urged by the governor to attend it, deserves to be recorded: "I cannot go," she said, "the Word of God forbids it." He remarked, "the French have set apart this day as a day of rejoicing, and it must be kept," and then charged Mr Howe as being the cause of her obstinacy, to which she answered, "You are quite mistaken; it is the command of God that keeps me back, but I have no power to resist your perseverance." Mr Howe was afterwards brought to trial on account of his sermon. The prosecution was conducted by the government. He defended himself, and contrary to all expectations was acquitted.[2]

[1] His separation from the Society took place some years before: the cause of it is not stated.—*Rep. Miss. Soc.* 1845, p. 22.

[2] Evan. Mag. 1851, p. 616, 689.

None of the missionaries of course saw any thing of the fete, but the following account of the day was given by an eye-witness:—"Sunday (May 4th). Fine weather: a grand salute in honour of the French revolution, at seven A.M. Prayers were then said, and about noon, prizes were placed in the roundabouts, and so placed as to be reached on either side by a man sitting astride the machine, and balancing himself on it; these prizes consisted of shirts, calicoes, fowls, and tobacco. The next amusement was climbing a greasy pole with prizes at the top. Madame Bonard, with the Sisters

We have already seen that the rights and liberties of the missionaries had, under various pretexts, been seriously infringed by the French government; but now this spirit of interference assumed a still more vexatious and palpable form. An order was issued that the Tahitian journal, a government newspaper, should be read every Sunday at the close of the service. This the missionaries of course opposed, and were successful in preventing it wherever their influence extended. A disaffected chief gave information to the governor, that Mr Chisholm and the native preacher had hindered the reading of it at Hitiaa. The aid-de-camp of the governor represented this in the educational committee as an attempt to keep back information from the people! Since churches were formed in Tahiti, the missionaries had taught the people that those only had a right to choose the minister who were communicants; but a law was now enacted, which gave that right to the chiefs of the district, without any respect to character. The individual missionaries, instead of preaching as formerly whenever and wherever duty appeared to call them, had for some time past been restricted to the superintendence of a particular congregation, and even directed to confine their labours to a limited locality, and now they were

of Charity, and all the children under their care, were spectators. About four P.M., the native dancers from the different districts marched in rows to pay their respects to the governor, by making a formal salute in *their dance*, according to the heathen practice. The dancing was kept up by them, excited by drink, until eight o'clock. The queen's two elder boys were in the crowd as spectators, and she herself was led in by Mr Orsmond sen., to the governor, who after some little compliment handed her up stairs, and, having put a candle in her hand, instructed her how to let off the fireworks. After the display of fireworks, which lasted an hour, the governor's ball commenced, and a large muster of the native chiefs were in attendance, and French naval and military officers with their families, and some foreign residents. The natives were dressed in their different native costumes for dancing, with leaves and flowers, to correspond with the heathen dance. Very few English and American ladies and gentlemen were present at the ball, but many native chiefs."

"Another very respectable English gentleman who witnessed the scene says, that it was most heart-rending to reflect that, after all that had been done for this people, and the measure of success that had attended the efforts, with what fearful rapidity they were then hurried back towards heathenism. The amusements provided for the people, even had it not been the Sabbath-day, were, in his opinion, of a most demoralizing tendency; no fewer than five different parties of dancers, men and girls promiscuously, with great drums beating, plentifully furnished with intoxicating drinks, and excited to use the most obscene gestures and language. An American lady, who was present at the ball, informs us, that poor Pomare seemed very disconsolate all the evening, and could not be induced to enter into conversation with any one, but was observed for the most part to be weeping."—*Evan. Mag.* 1851, p. 619.

required virtually to renounce the election of the people, and to receive their pastoral appointment *de novo* from the secular chiefs of the district, such nomination being still subject to the approval or the veto of the French governor.[1]

As the restrictions laid on the missionaries were plainly a contravention of the guarantee given by France to the British government on their behalf, Mr Miller the English consul undertook to refer the question to Her Majesty's government. The missionaries felt that to submit to such unscriptural and unjust conditions, would be to degrade the sacred office, and to become the mere creatures of the secular authorities; and as the immediate consequence of their non-compliance with them, they were not only deprived of the use of their chapels and dwellings, but were forbidden to remain in any part of the island except at Papeete, the seat of the government. As their opportunities of usefulness in Tahiti were thus in a manner closed, several of them retired to other islands, there to wait until it should be seen what would be done for them in England. Previous to this, several of the natives who had been trained in the missionary academy, were ordained to the ministry, and settled as pastors over the native churches.[2]

Before leaving this painful subject, it is gratifying to be able to state, that though France had sought to extend her protectorate to the Leeward Islands, including Huahiné, Raiatea, Bora-bora, &c., under the pretext that they were subject to the same sovereignty as Tahiti; yet this having been proved not to be the case, the governments of France and Britain entered into a convention acknowledging the independence of these islands,

[1] The missionaries presented a memorial to the governor relative to their grievances and desires. He praised it as a document of great clearness of diction and exposition, but still he adhered to his own measures. In reference to their objections to the election of ministers by the chiefs of the district, he said, "You are right; as a philosopher, my conviction tells me you are right. The moral are much more likely to choose correctly than the immoral; but the law is past and I must maintain it. France has been in great disorder, and is only now (1852) returning to a state of order; and the universal feeling now is in favour of *order*, and this must extend to her remotest dependencies." It would not appear to have been on religious grounds that the law was enacted, but on what the governor considered the political necessity of the case.—*Evan. Mag.* 1853, p. 502.

[2] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1852, p. 29; Ibid. 1853, p. 10; Evan. Mag. 1853, p. 502.

which were thus rescued from the grasp of their unprincipled invaders.[1]

Before concluding, it may not be improper to attempt some general estimate of the results of the mission to Tahiti and the neighbouring islands. We apprehend it is undeniable that it led to a great change, and to an essential improvement in the political, social, moral, and religious condition of the people. The government became more just and mild; the power of the chiefs was restrained by law; and the people had some security for life and property. A degree of civilization, and some of the more useful arts of life, with an increased measure of comfort, were introduced among them. Reading, writing, and other branches of education were common. Idolatry, human sacrifices, infanticide, and various other evils were abolished, and have never been, and, we trust, never will be revived among them. The profession of Christianity was at an early period general. Numerous places of worship were erected throughout the islands, some of them of very large dimensions; the people assembled in great numbers for divine worship, and conducted themselves in the most becoming manner; the Sabbath was observed by them with peculiar strictness; contributions for sending the gospel to other heathen lands were made by them with singular liberality; and some of them even went to distant islands to make known the glad tidings of salvation to their savage brethren. These certainly were remarkable changes, and they could not fail to make a strong impression on all who witnessed them, whether friends or enemies, and to inspire the advocates of missions throughout the world with great delight on account of the past, and with high hopes of the future triumphs of the gospel. With respect to these outward changes

[1] Evan. Mag. 1846, p. 663. Ibid. 1847, p. 445, 619.

Though we are very sensible how incompetent man is to judge of the ways of God, and of the grounds and designs of the particular acts of his government, yet it is scarcely possible to think of the conduct of the French, under Louis Philippe, to the queen of Tahiti, without thinking at the same time how in little more than twelve months after the betrayal and subjugation of the Tahitians, his own throne was overturned, and he himself and his family were glad to flee out of France and take refuge in a foreign land. Tahiti was not, indeed, the only foul blot on the government of Louis Philippe; there were many other acts for which he and his ministers were answerable both to God and man.

and improvements, we apprehend there could be no mistake: they were visible to the eye, and could be appreciated by the most ordinary minds. But we fear that much too high an estimate was formed of the religious character and condition of the people. True religion has its seat in the heart; it is essentially spiritual in its nature; and even the most experienced and skilful observers are very inadequate judges of it. It was, however, scarcely scriptural or rational, it was not, at all events, in correspondence with God's ordinary mode of working, or with the acknowledged principles of corrupt human nature, to believe that the natives generally, or that even large numbers of them, were regenerated persons, "created anew in Christ Jesus unto good works," especially when we consider that they were previously at once heathens and savages, ignorant, licentious, debased, bloodthirsty men. We hope there were among them a considerable number of sincere converts, and that many of these are now "before the throne of God and of the Lamb;" but we fear that the great mass of them were Christians only in name, though the beneficial influence of Christianity might, in many respects, be seen in them, as in other countries, in restraining them from evil, and in leading them to much that was good. The increasing number of ships which from year to year visited their shores, and the introduction by them of ardent spirits into all the islands, greatly checked the progress of civilization and religion, and of improvement of every kind, and brought in upon them a flood of intemperance and licentiousness, which though checked for a time was never stopped. The state of agitation and warfare in which the Tahitians in particular were kept for so many years by the aggressions of the French, could scarcely fail to be productive of very baneful effects upon them, while the unbounded and unblushing licentiousness of their invaders, worse than any pestilence, spread moral desolation all around them, particularly among the female part of the population. It is accordingly not surprising to find that there has for some years past been a sad decline of religion in both the Windward and the Leeward Islands. The spirit of piety has to a grievous extent given place to the spirit of the world, and even to open immorality. Still, however, among the members of the several churches, there were not a few who

"kept themselves unspotted from the world," and "walked worthy of the high vocation wherewith they were called."[1]

[1] It is impossible to deny that the success of the mission in the Society Islands was not equal to the conceptions which were generally entertained of it, and that the friends of religion long ascribed to it a spirituality and a purity which it did not possess. It is painful, indeed, to think of the glowing representations which were sometimes given on this subject. "None, perhaps," says the Rev. Mr Timkin, one of the American missionaries in the Sandwich Islands, "have better means of estimating, so far as it depends on the reports of missionaries, what has been accomplished abroad, than the secretaries of the societies by which missions are projected and sustained. They have in their hands the greatest amount of materials, and their station is a voucher that they possess, or are thought to possess, the skill and benevolence necessary to make the wisest use of those materials in forming their opinions. Certainly this may be affirmed of the late Rev. William Orme, foreign secretary to the London Missionary Society. Yet in a discourse,* for the most part excellent, delivered by him at various missionary anniversaries in England, he drew a picture of the South Sea mission for which there is no original in the Pacific, and in our judgment will not be for a century to come. The following is the paragraph to which reference is made:—

"This leads me to notice, in the last place, the effect which our success ought to have on our future exertions. The world is still before us, presenting an almost boundless field of labour and trial. Are we depressed by the contemplation of its extent, and dismayed by the difficulties with which it is encompassed? Do we require encouragement to support our sinking spirits and to give fresh energy to our faith and zeal? Are we unprepared to meet fresh demands on our property and our faith, or ready to murmur that we have sown so much and reaped so little? Let us think on what the word and Spirit of God have done for us, or rather for the wretched inhabitants of the southern seas. Think on what they once were, and on what, by the grace of God, they now are. Formerly they were 'earthly, sensual, devilish;' occupying a kind of terrestrial paradise, they converted it into a region of blood, and lust, and horror. Heaven seemed to have done its best to render their abode the purest and most beauteous on the face of the earth; and hell seems to have put forth its utmost malignity to render it the dwelling-place of demons and the 'cage of every unclean and hateful bird.' A moral pestilence devastated its fairest scenes, and spread, with all nature smiling around, mourning, lamentation, and woe. There man in his finest form appeared rather as a fiend of darkness, as a demon of cruelty, than as the creature of reason, intelligence, and benevolence. And there woman, adorned with all her loveliness and sweetest attraction, appeared; but how shall I describe her, an incarnation of sensuality, a monster of cruelty; having no love for man, no pity for her offspring, no womanly modesty, no motherly tenderness! Oh! what horrors could we describe were you capable of bearing the description!

"But what has God wrought! Look on that venerable form, towering in majesty above the multitude, though bending with years. What are those scars which disfigure his manly countenance, and those marks which are spread over his muscular limbs? They are the proofs at once of the wars in which he has engaged and the superstitions which he has practised. His face is now lighted up with intelligence and beaming with benevolence. What is he now? A Christian: he is more; he is a teacher of the ignorant, an instructor of babes, a light to them that sit in darkness. What does he carry? The rod of the chief in one hand and the gospel of peace in the

* The History of the South Sea Mission applied to the Instruction and Encouragement of the Church, a Discourse delivered at various Missionary Anniversaries. By William Orme, Foreign Secretary to the London Missionary Society. London: Holdsworth & Ball, 1829.

## ART. 2.—FRIENDLY ISLANDS.

### TONGATABU.

In March 1797, Captain Wilson, after landing the first missionaries in Tahiti, sailed for Tongatabu, one of the Friendly

other. He has not lost, but gained authority, by the revolution of his character and the change in his circumstances. He is still a lord; but it is among his brethren, and his children, and his free and happy people. What has made him all this? The gospel. 'Not by might, nor by power; but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts.'

"Observe that lovely female, clothed with simple elegance, 'without the foreign aid of ornament.' Modest in her manners, meek and gentle in her disposition, timid and reserved, yet elevated in her deportment. 'Grace is in all her steps, heaven in her eye, in all her gesture dignity and love.' Her story is artless, but interesting; its burden is, 'The missionary preached: I believed. By the grace of God, I am what I am.'

"See those smiling children, their father's boast, their mother's pride, romping in all the joyousness of youth, in all the conscious serenity of home, and the delights of parental fondness, and brotherly and sisterly affection.

"Behold that happy family, united, endeared, and peaceful. The parents bound together by the indissoluble tie of marriage, and the still more sacred bond of religion. The husband loving his wife even as himself, and the wife honouring and obeying her husband. The children growing up like olive plants about their table, and all shewing how good and how pleasant a thing it is to dwell together in unity.

"Examine that cottage—I describe from facts—it rises on the outskirts of a shady wood, through which a winding path conducts the traveller, improving as it advances in beauty. At its termination, and in front of the dwelling appears a beautiful green lawn. The cottage is constructed with neatness and regularity, and tastefully whitewashed. Enter its folding doors. It has a boarded floor covered with oil-cloth, the windows are furnished with Venetian shutters, to render the apartment cool and refreshing; the rooms are divided by screens of tassa, and the beds covered with the same material white and clean; the apartments are furnished with chairs and sofas of native workmanship, and every article indicating at once the taste and the comfort of the occupants.

"Observe that church. Its rustic form rises in the distance. It is rude in architecture; but spacious in its dimensions. It is surrounded by its burying-ground, and its tombstones, 'with nettles skirted and with moss o'ergrown.' It is furnished with its pulpit, and its reading-desk, carved and painted too. It is filled with its pews and benches, and, what is more and better still, it overflows with an audience, devout, solemn, and silent, listening to the word of God. Who are these and whence came they? They are the once wild, licentious, cruel, degraded idolaters of Tahiti. Listen to them, for

> "'The people rising sing, 'With harp, with harp,
> And voice of psalms;' harmoniously attuned
> Their various voices blend.
> O how that simple song,
> Though rudely chaunted, how it melts the heart,
> Commingling soul with soul, in one full tide
> Of praise, of thankfulness, and humble trust.'

Isles with the view of settling others on that island. After a voyage of about a fortnight, the Duff arrived at Tongatabu, and before she could well come to anchor, she was surrounded by numbers of the natives, who flocked to her, not only from that, but from the neighbouring islands. In a short time, two Europeans came on board, named Benjamin Ambler, who called himself a native of London, and John Connelly, who said he was born at Cork. It soon appeared that they were both worthless fellows; and though they pretended that they were sailors who had left an American vessel which touched at Tongatabu, it is more likely they were convicts, who had escaped from New South Wales, and secreted themselves on this island, where they could indulge, without restraint, in those habits of idleness and profligacy to which they were addicted. Bad, however, as they were, it was judged expedient to employ them as a medium of intercourse with the chiefs, relative to the settlement of the missionaries on the island.[1]

Engaged by handsome presents, Ambler and Connelly went to

"They sing; and what do they sing?

"Salvation! O the joyful sound!
What pleasure to our ears;
A sov'reign balm for ev'ry wound,
A cordial for our fears.

"Buried in sorrow and in sin,
At hell's dark door we lay,
But we arise by grace divine
To see a heavenly day.

"Salvation! let the echo fly
The spacious earth around,
While all the armies of the sky
Conspire to raise the sound."

"My brethren, if this is not romance, but reality, (and it is but a feeble representation of the reality,) have we not been amply rewarded for the past?'"

"The preceding is so highly drawn as to excite our surprise and regret. We deem it erroneous, and therefore adapted to injure the cause it was designed to promote. Our limits do not allow us at present to contrast the picture which the writer has presented with the one which seems to us more correct. We will only say, that while much has been accomplished at the Georgian and Society Islands, it is little when compared with what remains to be done. *It is an immense work to rebuild the ruins of a nation which has been going to decay for ages; and the expectation which the churches entertain that it may be done in a day, results from their ignorance of what heathenism is.*'—*Hawaiian Spectator*, vol. i. p. 94.

[1] Miss. Voyage, p. 92, 96; Authentic Narrative, p. 68.

Moomooe, the Dugona or principal chief of the island, and having impressed him with a favourable opinion of the missionaries, they returned next morning with a present of three hogs and some yams from the old man, and informed them that he himself intended soon to follow. Accordingly, it was not long before the venerable chief made his appearance, with upwards of twenty attendants. Captain Wilson embraced this opportunity of mentioning every circumstance which could raise in their minds a high idea of the missionaries; and as they expressed great admiration of the cabin and its furniture, particularly of the mirrors, chairs, and table, they were informed that the men who had come to settle upon the island could teach them to make such useful articles, a circumstance which seemed to transport them with joy. Several of the chiefs were anxious that some of the missionaries should come and live with them; but as it was thought most expedient that they should keep together in a body, at least for the present, it was agreed that they should all live with Toogahowe, who was considered as the most powerful and warlike chief on the island, and as likely to be the successor of the aged Dugona, who seemed now on the brink of the grave. Agreeably to this arrangement, the following missionaries, Messrs Daniel Bowell, John Buchanan, James Cooper, S. Gaulton, Samuel Harper, Seth Kelso, Isaac Nobbs, William Shelly, James Wilkinson, and George Veeson, landed on the island, and took up their residence at Aheefo, under the protection of that powerful chief. Here they had a house assigned them in a little field, enclosed with reeds, neatly interwoven with green stakes which had shot forth suckers and branches, and now formed a beautiful verdant fence.[1]

Having seen the missionaries settled in this favourable situation, and on the most friendly terms with the chiefs and the people, Captain Wilson prepared to take his departure from the island. Scarcely had he sailed when a tremendous gale arose, and the mountainous billows quickly tossed the vessel along the ocean. The missionaries watched her labouring amidst the waves, till she sunk in the horizon from their view. A sigh of sadness then arose, some tears of regret fell from their eyes, whilst they looked round on the island, far distant from the

[1] Miss. Voyage, p. 99; Authentic Narrative, p. 69, 73.

regions of civilized life, as the scene where they were to pass and to end their days: "This," said they to each other, "is the ground where our bodies will moulder into dust: this we must now consider as our country and our grave." But they were ten in number, all social and friendly, all of similar sentiments, all united in zeal for the honour of the Redeemer, all glowing with concern for the salvation of the kind but ignorant inhabitants of the island. These circumstances contributed not a little to soothe and support their minds on this trying occasion.[1]

After the departure of the Duff, the natives came in great numbers to visit the missionaries, to pay their respects to them, and to gratify their own curiosity. None of them, however, came without considerable presents of cloth, roasted pigs, bunches of plantains, or strings of cocoa-nuts. The chiefs and the people appeared to vie with each other in shewing them respect and attention. The presents of bales of cloth and mats which were brought them, were at length so numerous, that the missionaries had not room to deposit them: nor was the cloth so contemptible as some may imagine. It was made of the inner bark of trees, moulded, battered, and spread in such a manner as to form a fine stout article, which when fringed with white constituted not only a neat but an elegant dress.[2]

In return for their kindness, the missionaries made them as many presents as their stock of goods would afford, particularly the chief under whose protection they lived. They always treated their visitors with the greatest attention, and were most assiduous in gratifying their curiosity. A cuckoo clock, which they fixed up was viewed by the natives with the utmost astonishment, even before it was put in motion; but their wonder was increased a thousandfold, when, on its being set agoing, the bird came out, crying, "Cuckoo, cuckoo." Such was their wonder, that for some time they could not take their eyes off it; they then looked at each other, dumb with astonishment, and at length withdrew in perfect amazement. The news of this wonderful curiosity quickly spread over the whole island. The missionaries, it was reported, had got "Wood that speaks." The numerous visitors which it attracted completely occupied them from early in the morning till late in the evening; and

[1] Authentic Narrative, p. 73. [2] Ibid. p. 75.

at length they multiplied so greatly, that it was necessary to refuse admittance to many of them.[1]

Among their many visitors, was Duatongo, who, in respect of power, was the second chief in the island. As he was highly delighted with the cuckoo clock, the missionaries, who had several of them, were happy to have an opportunity of gratifying him with so acceptable a present. Having carried it home with him, he was prompted by curiosity to examine the inside, and readily succeeded in taking it to pieces; but he had not skill to put it together again. He then sent for the missionaries to mend it. They made the attempt, but being unacquainted with the mechanism of a clock, they were equally unsuccessful. This circumstance lessened them not a little in the eyes of the natives, and brought down upon them a great deal of ridicule; while, at the same time, it flattered the natural vanity of the Tongas, who now prided themselves in the idea that they were at least as skilful as, "the men of the sky."[2]

But while the missionaries were, in general, treated with the utmost attention by the natives, they met with no small trouble from their own countrymen. No sooner had the Duff sailed from Tongatabu, than Ambler, Connelly, and a fellow of the name of Morgan, one of their companions, who was on a neighbouring island, began to harass them. The conduct of the missionaries, so opposite to their abandoned habits, provoked their enmity; the property they possessed excited their avarice. The ruffians had already obtained from them a variety of articles to a considerable amount; but their applications became, at length, so frequent and so extravagant, as to be altogether intolerable, and it became absolutely necessary to refuse them. Not discouraged by this, they demanded the goods as their right; and one day they entered the habitation of the missionaries by force with the view of carrying off their property. One of them ran up to Kelso and struck him, the other assaulted another of the missionaries, but being overpowered by numbers, they were soon

[1] Authentic Narrative, p. 76.

[2] Authentic Narrative, p. 78.

The natives called them "the men of the sky," because the sky appeared to touch the ocean in the distant horizon, and as the missionaries came from an immense distance, they naturally enough concluded, that they must have come through the sky to arrive at Tongatabu."—*Authentic Narrative*, p. 95.

driven from the place. They went away breathing forth dreadful imprecations, and threatening that they would inflame the natives against them, and that not one of them should be left alive until the morning. Had they possessed much authority with the Tongas, there is little doubt the whole of the missionaries would have been sacrificed to their malice, but their conduct had rendered them so unpopular, that they had little influence with the natives.[1]

The missionaries, however, were much alarmed by their proceedings, and partly for this reason, partly as they heard various reports of the designs of the chiefs to attack them and seize their property, they came to a resolution to separate, and to take up their residence in small parties with different chiefs. Three of them accordingly remained at Aheefo, under the protection of Toogahowe, who was now the Dugona or principal chief of the island in consequence of his father's death, two went to Mooa to live with Duatonga, two to Ardeo to reside with Varjee, one took up his abode at Ahogee with Mooree, and one with a chief of the name of Mulkaamair.[2]

Before leaving the Pacific Ocean, Captain Wilson returned to Tongatabu,[3] with the view of learning the situation of the mis-

[1] Authentic Narrative, p. 80.

[2] Ibid. p. 81; Miss. Voyage, p. 249, 255; Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 256.

[3] Nothing particular occurred in the course of this second voyage from Tahiti, unless we except the following circumstance, which exhibits an interesting picture of the workings of paternal affection, even in the rudest and most ignorant ranks of society. As the Duff sailed by Huahine, several canoes came alongside, in one of which was an Irishman named Connor, one of the crew of the Matilda, a vessel which had been wrecked about 1792. To the astonishment of the captain and his men, he had forgotten his native tongue so completely, that he was able to recollect only a few words, and if he began a sentence in English, he was obliged to finish it in the language of the islanders. He had even forgot the time that had elapsed since he was shipwrecked, but supposed it was eight years, whereas it was only about five. Having obtained from Captain Wilson a passage to England, he went ashore to take farewell of his wife and child. His wife he treated with the utmost indifference, and, indeed he had declared, he did not care what became of her; but when he took in his arms the child, a most beautiful infant, about eight or nine months old, the tears glistened in his eyes, and he seemed now to hesitate whether to remain in a situation where he was in constant danger of his life, or by extricating himself from it, to leave behind him his beloved daughter in the hands of savages. Persisting, however, in his first resolution, he embarked in the canoe, accompanied by his wife and his lovely infant. By the way she was asked, whether she would not part with the child? "No," she replied, "not for any thing." As several chiefs and other natives were on board the Duff, it was some time before this affair could be settled, and thus he had a further opportunity

sionaries, the treatment they had received from the natives during his absence, and the prospects of success on the island. He was happy to hear of the kindness and respect with which the Tongas had in general treated them; but the accounts he received of Ambler, Connelly, and Morgan, determined him, if possible, to carry them off the island, that so they might create the missionaries no further uneasiness. Connelly he seized, but Ambler and Morgan learning his design made their escape. One day, Veeson the missionary, accompanied by several men from the ship, proceeded well armed to the place of their retreat. After searching for them in vain night came on, when Veeson, happening to advance from the field before the rest, up a narrow lane, met with some of the natives and asked them if they had seen Ambler. Without making any reply, they instantly seized him and held him fast with his arms behind his body; they then dragged him forward along the lane and threw him on his back. Whilst two or three held him firm, another raised his club to strike him on the head. Instant death seemed now inevitable. Just, however, at that moment, the moon emerged from under a cloud, and shining full in his face as he lay on the ground, discovered who he was. Awed by reverence for Mulkaamair, the chief with whom he resided, they immediately dropped their clubs, as they knew he was a particular favourite with him. His companions, alarmed by his cries, now came up and fired upon his assailants. The natives instantly fled, but afterwards followed the sailors for some time as they retired to their boat.[1]

Veeson did not accompany his companions to the ship, but returned to his own habitation. On his arrival, however, he was surprised to find the doors of the enclosure secured, and was obliged to stop some time in the public road. He at length succeeded in forcing the entrance, but on going in he was alarmed to see a number of the natives all under arms. As he

for deliberation. The poor fellow never let the infant out of his arms, and, at length, the workings of a father's heart prevailed over the love of country, and concern for his own personal safety. He told the captain, he found it impossible to leave his child, which all on board were glad to hear, for the sake of the poor helpless babe. A few useful articles were then presented to him. The Duff immediately proceeded on her voyage, while he returned to the shore.—*Miss. Voyage*, p. 227.

[1] Authentic Narrative, p. 83, 85.

approached, they pointed their spears at him, and told him they had learned from Ambler and Morgan that it was the intention of him and his friends to seize on the island and kill the inhabitants. These miscreants, it seems, had succeeded in rousing the jealousy and indignation of the Tongas by this foul and malignant calumny. They laboured, indeed, by every means in their power to lessen the missionaries, and to exalt themselves in the estimation of the natives. They gave it out, for instance, that they were persons of the first rank in their own country, that one of them was the king's son, the other a duke or great chief, but that the missionaries were of the lower orders of the people, and servants to them.[1]

The missionaries afterwards thought it best to have no communication with these two fellows; and, indeed, there was soon no need either to court their favour or to dread their resentment, as they lost entirely the confidence of the natives. Notwithstanding their high pretensions of being dukes or princes, the Tongas had ingenuity enough to conclude, that had they been men of rank as they said, they would surely have received presents from their own country as well as the missionaries. They accordingly treated them with little respect, and in consequence of their bad condnct, they at length put them both to death, Ambler at the commencement of a civil war, of which we shall shortly speak, on account of his having spoken disrespectfully of a neighbouring chief, and endeavouring to raise disturbances in the island; Morgan two or three years afterwards, for brutally violating the daughter of one of the chiefs.[2]

Immediately after Veeson took up his residence with Mulkaamair, it was reported by the natives that he cohabited with one of the Tonga women, and in fact some parts of his conduct but too well corresponded with such a rumour; yet as he positively denied the charge while the Duff was on the island, it was thought best by most of the missionaries, as well as by Captain Wilson, to allow him to remain. She had scarcely, however, sailed a week, when, to the inexpressible grief of his brethren, he acknowledged his guilt, but still he denied that it was any earlier than the night before. The missionaries who resided nearest to him, expostulated with him on the crimina-

[1] Authentic Narrative, p. 87. [2] Ibid. p. 90.

lity and danger of his conduct, and at first it seemed as if their expostulations were not in vain. But their hopes were quickly dashed by his mingling with the heathen, and shewing a strong disposition to learn their ways, in which he at length made a woful proficiency. As, however, he proposed to marry the woman with whom he lived, his fellow-missionaries agreed to solemnize the marriage as what they considered the only remedy now left. But when the parties came before them, and they explained to the woman the nature of the marriage-covenant, that it was an agreement for life to be faithful to her husband, and that nothing but death could release her from the bond, she burst into tears and refused to come under such an obligation, alleging as a reason that no due affection subsisted between them, and that she for her part was influenced merely by the fear of the chief and her parents. Under these circumstances, the missionaries could not proceed with the ceremony, as such a marriage would have been contrary not only to the laws of their country, but to the principles of common sense. She was therefore conducted back to her father, but Veeson soon after sent for her, and lived with her as his wife. The missionaries did not yet exclude him from their society, but embraced every opportunity of expostulating with him concerning his irreligious and immoral conduct. All, however, was in vain. He now threw off the mask of Christianity so completely, that he did not know the Sabbath when it came, and even returned them his Bible, though earnestly requested to keep it. After some months, therefore, they proceeded to exclude him from their little society, though it was with a sorrowful heart.[1]

Though the missionaries were in general well treated by the natives, yet in various instances it was otherwise, and there were even cases in which they were in imminent danger of their life. In the summer of 1798, it was reported that most of the principal men on the island had solicited Toogahowe, the Dugona, to put them all to death, instigated, it was supposed, by a desire of their property, as well as by jealousy of their designs. At that time the missionaries gave no credit to the rumour, for the chiefs in general treated them with so much

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 257, 262, 266, 268, 272, 275; Authentic Narrative, p. 90, 107, 125, 127.

friendship, that they could not suspect them of so base a design; but afterwards they were assured that about that period there was actually a conspiracy on foot to murder them; that some of those who professed the greatest regard for them were the most active in it; that the Dugona was nearly consenting to cut off those who were under his protection; and that, had this taken place, it is not probable the others would have been long allowed to survive them. In this emergency, however, Providence raised up to them some friends, who stood firmly by them and pled their cause, by which means their enemies were silenced and the conspiracy broken. Shortly after, however, ten or twelve of the natives entered the house of Mr Cooper, about three o'clock one morning. After threatening to murder him if he made any opposition or noise, they ordered him out of doors, stript off his shirt, and carried away whatever they could find in the house. Happily, however, they did him no personal injury, and when daylight returned he found they had left him an old coat, and a few articles of iron which they had missed in the dark.[1]

Hitherto the missionaries had been able to effect little or nothing with regard to the main object of their settlement upon the island. In learning the language of the natives, they had greater difficulties to encounter than they had been taught to expect. They found it extremely difficult to convey to them any adequate ideas even of natural things with which they were not conversant, much more of objects which are heavenly and divine. They had just, however, formed a plan for improving themselves in the language, and for reducing it to grammatical order, when an event occurred which not only deranged the whole of their scheme, but involved the island in devastation and ruin.[2]

In April 1799, Toogahowe, the Dugona of the island, was treacherously murdered by Loogalalla, his brother, and two of his own cousins. The chiefs of Tongatabu and of the neighbouring islands being assembled at this time for the celebration of an annual religious ceremony, Loogalalla chose this opportunity for the execution of his barbarous purpose. He communicated his design to a number of other daring men, who, after

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 270. [2] Ibid. p. 279.

appearing at the ceremony, embarked in their canoes as if to return to their own part of the island. They hovered, however, off the coast, landed again in the evening, and after stationing a guard at every avenue leading to the Dugona's residence, they proceeded in search of the object of their vengeance. Him and his attendants they found asleep; but as it was dark, they could not at first distinguish which was the chief, and they were afraid to strike the fatal blow, lest by killing the wrong person they should give the others the alarm. Unfortunately, however, for Toogahowe, it is the peculiar privilege of the Dugona to anoint his head with oil, strongly scented with a certain species of fragrant wood which is brought from the Fiji Islands. Discovering him by this empty distinction, the conspirators murdered him, together with seven or eight of his attendants. The rest of his followers fled, but as every avenue was guarded, many of them also were slain. Having thus effected their bloody purpose, Loogalalla and his party proceeded to the shore, and seizing as many canoes as they needed, destroyed all the rest in order to secure their retreat.[1]

The news of this event flew like lightning over the whole island, and seemed to fire every breast with indignation and a desire of revenge. Loogalalla, however, had many powerful supporters among the chiefs, so that it was evident nothing but war would decide the fate of the island. Preparations were made on both sides with the utmost rapidity, and in a short time the two parties met in the field of battle. The Aheefonians, or royalists, after three shouts, began the contest with great bravery, and in a short time routed the rebels, who fled in all directions, leaving the killed and wounded to the mercy of the victors, who at first gave no quarter. Some of the missionaries were present at the battle, and witnessed scenes of barbarity from which humanity recoils. A short way from the spot where the contest began, they saw an old man roasting part of a dead body, apparently with a design to eat it. At a little distance they beheld another spectacle no less shocking: it was the body of a chief who had fallen in battle; a fellow who had severed the head from the body was exhibiting them as a proof of his prowess; and even some of the women, as they passed by, dipped their hands in the blood and licked them.

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 281; Authentic Narrative, p. 160.

Nothing could be more gratifying to the royalists than to see several of the missionaries marching to the battle, as they entertained no doubt that they had fire-arms with them, and would employ them against the rebels. Accordingly, on every little advantage which they obtained, the missionaries came in with Taleeitoobo and other imaginary deities, for a share of their warmest acknowledgments; even the dog which Kelso led in his hand had abundance of kava presented to it. But as soon as it was discovered that they took no part in the battle, they became almost as obnoxious to them as their enemies. To remain where they were was therefore no longer safe, yet whither to go they knew not. They at length fled to a place called Eeleegoo, in the back part of the island, which seemed to promise them the best shelter that could be found at present, being inaccessible for canoes by a high reef of coral rocks along the shore, and very little frequented from the land. Here they retired into as private a spot as possible, and passed the greater part of this eventful day undiscovered by the natives. In the evening they returned to their own habitation; but they soon found it was no place of refuge for them, and therefore they retired to the house of a neighbour who professed a good deal of friendship for them, but who, they afterwards understood, entertained serious thoughts of murdering them all that very night.

Next morning they returned to Eeleegoo, and took up their station in a wood near the place where they had hid themselves the day before. Here they lay concealed until about noon, when they discovered numbers of the natives flying in all directions; and they soon learned that a second battle had been fought, that the royalists were routed, and that most of their friends among the chiefs were slain. Alarmed by this intelligence, they thought it best to leave their retreat, and to follow the crowd. After travelling with them about two miles, they came up with a party of armed men, who demanded their clothes; and as to to have refused them would have been at the peril of their life, they surrendered them without hesitation, and so escaped unhurt.

Having proceeded a considerable way farther, they found the road turn more inland, and the beach terminate in a range of craggy rocks, with a thick wood between them and the country.

Here, therefore, they took shelter, as they saw that they were viewed with an evil eye by many of their fellow-travellers. In the course of the day they discovered, in the hole of a rock, a quantity of fresh water, which afforded them a most seasonable refreshment; and about sunset, two of them went in search of food, of which they all stood much in need, having tasted nothing except water since the evening before. In less than half an hour, they returned with some bread-fruit and bananas, which they had obtained from a company of the natives whom they met with at a little distance; but they, at the same time, received from them the painful intelligence, that the three missionaries at Ardeo, Harper, Bowell, and Gaulton, had been murdered by the Aheefonians the preceding day. It appears that the royalists, after defeating the rebels, continued to pursue them till they came to that part of the country. The missionaries, apprehending that as they had taken no part in the war they would not be molested by them, came out to view them as they approached. Amongst the warriors, however, arrived one who had formerly requested some presents, either from them or their brethren, and unfortunately had met with a refusal. With the barbarity natural to a savage, he seized this opportunity of taking revenge; and having run to attack them, he was readily joined by others. They knocked down Harper, Bowell, and Burham, an American seamen who was with them,[1] and murdered them all on the spot. Gaulton fled, but looking back and seeing his companions fall, to whom he was strongly attached, he returned, perhaps, in the hope of saving them, and immediately shared a similar fate. After murdering the missionaries, the savages proceeded to plunder their houses; and though many articles had been concealed and buried by them, yet they searched and found them all.[2]

The news of this sad catastrophe could not fail to impress the other missionaries with the deepest sorrow, as well as excite in their minds the most painful apprehensions respecting their own safety. Next day being the Sabbath, they endeavoured to spend it among the rocks in such religious exercises as were suitable

[1] Several sailors had landed from an American ship, soon after the arrival of the missionaries, and settled on the island.—*Miss. Trans.* p. 259, 261.

[2] Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 288; Authentic Narrative, p. 169.

to the nature of that sacred day, and to the melancholy circumstances in which they were placed. In the afternoon, however, they were alarmed by the sight of a man, armed with a club and spear, who bolted up close by them. He at first balanced the spear in his hand, and seemed ready to throw it at them; but on observing their number, he appeared confused, and at a loss what to do. The missionaries having immediately addressed him, he pretended that he was sent by Maffee, one of the chiefs, to seek for them, chiding them, at the same time, in a friendly manner, for remaining in such a place to perish with hunger. He then desired them to wait till he sought some cloth which he had left in the neighbouring wood, saying, he would come back and take them to Maffee. He accordingly left them and returned in a few minutes, but now he assumed a very different carriage from what he had manifested at first, desired them again to stay, and then left them a second time. As his behaviour was so mysterious, they did not choose to wait his return, but immediately left the rocks in as quiet and cautious a manner as possible, being afraid he might bring a party of the natives against them. Observing a road which led to the sea, they descended by it, and proceeded toward the beach. They had not advanced many yards, when they found a child, apparently about eight or nine years of age, lying dead on the ground. After travelling about a mile on the way to Aheefo, they met with a small company of the natives, consisting of ten or twelve persons, one of whom advised them to go with them to a place called Faheffa. They accordingly went with them, and having arrived in that quarter about the dusk of the evening, were kindly entertained by the people.[1]

After a variety of other adventures, in the course of which the missionaries were often in the utmost danger of their life, Loogalalla, the traitor, triumphed over all his opposers; and not only Tongatabu, but the neighbouring islands, submitted for the present to his sway. Bloody, however, as were the means by which he rose to sovereign power, he appeared to be friendly to the missionaries. Previous to his last landing, he had made it a part of his general orders to his army, that they should not be hurt; and as soon as he came on shore, he sent

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 292.

Veeson with a party to search for them, in order to secure their safety. Having now called them before him, he treated them in the kindest manner, gave them many assurances of his friendship, and presented them with a large bale of cloth, and two different kinds of saws. Vaarjee, the chief with whom their unfortunate companions had resided, returned them several articles of clothing which had belonged to them, a watch, a Bible, and a small compass; the first volume of Hervey's Dialogues, Crantz's History of Greenland, some other books, and a quantity of paper, pens, and ink.[1]

Having now an opportunity of visiting Ardeo, the missionaries were eager to go thither, in order to render the last offices of friendship to their murdered brethren, whose bodies were still lying on the road, exposed to the insults of all who passed by. On their arrival, they found the place a perfect desolation; the houses either burnt or lying in ruins; the fences all torn in pieces, and the fruits mostly destroyed. After taking a short view of the premises, they were conducted to the places where the bodies of their murdered companions lay. This was a still more heart-rending sight. Bowell and Gaulton lay on the road, near each other; Harper in the neighbouring field. They were all, however, so much disfigured, that their brethren could not have known them, except from the information of the natives, who had often seen them since their death. Burham, the American seaman, lay in a kind of ditch, at a considerable distance; and as his body was in such a state that it could not be moved without falling to pieces, the missionaries covered it with earth where it was. Afterwards, with the assistance of the natives, they dug a grave large enough to contain their three brethren; and having, though with some difficulty, moved them into it, buried them without either shroud or coffin. Vaarjee, the chief, appeared to bewail their death in the most affectionate manner, and even formed the generous design of removing them to a greater distance from the road, and of building a fiatooka, or monument, over them, as soon as he returned to Ardeo.[2]

Having thus performed the last offices of friendship to their unfortunate companions, the missionaries now began to resume

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 294, 297, 309. [2] Ibid. vol. i. p. 291, 298.

their manual labours among the natives. Several of them, who lived with a chief named Fackafanooa, having, though with much difficulty, procured materials for a pair of bellows, erected a forge in a house which he had prepared for that purpose. Here they soon found they would have plenty of work; but little payment for it. Almost every person about the place had something or other to do; but with the most unblushing effrontery, they often brought them their own property to be wrought into various forms, and not half so much stuff for payment as they used to allow for working iron, which they had purchased from others at a very great expense. In this practice they were much encouraged by Fackafanooa, who seemed to think the obligations of the missionaries to him were so great, they could never be discharged. He, indeed, reaped far more advantage from their labours than they did themselves; for as most of the payments consisted of ready cooked provisions, of which they could use but a very small part, his family was almost entirely supported on the rest. In several instances, however, this gave rise to circumstances of an unpleasant nature. The missionaries themselves preserved the command of their temper, notwithstanding the many provocations they received; but Beak, an American seaman, who wrought with them, did not maintain the same degree of equanimity. He appears to have been a passionate, irritable man, and often got into quarrels with the natives. One day when he had fallen into a dispute with Fackafanooa, the chief immediately left them; but he returned soon after with upwards of fifty men, and desired them all to come out. As soon as they had complied with this order, each of them was seized by two or three of the natives, and led without the gate. Here they found ten or twelve men armed with spears, ready, as they imagined, to put them all to death. The chief, however, seemed much agitated; and instead of murdering them, only made the following arrangement: Kelso and Buchanan he ordered to go to Aheefo, while Beak and Wilkinson should remain with him. The people, in general, on this occasion, seemed rather to sympathize with them than to insult them: some, indeed, appeared to rejoice in their sufferings, and to feel a savage pleasure in aggravating their distress.[1]

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. i. 302, 304.

Agreeably to this arrangement, Kelso and Buchanan departed for Aheefo, and on their arrival they found their brethren in that quarter hard at work. They now learned that Fackafanooa had lately received an order to put them all to death, as their enemies represented their prayers as having a malignant influence on the mind of Loogalalla, and as being indirectly the cause of all the calamities which had lately befallen the island. The prayers of the missionaries, indeed, had long been a source of jealousy to the natives. Scarcely had they landed on the island, when they were represented as the cause of the death of several of the chiefs who died about that period; and on every fresh calamity the charge was renewed against them. The practice, indeed, was now so obnoxious, that the missionaries at Aheefo were obliged to hold their morning and evening worship at the forge, where only they could have it without molestation, because there it was unsuspected.[1]

Soon after the departure of his two brethren to Aheefo, Wilkinson overheard a conversation between Fackafanooa and some of the people, in the course of which the missionaries were all treated with much disrespect, but as no mischief was threatened them, he took little notice of it till the following evening, when he heard his own death proposed by a number of the natives to Knight, one of the American seamen; but as the wary sailor expressed his apprehensions that the ship would soon return, it was then proposed to *loomeeloomee* him, a cruel punishment, seldom practised except on prisoners of war, and inflicted by means of a broken cocoa-nut shell, jagged for the purpose, and beat into the crown of the head with a club. To this proposal the villain readily assented, but wished it might be executed in such a manner that he would have no share of the blame. The people accordingly proceeded to make preparations for the execution of their barbarous purpose, and as Wilkinson overheard the conversation, he had to pass the night in the most painful apprehensions of being dragged out in the morning to receive this brutal treatment. He escaped, however, at that time, but soon after, both he and Beak received a severe cudgelling from some of Fackafanooa's people. Nothing, indeed, could exceed

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 267, 305.

the baseness of that chief toward them; and to crown his other acts of villany, he at last seized the little property which they had acquired by hard labour, consisting of about four hundred yams, ten or a dozen of fowls, a considerable quantity of cloth, a dozen of knives, a grinding-stone, and all their tools, merely because they refused to give him a shark-hook which they had made for another person.[1]

In this manner, the missionaries had passed nearly nine months since the assassination of their friend the Dugona. During the war, they had laboured under a complication of evils; their life was often in the utmost jeopardy, and three of their number had actually fallen a sacrifice to the cruelty of the natives. Since the return of peace, their condition was little improved; plots were often on foot for their destruction; their poverty was such, that they were destitute of clothing, and almost of necessary food; and they were at the same time under such entire subjection to the natives, as destroyed all prospect of usefulness among them. Besides, they received the most positive assurances that Loogalalla, notwithstanding his former professions of friendship, had determined to murder some of them on his return to the island, which was expected in less than a month; and it was evident that, should any of them survive his cruelty, they might expect at least to suffer all the horrors of famine, as the whole country had lately been laid waste by a storm. Under these discouraging and perplexing circumstances, some of the missionaries entertained serious thoughts of quitting Tongatabu in their small boat, and attempting to sail to New South Wales; but to others this proposal appeared perfectly preposterous, and only as flying from death on land to inevitable destruction at sea. Such was the painful situation of the missionaries, when they very unexpectedly found an opportunity of escaping from the island.[2]

In January 1800, they one evening heard the report of two guns in the bay; but as it was too late to ascertain the cause of this unusual noise, they passed the night in a state of most anxious suspense; sometimes hope, sometimes fear prevailed. In the morning, they endeavoured to get their boat to sea, but to their inexpressible disappointment, they failed in the attempt,

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 305, 306, 308. [2] Ibid. vol. i. p. 313.

as the tide did not reach her by forty or fifty yards. In the evening, however, they accomplished their purpose, and after sailing a considerable way, they descried two ships in the roads; but as the wind was contrary, it was midnight before they reached them. The one was an English vessel, the Betsy, bound for Port Jackson, the other, a Spanish brig which she had captured. Captain Clark, the commander, received the missionaries in the most friendly manner; and, on being informed of their distressing circumstances, kindly offered them a passage to New South Wales, assuring them that his cabin, with every accommodation it could afford, was at their service. This offer the missionaries accepted with thankfulness and joy. Before the ship finally left the island, one or two of the chiefs, and some others of their old friends, came on board, and took an affectionate leave of them. The feelings of the missionaries on this occasion it is not easy to describe. The consideration of the time, the labour, and the money, which had been expended on this undertaking, all of which were now to be lost; but especially the thought of abandoning a country containing thousands of immortal souls, who were perishing in ignorance and sin, could not fail to excite in their minds the most painful feelings. But necessity compelled them to depart. To remain was only to expose themselves to difficulties, and dangers, and death, without the smallest prospect of success. After a short and agreeable voyage, they arrived in safety at Port Jackson; and with the exception of Shelly, they all soon after returned to England.[1]

Veeson, the apostate missionary, still remained in Tongatabu, and therefore before we close our narrative, it may not be improper to give a short account of him. After marrying a near relation of one of the chiefs, he obtained a considerable piece of land, and with the assistance of the natives who lived upon it, he cultivated and improved his farm in such a manner, as excited the admiration of the whole island. His intimacy and credit with the chiefs daily increased, and he generally made one of their parties both of business and pleasure. He was himself considered as a chief, and like the others he increased the number of his wives. He was now, however, sick of savage

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 313, 317.

life, in consequence of the horrors he had witnessed, and the dangers he had escaped in the late war, and having missed the opportunity of leaving the island in the same ship as the missionaries, he considered it as a just punishment for his dereliction of duty, and was scarcely able to bear the idea of spending the rest of his days among so ferocious a race. He was doomed, however, to behold new horrors. The inhabitants of Aheefo having rebelled against the usurper, the flames of war were again kindled, and raged with no less fierceness than before. In a district which Loogalalla's party had laid waste, he beheld human bodies placed transversely upon each other, and piled up in large stacks, as a trophy of victory. This, however, was executed in the style of ordinary barbarism. A little way from one of these stacks, he witnessed a spectacle which almost froze his blood. It was a mother, in a sitting posture, holding an infant to her breast, as in the act of sucking, now cold and stiff with death. The savages, after murdering them, had, with a refinement in barbarity, left the dead bodies to stiffen in that affecting attitude.[1]

In August 1801, Veeson was at length so happy as to effect his escape from this land of savages. Tongatabu, which before the war was beautiful as a garden, was now waste as a wilderness, and the inhabitants were in a state of absolute starvation. No chief of respectability remained; all were either killed, or had fled to other islands for safety. Loogalalla, the author of all these calamities, was the only chief of consequence who had weathered the storm, and even he had been obliged to retire to the Harby Islands, from whence he made frequent depredations on Tongatabu. Veeson having attached himself to the party of that usurper, had, of course, shared in his fortunes. About this period he was appointed by him chief of one of the Vavau Islands, and was sent thither with a number of men under him, to bring it into a state of cultivation, as provisions were scarce at Harby. This, though an honourable, was to him a dangerous post. He had lately deserted the brother of Loogalalla, who had thrown off the yoke of that usurper and asserted his own independence. As this chief resided in the Vavou Islands, it is probable Veeson would soon have fallen a sacrifice to his

[1] Authentic Narrative, p. 128, 131, 139, 147, 154, 156, 186, 188.

revenge, had he entered upon his government. Scarcely, however, had he reached these islands, when he heard that a ship from England had been there three days. This intelligence excited the utmost agitation in his mind; but he had the prudence to conceal his feelings as much as possible, and appeared to take little or no notice of the information. Various plans of escape now rushed into his mind, yet how to execute them he scarcely knew. He, at length, persuaded some of the natives to go and trade with the ship; but as they approached her, he had the vexation to see her under weigh, and was terribly frightened she would sail without him. As the wind, however, blew only a light breeze, the ship took some time in getting round, and the canoe could run faster than she was able to do. On approaching her, he called out, "How do you do, countrymen?" The sailors, however, only laughed at him, as they imagined from his dress and tatooed skin, that he was a native who had picked up some English phrases. They, therefore, held on, and thus Veeson was like to lose for ever this opportunity of getting out of the hands of this savage race. He now attempted to call out who he was; but he had been so long unaccustomed to his native tongue, that he perpetually mixed with it the language of the islanders, and by this means rendered all he said so strange and unintelligible, as to increase the ridicule and incredulity of the sailors. He then jumped overboard, knowing he could easily swim to the vessel, when a chief who was near him said, "Get into my canoe, I will take you to the ship." Veeson accepted of the offer, but no sooner had he entered the canoe, than the fellow turned with him towards the shore. His situation now seemed desperate. He cried out as loud as he could, in his broken dialect, and lifted up his eyes to heaven, as if in utter despair.[1]

Fortunately for him, his cries and gestures caught the eye of the captain, who at that moment came on deck, "That," said he, "must certainly be an European," and immediately ordered out a boat for him, manned with eight persons. Veeson saw the boat coming, but the natives rowed away from it as fast as possible, tantalizing and jeering him, saying, "Such a chief wants to see you. You must visit Loogalalla's brother before

[1] Authentic Narrative, p. 189, 191, 195; Evan. Mag. vol. x. p. 285.

you leave us." A young man at the head of the boat having at length beckoned to him to plunge, he watched his opportunity, dived into the sea, in a direction contrary to that in which the canoe was sailing, and kept himself under the water, that the savages might not strike him with their paddles. Meanwhile his countrymen came up to him, and pulled him into the boat. The danger, however, was not yet entirely over. The sailors now attempted to run down the canoes, but as they had no fire-arms, and the savages were much their superior in number, Veeson called to them to desist, warning them of the consequences. He had forgotten, however, his own language so far, that he spoke in that of the islanders, who were now emboldened by what he said, and instead of continuing their flight, turned about, and began to pursue the boat. Had they known that the sailors had no fire-arms with them, it is probable they would have overtaken and murdered them all.[1]

Having at length reached the vessel, Veeson was not a little astonished to find it was a missionary ship; not indeed the Duff, in which he had originally sailed to the South Sea Islands, but the Royal Admiral, commanded by Captain William Wilson, who had just landed a new body of missionaries in Tahiti, and was now returning to England. During the voyage, Veeson was in a wild state of mind; sick of savage life, yet too long habituated to its privileges, to brook with complacency the restraints of civilized society. When they came in sight of the uninhabited island of Tinian, he felt a wish to be put on shore, that he might end his days in the solitude of a hermit. Having proceeded in the ship to China, he there engaged himself on board a vessel bound to America, and after performing another voyage to St Domingo, he returned to England, but as he had now been so long accustomed to ramble about, he felt an insuperable aversion to regular labour and a settled life. After some time, a pious female relation persuaded him to return to the town where he had received his first serious impressions, in the hope that the society of his old friends might, through the divine blessing, rekindle in his breast the almost extinguished sense of religion. Yielding to her remonstrances, he settled in the place, resumed his former occupations, and

[1] Authentic Narrative, p. 198.

was induced by his pious acquaintances, to attend again the long-neglected means of grace. In this scene of retirement, the prodigal began to repent, the backslider to pray, the wanderer to return to the Redeemer's fold, from which he had strayed. The gloom of despondency, which a sense of guilt had spread over his mind, was at length dispelled by the declarations of the gospel, and it was hoped that he found peace of conscience through the atonement of Christ Jesus, and was set up as a monument of that grace which he had neglected to proclaim to the islanders of the South Sea.[1]

## Art. 3.—Marquesas Islands.

### St Christina.

In April 1797, Captain Wilson, after settling the missionaries in Tahiti and Tongatabu, sailed for the Marquesas Islands with the view of landing in Santa Christina, Messrs John Harris and William Crook, who had both made choice of that island as the scene of their future labours. Harris, however, who had been particularly bent on settling in this quarter, had scarcely landed when he shrunk from the undertaking, and before the departure of the ship he determined to return to Tahiti. Crook, a young man of twenty-two, was not so easily disheartened, and, notwithstanding the loss of his companion, he resolved to remain on the island, desiring only such instruments of husbandry and other articles as might promote his usefulness among the unenlightened natives. His happiness, he observed, would no doubt have been greatly promoted had he enjoyed a friendly and agreeable associate, but since the Lord had ordered otherwise, he thought it better corresponded with his character and profession to resign himself to his fatherly care, and to trust in his promises, than to abandon a situation where a door of usefulness appeared to be opened to him ; and should his blessed Saviour make him the honoured instrument of preparing the way for some of his more able servants, he

[1] Authentic Narrative, p. 202, 208, 211.

should, at least, have the pleasure of reflecting that his life had not been spent in vain.[1]

Bold, however, as Mr Crook was, the mission to the Marquesas Islands came to a termination sooner than even that to Tongatabu. During the first six months of his residence on Santa Christina, he suffered considerably from hunger in consequence of the improvidence of the natives; but yet he was kindly treated by the chiefs, who always allowed him to partake of their own scanty morsel. About a year after his arrival, a ship having appeared off the island, he went on board of her with the view of inquiring to what country she belonged, and of writing to Europe by her; but as the wind blew fresh from the mountains, she was not only unable to work her way into the harbour, but was carried to the leeward. Being thus prevented from returning to Santa Christina, Mr Crook requested the captain to carry him to Sir Henry Martyn's, an island about sixty miles to the north-west, and, in compliance with his request, the captain was so obliging as to bear away and land him upon it.

On his arrival on this island, the natives were astonished to find a White man who could speak their own language, and, till he dissuaded them from the extravagant idea, they considered him as a god. The principal chief immediately adopted him as his Tayo, and supplied his wants with the greatest liberality. In a short time he obtained a large piece of ground stocked with bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and tarro roots, which he enclosed with a bamboo fence, and built a house upon it.

After he had resided for seven months on this island, two ships, the Euphrates and Butterworth, both South Sea whalers from London, put in for refreshments, to whom he was of considerable service as interpreter, as well as in procuring for them a plentiful supply of provisions. Despairing of seeing the Duff on this island, he thought he would most effectually serve the cause of the mission by returning to England, and representing to the Society the state of the whole group of the Marquesas Islands, together with the propriety of sending more missionaries, who, by exhibiting a form of Christian economy in domestic life, might induce the natives to pay greater attention

[1] Miss. Voyage, p. 45, 86, 112, 132, 137, 139, 141.

to their instructions. He accordingly embarked in the Butterworth and sailed for England, where he arrived in May 1799, after an absence of two years and eight months.[1]

In October 1834, Messrs Rodgerson and Stallworthy landed at St Christina with the design of renewing the mission, but the circumstances in which they were placed were so trying and discouraging, that after a few years they left the island.[2]

## Art. 4.—Hervey Islands.

In October 1821, Mr John Williams, one of the missionaries in Raiatea, when on his way to New South Wales for the benefit of his health, left two native teachers at one of the Hervey Islands, named Aitutaki. This group of islands lies about five or six hundred miles to the west of Tahiti. They are seven in number, the chief of which are Rarotonga, Aitutaki, Mangaia, and Atiu; the other three were named Mauti, Mitiaro, and Hervey's Island.[3]

For upwards of twelve months the natives of Aitutaki paid little attention to any thing which the teachers said on the subject of religion; but all at once they manifested a general desire to embrace Christianity. Whole districts, men, women, and children, with their respective chiefs at their head, came and expressed their wish to be instructed; and in a few days the whole inhabitants of the island professed themselves the worshippers of the true God. On the following Sabbath, they all assembled, for the first time, to worship Jehovah, under a grove of large shady trees. Next day a general conflagration of the morais took place: the whole were destroyed or despoiled; not one remained on the whole island. The people now erected a large place of worship for themselves, and the observation of the Sabbath was general throughout the island.[4]

In July 1823, Messrs Williams and Bourne visited the Hervey Islands along with six native teachers, whom they proposed leaving on different islands. After calling at Aitutaki, they

[1] Evan. Mag. vol. vii. p. 261.
[2] Evan. Mag. 1835, p. 382; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1839, p. 6; Ibid. 1843, p. 34.
[3] William's Miss. Enter. p. 16; Quart. Chron. vol. iii. p. 12.
[4] Quart. Chron. vol. iii. p. 43, 46.

visited Atiu, where two teachers from Bora-bora had been left some months before. These they found in a most pitiable condition. They had been stripped by the natives of all their little property, and were exceedingly disheartened by their want of success. The king, a young man, accompanied the missionaries to sea for two or three days, and during that time, he was present at their religious services, and had much conversation with them. The result of this was, that he resolved to embrace Christianity, to destroy all his morais, and to erect a house of prayer. The missionaries afterwards prevailed on him to accompany them to the two adjacent islands of Mitiaro and Mauti, of which he was also king, and to use his influence to enable them to settle a teacher on each of them. Upon landing at Mitiaro, he sent for the chief of that island, and stated to him that he would leave a teacher, who would instruct him and his people in the word of God; that they must burn all their morais, give up all their evil customs, and convert into a house of prayer a large house which he had given orders, a few weeks before, to be put up for celebrating a great feast. The people listened with astonishment, and asked, "Shall we not all be strangled?" "No," replied he; "it is not in the power of wood which we have adorned and called a god to kill us." They inquired if Atiu had received the good Word, which he had brought to them. He replied that he had embraced it himself, upon which the chiefs and all the people agreed to do the same. "But," said one, "must we destroy Taria Nui?" that is "Great Ears," the idol of which the king himself was the priest. "Yes," replied he; "him and all the evil spirits with him." He then charged them to behave kindly to the teacher, and to attend to his instructions.

As they approached the island of Mauti, the chiefs and a number of the people were collected on the beach to welcome their king. The first words he uttered were, "I am come to advise you to receive the word of Jehovah, the true God, and to leave with you a teacher to instruct you." "That is good," they replied. He then said, "Let us burn all our morais, and all our evil spirits. Never let us worship them again. They are wood which we have carved and decorated, and called gods." Here is the true God and his word, with a teacher to instruct you. The true

God is Jehovah, and the true sacrifice is his son Jesus Christ." He said further, "Erect a house in which to worship the true God, and be diligent in learning the good word of God." "We will do it," they replied, "we will receive the good word that we may be saved." He then exhorted the principal chief Tararo and his wife to attend family worship that same evening, to which they agreed; and, naming a particular day, he added, "Let every person, man, woman, and child, attend the worship of the true God, and make a public profession." He also exhorted them to leave off drinking ava, to discontinue all their games and feasts, not to steal, nor to commit fornication, but along with the evil spirits to cast off all evil customs.[1]

[1] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1824, p. 29; Quart. Chron. vol. iii. p. 49; Williams' Life, p. 171.

"Were ever," says Messrs Williams and Bourne, "three islands converted from idolatry in so short a time—so unexpectedly—islands almost unknown, and some never visited by any vessel, in one day induced to consent to the destruction of what has been the adoration of ages? As to the natives of the latter island, Mauti, the very first vessel that ever visited them brought them the glad tidings of salvation. How remarkably are the words of David fulfilled in this people:—'As soon as they hear of me, they shall obey me; the strangers shall submit themselves unto me.'

"Thus," they also remark, "the king of Atiu came on board the vessel a bigoted idolater; he was induced to embrace the true word, to use his influence in overthrowing the adoration of ages in two islands, and returns to that of his own residence with a full determination to do the same there. We were constrained to say:—'It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes!'"—*Rep. Miss. Soc.* 1824, p. 29, 32.

Such reflections may appear very pious, but they shew little judgment. To speak of the inhabitants of these islands as converted from idolatry is an abuse of terms; they were not so much as instructed! Not much more than twelve months after this, Mr Williams' boat, with its crew, drifted from Raiatea to Atiu, and was supposed to be lost; but says he, "The arrival of my boat's crew at Atiu was overruled for great good, as the following incidents will shew:—When they reached Atiu very few persons had embraced Christianity; *they regarded it all as deceit and falsehood.* One of the principal chiefs, who with his party had thus acted, arose and spoke in the presence of the assembly, addressing himself to them as follows:—'We believed this new religion to be a deception; we now see these men who had no intention of coming here, but were cast away at sea, with the Word of God in their hands. I am now convinced it is truth.'" It is further stated:—"The teachers at Atiu have suffered greatly from persecution and from the want of the means of subsistence."—*Quart. Chron.* vol. iii. p. 140; vol. iv. p. 289. These circumstances were no great proof of conversion. We may here add, that recent accounts of these three islands were very unfavourable. "Atiu in particular was the scene of lamentable confusion, the church, the schools, and the community at large being reduced, by a train of disastrous events, to a state bordering on anarchy."—*Rep. Miss. Soc.* 1850, p. 29.

The truth appears to be, that in the islands of the Pacific Ocean, idolatry had a very slight hold on the minds of the natives, and they seem to have been ready, in many instances at least, to cast off their idols, and to profess to worship the true God on very slender grounds, sometimes from mere accidental circumstances. A visitation of disease, the recovery of a person from sickness, especially if the cure was by means of medicine given by a missionary, victory or defeat in battle, but above all, as we

The missionaries afterwards proceeded to Rarotonga, a large and beautiful island, the most populous of the whole group. Here they also left a teacher, together with several natives of that island whom they had taken on board at Aitutaki in order to convey them to their own home, all of whom, it is said, had embraced Christianity. From such instrumentality much could not be expected, yet we find Mr Bourne on a visit to Rarotonga, two years afterwards, baptizing about 500 of the natives including children, about a thousand having previously been baptized by, we presume, the native teachers, who were specially empowered to do so.[1] On occasion of this visit to the Hervey

have before stated, the example and authority of their chiefs, to whom they appear to be slavishly subservient, were quite enough to make them burn their morais, destroy their idols, and profess to worship the true God.—*Rep. Miss. Soc.* 1824, p. 31; *Quart. Chron.* vol. iii. p. 262; vol. iv. p. 328, 355; *Evan. Mag.* 1835, p. 428; Ibid. 1843; Ibid. 1847, p. 448.

[1] "Much," Mr Bourne writes, "has been said in Europe concerning the success of the gospel in the Society Islands; but it is not to be compared with its progress in Rarotonga. In the Society Islands, European missionaries laboured for fifteen long years before the least fruit appeared. But two years ago Rarotonga was hardly known to exist, was not marked in any of the charts, and on our last voyage we spent much time in endeavouring to ascertain whether or not there really was such an island. Two years ago the Rarotongians did not know there was such a name as *Jesus*, or such good news as the gospel. And now I scruple not to say, that their attention to the means of grace, their regard to private and family prayer, their diligence, and their general behaviour, equal, if they do not excel, whatever has been witnessed at Tahiti and the neighbouring islands. When we look at the means, it is the more astonishing. Two Tahitian teachers, not particularly distinguished among their own countrymen for intelligence, have been the principal instruments in working this wonderful change, and that before a single European missionary had set his foot upon the island. I have been accustomed to see such changes as have taken place in the various islands of these seas, but I must confess, what I have seen in Rarotonga has nevertheless excited in me surprise."—*Quart. Chron.* vol. iii. p. 264.

It is with pain we give this statement. While it does not, as was its design, raise our ideas of what had taken place in Rarotonga, it lowers our views as to other missions in the South Sea Islands. In the accounts given of missions, it seems to be often forgotten that great and extensive moral changes, especially among barbarous and heathen nations, are not, in the ordinary course of the divine government, readily or easily effected; they are seldom the work of a day, but require a length of time to effect them, and hence we view all wonderful accounts of success with doubt and jealousy; nor are we prepared to admit them unless they rest on very indubitable evidence. To some this may appear a severe judgment; but we have found it confirmed in so many cases, that we have no hesitation in pronouncing it. To go no further than the case of Rarotonga, we find Mr Pitman, in November 1827, after he had been six months on the island, making the following statements:—"It has pleased the Lord to incline the hearts of this people to renounce idolatry and embrace Christianity, and a *few* appear very desirous of knowing the truth." "I cannot gladden your hearts by stating it as my opinion that there are some who are born of the Spirit." "By far the greatest part of the people manifest a total indifference to divine truth."—*Evan. Mag.* 1828, p. 452.

Islands, he also baptized in Aitutaki 215 adults and children, 400 having previously been baptized. In other two islands, Mauti and Mitiaro, he baptized 127 more, and in Atiu 110 were baptized previously, making in all about 2350, out of a population of perhaps 12,000.[1]

In May 1827, Mr Charles Pitman took up his residence on the island of Rarotonga. Mr Williams accompanied him and remained some months on the island, and Mr A. Buzacott afterwards joined him as his fellow-labourer in the mission. Makea, one of the principal chiefs, who had hitherto protected the teachers, and his people had nominally embraced Christianity; but on the missionaries becoming acquainted with their private characters, it appeared that though they regularly attended to the outward duties of religion, they had abandoned few of their evil practices, especially those of a licentious kind. Makea professed to give up all his wives save one, but he was keeping as many secretly, if not more, than while in his heathen state.[2] For several years the missionaries experienced many trials and difficulties, particularly from some evil-disposed persons, who did every thing in their power to oppose the progress of the gospel; yet the natives generally always treated them with the greatest respect and kindness. After a few years, this became one of the most flourishing missions in the Pacific Ocean. Three stations were formed in Rarotonga, namely, Ngatangiia, Avarua, and Arorangi. The chapels were crowded whenever the doors were opened for public worship, and the missionaries were greatly encouraged by the attention of the people to the instructions addressed to them. The congregation at the principal station Ngatangiia was often not much short of 3000; that at Avarua amounted usually to about 1500; and that at Arorangi, where there was only a native teacher, averaged 1000 every Sabbath. Many appeared to be impressed with a sense of divine things, and to be earnestly seeking the salvation of their souls. A fatal epidemic which had prevailed in the island several years before, appeared to produce a very salutary effect

[1] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1824, p. 30; Quart. Chron. vol. iii. p. 263, 264, 266; Williams' Life, p. 174.

[2] It is gratifying to be able to state, that Makea appears to have given afterwards satisfactory evidence of genuine piety.—*Evan. Mag.* 1842, p. 92.

on many, and some attributed to it their first serious impressions. Some seem to have been roused to reflection and inquiry under discourses preached years before, when the missionaries were mourning over the depravity and impenitency of the people, thinking that they were casting the seed of divine truth into a dry and barren soil. Many who died gave pleasing evidence of Christian piety, and good ground to hope that they had gone to join "the general assembly and church of the first-born."

The schools were also very numerously attended. Besides great numbers of adults, there were upwards of 3000 children under daily instruction, but it was chiefly by native teachers, most of them young persons.[1]

In 1839, Mr Williams visited Rarotonga after his return from England, and brought with him a supply of New Testaments in the Rarotongan dialect, the printing of which he had superintended when in this country. It was interesting to witness the eagerness with which the people sought after copies, and the delight with which they received them. They were not, however, given away. Such as had money were supplied with them at three shillings a copy, and in a few days nearly £20 were received for them. Some paid for them with bananas or nuts, which had afterwards to be sold. Others were supplied on trust.[2]

Here it may not be improper to state, that though the resemblance between the language of the Hervey Islands and that of the Society Islands is so great, that the Tahitian translations require only slight alterations, yet still the differences between the two dialects are such, that it is thought necessary to print distinct versions for them. Besides the New Testament, the missionaries translated the whole of the Old Testament into the Rarotongan dialect. Portions of it, and also various other works, were printed.[3]

[1] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1828, p. 18; Williams' Miss. Enterprises, p. 216, 218; Evan. Mag. 1831, p. 493; Ibid. 1833, p. 366; Ibid. 1835, p. 428; Ibid. 1836, p. 32, 582; Ibid. 1837, p. 599; Ibid. 1839, p. 402.

[2] Evan. Mag. 1840, p. 611.

[3] Ellis' Polyn. Res. vol. ii. p. 249; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1846, p. 28.

It appears to be an ascertained fact, that the languages of the principal groups of

In the other Hervey Islands, the mission was carried on for many years through means of native teachers; and this is still the case in Atiu, Mauti, and Mitiaro; but missionaries were some years ago settled in Aitutaki and Mangaia; and in both these islands, their labours appear to have been attended with encouraging success. The isolated situation of the Hervey Islands, has happily preserved them from many evils, moral and social, to which many of the isles of the Pacific Ocean have been subjected through the cupidity and licentiousness of visitors from Europe and America.[1]

Before closing our account of this mission, we have to state the painful fact, that a rapid process of depopulation appears to be going on in the Hervey Islands. Mr Williams states, that in 1823, he found the inhabitants of Hervey's Island only about sixty; but that when he again visited it, six or seven years after, this number was reduced to five men, three women, and a few children, which he ascribes to the contests which had taken place among them. In 1842, the Rev. W. Gill of Rarotonga states, that there is annually a decrease of three hundred in the population of that island. In 1827, the inhabitants were estimated at more than seven thousand; in 1848, they had been reduced by the ravages of disease to less than three thousand. In the course of that period, it had been successively visited by epidemics which had cut off great numbers of the inhabitants.[2] We shall afterwards have occasion to mention, that a similar process of depopulation is going on in New Zealand and in the Sandwich Islands. Whether it is going on generally in the

islands in the Pacific Ocean, even though they may be at vast distances from each other, have a common origin, and are substantially the same, so that a person familiar with any one dialect, has little difficulty in making himself understood by a people speaking a different dialect. The words are, in many cases, the same; in others they have the same root, though there may be an elision, transmutation, or substitution of particular letters; but even in these cases, the variations in the words may, in general, be reduced to fixed rules. The language of every group has its peculiarities; but the groundwork of all is the same. This shews plainly that the Polynesian tribes have a common origin, a conclusion which is still further confirmed by the similarity of their character, habits, customs, religion, &c., notwithstanding they can have had little or no intercourse with each other for ages past.—*Hawaiian Spectator*, vol. i. p. 289, 293.

[1] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1845, p. 27; Ibid. 1848, p. 29; Evan. Mag. 1847, p. 446.

[2] Williams' Miss. Enter. p. 17; Evan. Mag. 1843, p. 525; Ibid. 1848, p. 442; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1846, p. 29.

islands of the Pacific Ocean, or at least in those which are much frequented by ships from Europe and America, we do not know; but the subject is one deserving the inquiry equally of the philosopher, the philanthropist, and the Christian.

## Art. 5.—Navigators' Islands.

In November 1835, Messrs T. Heath, C. Hardie, W. Mills, A. Macdonald, A. W. Murray, and G. Barnden, sailed from England with the view of establishing a mission on the Samoa or Navigators' Islands. This group is among the largest and most important in the Pacific Ocean on which missions have been established. It consists of eight or ten islands, the chief of which are Savaii, Upolu, and Tutuila; others, as Manono, Olosega, Ofu, and Aborima, are comparatively small. The population of the whole was at first estimated at one hundred and fifty thousand; but it was afterwards supposed not to exceed fifty or sixty thousand.[1]

Some years before this, the Samoa Islands were visited by Messrs Williams and Barff from the Society Islands; and on this occasion, they left eight native teachers on the island of Savaii, four under the protection of a chief named Malietoa, and four under that of his brother. A large building was given up by the chiefs to them as a place of worship, and four good dwelling-houses for themselves and families. Their labours are represented as having been attended with very remarkable success. There were said to be thirty places of worship on the different islands, and upwards of five thousand of the natives under religious instruction. Many professed Christianity; and numbers, both adults and children, were learning to read; but as

[1] Evan. Mag. 1835, p. 526; Williams' Miss. Enter., p. 478, 480.

In December 1787, this group of islands was visited by the unfortunate navigator La Perouse, when M. De Langle, the second in command, M. de Lamanor the naturalist, and a party of sixty men, having gone ashore on the island of Maouna (Mr Williams calls it Tutuila) to procure fresh water, they were attacked by the natives, and both of them and ten of the men were barbarously massacred, and twenty others severely wounded. The French appear to have acted on this occasion with great forbearance and humanity.—*La Perouse, Voyage round the World*, vol. ii. p. 171, 188.

yet, the people had made little progress in Christian knowledge.[1]

On the arrival of the missionaries at Upolu, they found, besides the teachers, two of the missionaries from the Society Islands, Messrs Platt and Wilson, who had been some months on the island waiting their coming. Having called a number of the chiefs to a meeting, they told them that they had come to them in consequence of their own request for missionaries, and asked whether they still desired them, and wished to be instructed in the knowledge of the true God, and in reading, writing, and other useful arts; whether they would protect them and their property, and not require them to take part in any quarrels or wars that might arise among themselves, unless in the way of promoting peace between the contending parties. To these inquiries the chiefs answered, that they rejoiced in their coming, and earnestly desired instruction; that they would hold them and all belonging to them sacred; that should quarrels arise, they would attend to their recommendations, and that they, at all events, should not be injured. They, however, added, that there were several heathen chiefs and wicked men on the island, for whom they could not answer.[2]

[1] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1831, p. 22; Ibid. 1834, p. 19; Ibid. 1835, p. 21; Ibid. 1836, p. 22; Evan. Mag. 1838, p. 250; Ibid. 1843, p. 521.

Nothing could be more auspicious, according to Mr Williams, than the commencement of this mission. He and Mr Barff met with the most cordial welcome from the chiefs and people. This was in August 1830, when eight teachers were left in Samoa. In October 1832, Mr Williams again visited the Navigators' Islands, when, says his biographer Mr Prout, "the vast change which had been effected in the condition of the people since his former visit, naturally made him anxious to learn its history from the native teachers. This, in accordance with his usual custom, he carefully recorded." —*Williams' Life*, p. 363. Mr Prout proceeds to give what he calls the "Teachers' Narrative;" and a truly wonderful Narrative it is; but it is impossible to read it without feeling that it bears no marks of native origin. It has nothing of native plainness and simplicity about it; but has every appearance of being a highly wrought picture; and we suspect is as much indebted to the imagination of the writer, whoever he was, as to the facts of the case. Though the following statement by Mr Heath, in a letter dated December 9. 1836, about six months after his arrival in the Samoas, cannot be held as contradicting the "Teachers' Narrative," yet it is not in correspondence with it. "When our native teachers first settled here seven years ago, they were treated with the utmost contumely, though protected by Malietoa. They were often without food, and could with difficulty save their wives from violence; and I have been assured that on two or three occasions, they were doomed to death by those who could with ease have taken their lives. But God protected them; and now we feel safer, humanly speaking, than we could do in England."—*Evan. Mag.* 1838, p. 250.

[2] Many unprincipled and profligate sailors, who had absconded from different ships, had taken refuge in the Navigators' Islands, and practised the greatest deceptions on

The missionaries intimated their resolution to remain among them, and thus matters were settled to the mutual satisfaction of both parties.[1]

The missionaries commenced their labours without delay, forming stations in the islands of Savaii, Upolu, and Manono; and some of them afterwards settled in Tutuila and Manua, which includes the three small islands of Olosega, Ofu, and Tau. On making tours through the islands, they found the chiefs and the people not only willing, but eager to avow their determination to renounce heathenism and to receive Christian instruction; but it must not be supposed that this was generally the result of knowledge, or of serious thought and inquiry. No adequate or well-founded reason could often be given for such changes in the South Sea Islands. Within about two years after the arrival of the missionaries, Mr Heath writes: "The rapidity with which congregations and schools have been gathered, teachers qualified, the arts of reading and writing acquired, and native habits abandoned, has more the impression of a dream than a reality. In Upolu there are now perhaps nearly 20,000 who have embraced Christianity; in Savaii from 12,000 to 13,000; in Tutuila 6000; in Manono, all the inhabitants, consisting of about 1000, are professedly Christians, and there are several hundreds in the smaller islands of the Windward group," making in all about 40,000. Near a hundred schools were formed under the care of native teachers, containing about 7000 scholars, adults, and children. Considerable numbers of the natives were baptized, and churches were formed in the different islands, though the members were not numerous. In travelling through the islands, the missionaries were every where gladly received, and the people listened with attention to the glad tidings of divine mercy.[2]

Much of the work in the Navigators' Islands was carried on through the instrumentality of native teachers, of whom there were about two hundred. Many of them were not mere school-

the natives by a sort of mock worship, and by pretending to baptize the people. One of the chiefs said, that he would long ago have killed these men but for what the native teachers had taught him and his people.—*Rep. Miss. Soc.* 1835, p. 23.

[1] Evan. Mag. 1837, p. 393.

[2] Evan. Mag. 1838, p. 249, 352, 457; Ibid. 1840, p. 146; Ibid. 1843, p. 521; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1838, p. 19; Ibid. 1839, p. 4, 19.

masters; they preached to the people, and conducted public worship among them on the Sabbath, and also during the week. The missionaries gave them instruction with a view to fit them for their work; but it is impossible not to fear that they must generally have been very imperfectly qualified for it.[1]

In April 1838, the Rev. John Williams, who had returned some time before to England, where he excited a deep interest in the South Sea missions by the accounts which he gave of them, embarked on board the Camden, accompanied by a considerable number of new labourers, to reinforce the missions in the Society, the Hervey, and the Navigators' Islands. Mr Williams had from an early period of his missionary career been anxious to obtain a ship as a means of communication between the different islands. He had made representations on this subject to the directors, but from them he met at first with nothing but discouragement, and when he had more than once partially effected his object, it was only to meet afterwards with disappointment. Having, however, been detained at Rarotonga without any prospect of being able to leave it, he set himself to the building of a vessel, and though previously unacquainted with ship-building, and possessing scarcely any tools except such as he himself made, he succeeded in about four months in completing a vessel of about seventy tons burden, which he called "The Messenger of Peace." But being anxious when in England to obtain a larger and more suitable vessel, he made an appeal to the public for funds to buy a missionary ship, which was met by the friends of religion in the most liberal manner, and led to the purchase of the Camden, a vessel of about two hundred tons burden. It was designed for the special use of the missions in the South Seas, it being considered as of much importance, that they should be provided with means of more ready communication with the different islands, as well as with England, than they had hitherto enjoyed; and it was proposed that Mr Williams, after landing the new missionaries at their respective destinations, should undertake an extensive exploratory voyage among the groups of islands lying between the Samoas and New Guinea, with the view of ascer-

[1] Evan. Mag. 1843, p. 147, 522.

taining the state and dispositions of the inhabitants, and settling in them a number of native teachers.[1]

In November 1839, Mr Williams, with a view to the execution of this design, sailed from the Navigators' Islands accompanied by Mr James Harris, who was proceeding to England with the intention of afterwards returning as a missionary, and Mr W. C. Cunningham, the British Vice-Consul for the South Sea Islands. After a voyage of a week, they reached the island of Rotuma, about 600 miles from Samoa. Here they left two teachers, and proceeded on their voyage toward the New Hebrides. Having left three teachers on Tanna, they directed their course to the island of Erromanga; but on reaching Dillon's Bay next morning, they found the few natives whom they saw extremely shy, which Mr Williams supposed might arise from their having been ill-treated by foreigners visiting the island on some former occasion. Mr Harris said he would like to have a stroll on land, and accordingly waded on shore. As soon as he landed, the natives ran from him; but on Mr Williams calling to him to sit down, he did so, and then they came close to him, and bringing him some cocoa-nuts, opened them for him to drink. Mr Williams, Mr Cunningham, and Captain Morgan, the commander of the Camden, then went forward in the boat, and the two former landed. Mr Williams offered his hand to the natives, but they were unwilling to take it. He then called to Captain Morgan to hand to him some cloth out of the boat, and he sat down and divided it among them, with the view of winning their confidence. The three who had landed walked up the beach, Mr Harris first, and Mr Williams and Mr Cunningham followed, directing their course up the side of a brook. The looks and manners of the savages excited much distrust in Mr Cunningham's mind, and he expressed some apprehensions of this kind to Mr Williams, who was engaged at the time in repeating the Samoan numerals to a crowd of boys who repeated them after him. Mr Cunningham walked onward, and finding a few shells lying on the bank, he picked them up, and as they were of a species unknown to him, he was in the act of putting them into his pocket, when he heard a yell,

[1] Evan. Mag. 1838, p. 245; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1840, p. 5; Williams' Life, p. 129, 149, 156, 161, 166, 193, 223, 231, 253, 258, 307, 482, 487, 524, 538, 543.

and instantly Mr Harris rushed out of the bushes about twenty yards before him. He immediately shouted to Mr Williams to run (he being as far behind as Mr Harris was before him), and he himself sprung forward through the natives who were on the banks of the brook, and who all gave way. Looking round he saw Mr Harris fall in the brook, and a number of the savages fell to beating him with their clubs. Mr Williams did not run at the moment. Mr Cunningham shouted to him, till they heard a shell blow. It was but an instant; yet it was too much to lose. Mr Cunningham again called to him to run; and he himself sprung forward for the boat, which was out of sight, being round a point of the bush. Mr Williams, instead of making for the boat, ran directly down the beach into the water and a savage after him. Mr Cunningham at the moment he descried the boat heard a yell behind him, and looking round found a savage armed with a club close after him. He stooped and picking up a stone, struck him so as to stop his further pursuit. The man in the boat on seeing Mr Cunningham and Mr Williams running, gave the alarm to Captain Morgan who was on the beach at the time. He and Mr Cunningham jumped into the boat at the same instant: several stones were thrown at it. Mr Williams ran into the sea and the savage close after him, but the beach being steep and stony, he fell in the water, when he received several blows on the head and arms from the club of his pursuer. Twice he dashed his head under water to avoid the club with which the savage stood over him, ready to strike the instant he rose. Mr Cunningham threw two stones from the boat, which averted, for a moment, the progress of another native who was a few paces behind, but it was for an instant only. The two rushed on Mr Williams and beat his head, and several others soon joined them. A whole handful of arrows were struck into his body. Though every exertion was made to get the boat up to his assistance, and though the distance was only about eighty yards, yet before it got half way he was dead, and about a dozen of savages were dragging his body on the beach, beating it in the most furious manner. A crowd of boys surrounded it, as it lay in the ripple of the waters, and beat it with stones till the waves dashed on the shore red with the blood of their victim. Several arrows were

shot at the boat, one of which passed under the arm of one of the sailors, and penetrating through the lining of the boat, entered the timber. This alarmed the men, who said, that as they had no firearms to frighten the savages away, it would be madness, Mr Williams being now dead, to approach them. To this Captain Morgan reluctantly assented, and pulled off out of the reach of the arrows, where laying to for an instant to consider what should be done, it was proposed that they should bring up the brig, now about two miles distant, and land under cover of two guns which she carried, in order, if possible, to bring off the bodies which the natives had left on the beach. They now hastened on board and beat up toward the fatal spot, but their hopes were quickly frustrated, for a crowd of natives seeing the vessel approaching ran down to the beach and carried off the body of Mr Williams, when they were within a mile of the place.[1]

On the arrival of the sad tidings at Sydney, Sir George Gipps, the governor of New South Wales, despatched the Favourite, commanded by Captain Croker, to Erromanga, not with the view of revenging the death of Mr Williams and his companion, but of recovering, if possible, their remains. On reaching the scene of the dreadful tragedy, Captain Croker, his second lieutenant, and Mr Cunningham, who accompanied them, put off for the shore, but as they approached it they heard the reverberations of the war conch, and saw the savages flying in all directions. Communications having, however, been opened with them, it was found that they had devoured the bodies, and that nothing remained but some of the bones. These, including the skulls, were, after hours of delay, brought to the boat, and Captain Croker, having satisfied himself that he now possessed all the remains which could be obtained, proceeded with them to Upolu, one of the Navigators' Islands, where they were interred amidst an immense concourse of sorrowing natives. Monuments were erected to the memory of Mr Williams both in the Navigators' and in the Hervey Islands.[2]

[1] Williams' Life, p. 564, 572, 575.

[2] Ibid. p. 585, 592.

In 1844, a new and beautiful vessel of about 300 tons was purchased for the service of the South Sea missions, and was named in honour of the martyred missionary, *John Williams*. The funds for this purpose were raised chiefly through the efforts and liberality of the juvenile friends of the Society.—*Rep. Miss. Soc.* 1845, p. 38; *Evan. Mag.*

Among the valuable gifts brought out from England in the Camden was a printing-press for the Navigators' Islands. It was established in the island of Upolu, and its operations were witnessed with much amazement and delight by the natives. For several years great inconvenience was felt from the want of a suitable building for a printing-office. It was therefore deemed expedient to erect one of such a nature as would resist the ravages of the white ants, which make sad havoc and destruction of wooden and plastered houses. It was a spacious, substantial, convenient building, seventy feet long by seventeen wide. The walls and partitions were of coral-stone, and the whole presented a very neat appearance. The lower part contained the rooms for composing, press-work, and binding, and there were two good upper rooms, one of which was used as a store-room for paper, &c. The Samoans were found to acquire the art of printing rapidly, but frequently when they had become most useful, they were enticed away by their families, or they grew weary of the continued application and went away. A few years ago there were fourteen Samoans, young men and lads, employed in the office as compositors, pressmen, and binders, and also several girls in folding and stitching. The whole of the New Testament, the Pilgrim's Progress, the Sulu Samoa, a magazine of general information, almanacks, school-books, and various other works, were printed and circulated extensively throughout the islands.[1] It is interesting to think of the progress which printing, the most important of all arts, made in the course of a few years among the Samoans, so lately a race of savages. What would La Perouse and M. de Langle have thought, if a vision of all this had presented itself to their imaginations when they visited these islands not sixty years before!

In 1840, a remarkable awakening is stated to have taken place on the island of Tutuila. It commenced toward the close of the preceding year, and gradually extended in various degrees to most of the settlements in the island. Great numbers,

1844, p. 381. There can be no question that a missionary ship must be a great advantage to the Society's missions in the Pacific Ocean; but we are not sure whether it is not purchased at too high a price. Including the original purchase-money, £3750, the *John Williams* cost in less than four years, £16,250 : 17 : 1.

[1] Evan. Mag. 1847, p. 210; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1847, p. 34.

who but lately were careless and immoral persons, were brought under deep concern for their souls, abandoned their vicious practices, and appeared to give evidence of a change of heart. It is proper, however, to remark, that almost all who were the subjects of this awakening had, for a considerable time, been passing through a preparatory process, and were, with few exceptions, pretty well instructed in the doctrines of the gospel. Among them were people of all descriptions, high and low, young and old, blind and lame, some who were before comparatively quiet and well behaved, and others were among the most wicked persons on the island. In some cases the awakened gave vent to their feelings in sobs and cries, and the voice of the speaker was drowned by the weeping of the congregation. Many were so overcome that they had to be carried out, some apparently in convulsions; even chiefs who had before a savage look were broken down. As might be expected, the extraordinary excitement subsided after a time, but there were still a great and general desire to hear the word, earnest attention in listening to it, deep convictions of sin, and, it was hoped, the conversion of considerable numbers of the natives as the fruit of this revival.[1]

[1] Evan. Mag. 1841, p. 42, 572; Ibid. 1842, p. 41; Missionary Life in Samoa, p. 83, 86, 94, 105, 112, 128.

The following notices, which we take from a small volume, entitled "Missionary Life in Samoa," will give a more lively idea of this awakening, as it was considered to be, than any general statement.

In the meetings there was great excitement among both men and women; weeping and sobbing; falling into convulsions; fainting; breaking down; and not being able to walk, carried out. And then they would afterwards retire to the bush for prayer and praise; and even there, some would be found in a state of insensibility, having been overpowered by their feelings in solitary devotion.

Some, who had hitherto been unaffected, were seized with deep convictions.

Numbers found peace and joy, while others were seeking it, p. 156, 161, 163, 166.

Nothing was heard but prayer, praise, and weeping, in their meetings; they could not get on for weeping.

"Strong men and rocky hearts," says the writer, "are melted; women drop down as dead, after struggling with their bursting emotions till nature can bear no more," p. 105.

"Sometimes the whole place was in a move, with the carrying and the carried; the voice quite drowned in the groans and cries of awakened sinners; and at the close, the chapel seemed half empty," p. 114.

"The nights were passed by very many in almost incessant prayer and strong crying to God," p. 115.

"Women were carried out by dozens, convulsed and struggling, so as to drive five or six men about like trees in the wind, who were exerting all their strength to hold

Though the progress of the mission in the Navigators' Islands was in many respects remarkable, yet the change which was effected on the natives was to a large extent merely external. There was a general profession of Christianity, but there is no reason to suppose there was an extensive conversion of the people. In September 1843, the Rev. W. Day of Upolu writes: —"The great majority of those who are at present called by the Christian name are Christians probably of the stamp of the Saxons of Kent in the time of Augustine, having received their religion, in the first instance, at the command of the chiefs. You will not wonder that, after the lapse of ten years, this fact should now become very powerfully obvious to us in the unchanged hearts and unaltered lives of many who have attached themselves to our ministry. Yet, on the other hand, we are cheered by the numerous exceptions standing out in delightful contrast to the mass of the ungodly, who appear to have received the truth in the love of it, and who manifest its power by the consistency of their lives amidst the most unfavourable circumstances."[1]

Though the progress of civilization among the Samoans was not great, yet they were improving, particularly as regards their houses and dress. With respect to the general state of morals, it was more satisfactory than could have been expected. It is well known how baneful were the consequences of the visits of foreigners to others of the South Sea Islands; but Mr Murray of Tutuila states that the chiefs of that island, with the view of preventing such evils, made various wholesome laws and regulations, and carried them out so effectually, that comparatively

and convey them away. I had heard of beating breasts and tearing hair before; but I have now seen and shall not soon forget it."

"The weaker sex was not alone affected. Many men were carried out lifeless as stones; and many could scarcely be removed, because of their awful convulsive struggling," p. 117.

"That night again, the bush and houses resounded with groans of penitence and cries of misery. They scarcely ceased, if at all, all night."

Of a meeting held next day, the writer says, "Then came the Spirit with power. Men were seized as women, and before the women, and carried out in numbers. The scene was awful." "The solemnity seemed as though it almost might be felt," p. 118.

Of such scenes, we confess, we are exceedingly jealous; but it would be rash to express any unfavourable opinion of them. Amidst something that was human, there might be also something that was divine; but how much there might be of the one or the other, we presume not to judge.

[1] Extracts from Correspondence of British and Foreign Bible Society, vol. iv. p. 555.

little harm was done by the crews of vessels visiting their shores. Deserters from ships were invariably sought after by the natives, and almost always found and taken back to their vessels. No persons were allowed to sleep on shore, unless by special permission from the native authorities in cases of sickness, or for some other important reason. No intoxicating drinks were to be had on shore, and not a single instance of a native yielding to the seductive arts of a foreign visitor was known for several years, except among the few remaining heathen on the extreme point of the island.[1] Happily none of the Christian and civilized nations of Europe or America have as yet attempted to overthrow these excellent laws and regulations.

Before concluding our account of this mission, we cannot but remark, that to raise a people, and especially a heathen and savage people, to the rank of a Christian community, and to add to this somewhat of the habits and arts of civilized life, is not the work of a day, nor even of a few years. In a heathen and savage people there will, as regards both religion and civilization, be commonly found much unsteadiness; a want of regular and continued progress; frequent ebbings, like the tides of the ocean. There is much truth in the following statement by Mr Hardie, one of the Samoa missionaries:—"It is exceedingly difficult to convey to the minds of Christians at home a just and adequate impression of the peculiar obstacles and anxieties which fall to the lot of the missionary on these islands. He labours among a people familiar from infancy with all the vices and abominations of heathenism; a people who have grown up destitute of a standard of right and wrong, who know not how to distinguish between truth and falsehood, who are unaccustomed to habits of thought and reflection, whose conscience is so blinded and hardened by habits of sin as to present no opposing influence to their powerful and restless passions, and whose governing motives are pride, prejudice, passion, self-interest, love of worldly applause, envy, suspicion, and revenge. In the nature of things it must take a long time before any considerable moral or religious impression can be made on such a mass as this.

[1] Evan. Mag. 1843, p. 523; Ibid. 1846, p. 660.

"The difficulties, too, with which we have to contend in the treatment and conduct of inquirers and converts are so many and so great, as to be matters of constant anxiety to us. The inquirers have just begun to know something of the gospel, strict moral principle and the restraints of religion are new to them, so that they become an easy prey in the hour of temptation. The same remarks are, to a great extent, applicable to the members of our churches. Their knowledge and experience are necessarily limited, and though apparently sincere and consistent for a time, yet many of them fall into great improprieties, and some into sins in which they were accustomed to indulge in their heathen state without restraint or consciousness of wrong."[1]

Such were the principal missions of the Society in the South Sea Islands. With the view of diffusing the gospel still more widely, the missionaries sent native teachers to the Austral Islands, to the Paumotu Islands, to the New Hebrides, to New Caledonia, and to various other islands in the Pacific Ocean, but from most of them they were after a time removed, or they themselves left them. In one or two islands the teachers, it is said, were barbarously murdered, Two missionaries were also sent to Tanna, one of the New Hebrides; but after a residence of a few months, they were glad to make their escape from it.[2]

Before we close, we cannot but remark, that independent of the success which at length crowned the mission in Tahiti and the neighbouring islands, the undertaking in the first instance, gave such a mighty impulse to the Christian world, that had it entirely failed as to the conversion of the South Sea islanders, the whole expense and labour attending it would have been amply compensated by the powerful effect which it has had in promoting the interests of Christianity in other parts of the world, particularly in Pagan countries. Eliot, and Mayhew, and Brainerd, the Danes, and the Mora-

[1] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1844, p. 31.

[2] In 1850, and 1852 the attempt to settle teachers in the New Hebrides, and the New Caledonia group was renewed. Among other islands on which they were left was Erromanga, where Mr Williams was murdered.—*Evan. Mag.* 1850, p. 435; *Ibid.* 1853, p. 438, 504.

vians, the Methodists, and the Baptists, had all previously engaged in missionary undertakings, and most of them with considerable appearance of success; but their operations never awakened the Christian world from the lethargy into which it had fallen. Individuals were interested and delighted with their exertions; but the great body of professed Christians scarcely ever heard either of them or their labours. It was not till the Missionary Society was formed; it was not till the mission to the South Sea Islands, so imposing in its circumstances, was undertaken, that the Christian world was aroused from its slumbers. Then a general interest was excited throughout the whole of Christendom in the conversion of the heathen. Old establishments were supported with more vigour, and prosecuted with fresh zeal. New institutions were formed for the propagation of the gospel at home and abroad, some of which have already been crowned with extensive success, while others promise a yet more abundant harvest. In short, a new impulse was given to the operations of the Christian world; and this, we think, may be traced, in no inconsiderable degree, to the novelty and magnitude of the first mission to the South Sea Islands.

## SECT. II.—SOUTH AFRICA.

In December 1798, the Rev. John T. Vanderkemp, M.D., Messrs J. J. Kicherer, W. Edwards, and J. Edmonds, sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, with the view of commencing missionary operations in South Africa. They were afterwards followed by other missionaries, and, in the course of years, numerous stations were formed in various parts of the country, both within and beyond the colony. Many of them were among the Hottentots, others among the Bushmen; some were among the Namaquas and Damaras, others among the Griquas, Korannas, Bechuanas, Kafirs, and other tribes. Many of the stations, however, were afterwards given up; but others were formed, and the whole are now more numerous than they were at any former period.

Among the hindrances to the progress of the gospel and of civilization in many parts of South Africa, the want of rain, or of a regular supply of water, is not the least. In Namaqualand, a wild, rocky, dreary region, where long droughts often prevail, the people were continually under the necessity of moving from place to place for the sake of pasturage for their cattle; and though the missionaries frequently accompanied them in their wanderings, it is plain that, under such circumstances, little good could be effected as regarded either their temporal or spiritual condition. Several stations were successively occupied in that desert land, generally in the neighbourhood of fountains; but they were given up one after another, or, what amounted to the same thing, were left without a missionary.[1]

To meet this want and uncertainty of rain, recourse was in some instances had to irrigation, by leading out a stream of water from some neighbouring river, and conducting it through the fields and gardens of the station. A work of this kind, executed at Hankey by the Rev. W. Philip,[2] who had lately come to that station, is not unworthy of notice. The Gamtoos river, one of the finest in the colony, runs directly through the lands connected with the institution. Up to a recent period, however, this manifest advantage was in no way rendered available for the improvement of the farm; but now, by means of a tunnel worked through a sandstone ridge of hill, the waters of the river were poured in upon the lands of the institution. This tunnel was 260 yards in length, on an average six feet in height, and four in breadth. It was executed in about fifteen months, and cost about £500. The water having a fall of forty or fifty feet from the point at which it leaves to that at which it again joins the river, it was easy by means of pipes to lead it out to lands lying on the other side of the river. Mr Philip, whose first and only attempt it was in practical engineering, was naturally diffident and anxious as to the result. He had never himself seen any mining operations, and he had no one

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 23, 29, 243, 246; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 78; Ibid. 1826, p. 84; Ibid. 1829, p. 82; Ibid. 1830, p. 86; Ibid. 1836, p. 100.

[2] Son of the Rev. Dr Philip, who was for upwards of thirty years Superintendent of the Society's missions in South Africa.

to direct him. His only workmen were the people of the institution, a race whose physical and mental capacities have often been so much depreciated; and the universal opinion of the surrounding farmers as to its success was any thing but encouraging. In carrying on the work, however, they exceeded his most sanguine expectations. They underwent all the labours and difficulties of miners, without their education, persevered with small wages and against their own convictions, worked by night as well as by day, and at last triumphed over every obstacle. The tunnel was commenced simultaneously on the opposite sides of the hill; the workmen met in the middle with a precision which amazed themselves, and excited a reaction of feeling amongst the people only to be compared with their former incredulity.[1]

Among the Bechuanas, the missionaries met with difficulties of a peculiar kind: they were without even the first principles of natural religion. They had no idea of the existence of God, of man's responsibility, of a future state, or of the immortality of the soul, and even scarcely any, or at all events very imperfect, ideas of right and wrong in human actions. There were among them no temples, no altars, no sacrifices, no object of worship. There was thus a want of common ground on which the missionary could take his stand and argue with them: they were in a manner proof against every appeal he could make, either to their understanding or their heart. His was not the work of turning the stream backward to its ancient course: Any religious views which might once have obtained among them, had, like those streams in the desert which lose themselves in the sand, entirely disappeared.[2]

[1] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1845, p. 102.

It is painful, in connection with this great work, to have to record the death of Mr Philip, not long after its completion. In July 1845, he and his nephew, a boy of eleven years of age, were drowned in crossing the Gamtoos river, not far from Hankey. No one witnessed the accident, so that it is impossible to say how it happened.—*Evan. Mag.* 1845, p. 612.

[2] It has been made a question, whether any human being can be an atheist; but the fact appears to be, that atheism is far from being a rare thing in our world. The tribes in the interior of South Africa are generally atheists, in the literal sense of the word. "I have visited," says Mr Moffat, "many tribes, and conversed with individuals belonging to many nations of the interior; but I never could in one instance discover that they had the shadow of an idea that there existed any thing to be feared or loved beyond what could be tasted, seen, or felt."—*Moffat's Sermon before the Lon-*

It is not then surprising that when the missionaries laboured to convince them that there is a Being mightier than man, even the mighty God; that man possesses a never dying soul; and that even his dead body will rise again and live for ever, all should seem to them as idle tales. The resurrection of the dead, in particular, appeared in their eyes the height of absurdity, a circumstance which need excite no surprise, if we consider the singular and even improbable nature of that doctrine. Though some of them received much instruction, yet feeling no interest in it, they appeared never for one moment to have reflected upon it; nor did they retain any trace of it in their memories, though these were generally tenacious enough about other matters. Some, indeed, sought to gull the missionaries, by making professions which they thought would be pleasing to them; but most of them remained in a state of profound ignorance, and shewed the utmost indifference to every thing connected with religion. Yet even among the Bechuanas, the gospel, after some years, took considerable effect, and they also made some progress in the arts of civilized life.[1]

At some of the stations, there were what were considered as great religious awakenings. In the meetings for public worship, the people were often unable to suppress their feelings; they burst into tears and cried out in the midst of the service; the voice of the speaker was sometimes completely drowned by their sobs and cries; some were unable to sit or stand, and lay trembling on the ground; others fainted, and were carried out. Many came to the missionaries in great distress of mind, acknowledging their sinfulness and misery, and inquiring what

*don Missionary Society*, 1840, p. 22. To this we might add multiplied testimonies in reference to the Kafirs and the neighbouring tribes, who appear to be all atheists. Some, indeed, profess to find among them traces of the knowledge of a Supreme Being; but these, if not fanciful, are so feeble and so indistinct, that they really amount to next to nothing.

In the East, also, atheism prevails very extensively. Budhism, which is the religion of Ceylon, of Burmah, of Siam, of Cochin-China, of Japan, and to a large extent of China, is a system of atheism; its votaries in fact are far more numerous than those of any other religion in the world.—*Mrs Emily C. Judson's Memoir of Mrs Sarah B. Judson*, Appendix. The atheism of barbarous countries has probably its origin in ignorance; in these countries it has its root in speculation.

[1] Moffat's Missionary Labours, p. 243, 257, 605; Moffat's Sermon before the London Missionary Society, 1840, p. 16, 20, 22; Evan. Mag. 1829, p. 423; Ibid. 1830. p. 209; Ibid. 1832, p. 162; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1851, p. 92.

they should do to be saved; and having little convenience for retirement, they might often be seen in the neighbouring fields, behind the rocks or the bushes, pouring out their hearts to God in prayer.

Of these awakenings, we confess, we entertain great doubts; at all events, they are probably to be taken for much less than the representations originally given of them. It has indeed been remarked, in reference to such outbreaks of feeling, and we doubt not with some truth, that among an uncivilized people, there is scarcely any medium between not feeling at all and giving full vent to the expression of their feelings. Human beings emerging from a savage state are like children, much agitated; they can neither suppress nor control their feelings under any great excitement. But though there is truth in these observations, we have still but little confidence in such awakenings. In several cases, they began so soon after the arrival of the missionaries, before the people could have any right understanding of the truths of religion, that this alone is a ground of doubt in regard to them. Dr Thom, who was for some years engaged in missionary labours in South Africa, states, that he had often seen abundance of tears shed by Hottentots under the preaching of the Word, when there was no real conviction of the truth. We are not aware indeed that these awakenings were ordinarily attended with corresponding permanent results, "fruits meet for repentance," which are the best test of the reality and soundness of revivals of religion.[1]

The Hottentots are much disposed to make religious professions, and are fond of attending on religious ordinances. There is in fact great danger of their placing religion in a mere attendance on the forms of worship, substituting outward decorum for inward devotion. Hence their great anxiety to be received as members of the church, before they are prepared for being so. The difficulty of a faithful and judicious missionary, consists rather in restraining the people from joining the church at too early a stage of their religious progress, than in gathering large and imposing numbers into the visible fold.[2] In fact, wherever

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 347; vol. ii. p. 25, 28; vol. iv. p. 164, 173, 185, 188, 359; Evan. Mag. vol. xxiii. p. 428, 517, 545; Ibid. 1829, p. 424; Ibid. 1832, p. 162; Ibid. 1840, p. 251, 413.

[2] Freeman's Tour in South Africa, p. 59.

among a half civilized people admission to baptism or the Lord's Supper comes to be considered as a distinction and an honour, particularly as bringing them a step nearer to the White man, they are apt to press into the church, and many missionaries are but too apt to receive them.

Many of the baptized in South Africa afterwards wander astray from the paths of true religion. This often arises from their leaving the missionary stations. In many cases, they do this from necessity, particularly in dry seasons; but too often they forget to return, when it is in their power; and not hearing the Word of God for a considerable time, nor enjoying other means of grace, the impression of divine things on their mind, as might naturally be expected, dies away,[1] and they sink into a state of indifference and unconcern, perhaps into sin and ruin.

It is not easy to form an estimate of the results of the Society's missions in South Africa. The condition of the different stations, some of which have now existed for a lengthened period, varies, of course, considerably; but with perhaps a few exceptions, it appears to be less satisfactory than was generally supposed. Flourishing accounts were at different periods given of the progress of religion, and of the improvement of the habits and social condition of the people; but some of these accounts were probably much exaggerated, while others were founded on mistaken judgments. In 1849, the Rev. Mr Freeman, one of the secretaries of the Society, visited nearly the whole of its stations in South Africa; and though he was in many respects pleased, particularly with some of the stations, his feelings on the whole appear to have been those of disappointment. Previous deputations were disappointed in a similar manner. The Hottentots and other South African tribes may begin well and promise fair; but as is the case with most barbarous tribes, there is a want of patience and perseverance about them; they may advance so far in the way of improvement, but then they stand still, or perhaps they even go backwards. Still, however, it is something that many have exchanged their bee-hive kraals for decent houses and even villages; their dirty kaross for European clothing; have learned some of the more common and necessary trades, plant gardens, and cultivate fields, are able to

[1] Miss. Chron. vol. iv. p. 96.

read and write, have acquired a knowledge of Christianity, and observe its institutions, while not a few, it may be hoped, have experienced its transforming and saving power. Yet it must be acknowledged that there is still too much of indolence and idleness among them; they are also apt to fall before temptations, particularly to intemperance, which has of late years increased fearfully among the Hottentot race.[1]

It is a curious but instructive fact, that the same observation holds true as to education as in regard to civilization. Hottentots learn readily while young: their faculties are developed early, and they make fair progress according to the means of instruction which are employed with them. But they do not proceed very far. There is ultimately little development of their faculties beyond the early stages. Their minds soon become stagnant, and unless some powerful stimulant from without happens to be applied, no further progress is made or even attempted by them. Perhaps in the course of time, one generation may gain something in advance of the preceding, and they may thus ultimately rise much higher in the scale of the human family than they are at present. One thing is certain, that, except as they now come under the influence of religion, there is among them but little intellectual effort or improvement. With them it is literally true, that "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom."[2]

It is much to be regretted, yet it is not surprising, that the advantages of education are not more appreciated by the Hottentots and other South African tribes. Parents who do not know the value of education themselves, unless of a very limited kind, cannot be expected to seek it very earnestly for their children; and even those who are educated in the schools, derive afterwards so little benefit from it in the way of worldly advantage, and are furnished with so few books, except the Bible, that are suited to their capacity and circumstances, that after the first generation has made the experiment, we need not wonder that schools should rather decline as improve.[3]

[1] Freeman's Tour, p. 19, 67, 75, 80, 157, 257, 263; Campbell's Travels in South Africa, 1st edit. p. 96; Moodie's Inquiry into the Justice and Expediency of completing the Publication of the Authentic Records of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1841, p. 22.

[2] Freeman's Tour, p. 57.

[3] Ibid. p. 34.

## SECT III.—MADAGASCAR.

In February 1818, Messrs T. Bevan and D. Jones sailed from England with the view of establishing a mission on the Island of Madagascar. After arriving at the Mauritius, they proceeded to Tamatave, a seaport on the eastern coast of Madagascar, with the view of ascertaining the state of the country, and the practicability of establishing a mission in some part of the island. Here they met with a very favourable reception from the inhabitants; but it was not long till death made terrible havoc in their families. The first who died was Mr Jones' infant daughter; about a fortnight after, his wife followed her into the world of spirits; and he himself was extremely ill at the same time. Mr Bevan, who in the mean while was at the Mauritius, resolved to leave that island and return to Madagascar. He was strongly advised not to do so at that unhealthy season of the year; but as he thought himself useless where he was, while he was unavoidably incurring great expenses, he repaired thither. A fortnight after his arrival his child died; eleven days after, he himself followed it to the grave, and four days after, his wife also was removed into the other world. Thus, in about seven weeks, no fewer than five individuals connected with the mission passed from time into eternity. Notwithstanding these distressing circumstances, Mr Jones resolved to stand by his post; but in consequence of the decline of his health, and other painful occurrences, he was at length compelled to return to the Mauritius.[1]

In September 1820, Mr Jones again returned to Madagascar in company with Mr Hastie, a gentleman sent from the Mauritius by Governor Farquhar, to renew negotiations with Radama, the king of Hova,[2] for the abolition of the slave-trade in his dominions. On arriving at Tananarivo, the capital, they found

[1] Evan. Mag. vol. xxi. p. 142; vol. xxvii. p. 386; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 85, 131; Ibid. 1820, p. 95.

[2] The Hova country is situated about the centre of Madagascar, 200 miles from the eastern coast.

that prince exceedingly anxious for the civilization and improvement of his subjects; and while he acceded to this important measure, he stipulated that ten Malagasy boys should be sent to the Mauritius, and other ten to England, to be instructed in useful arts, a distinction which the people were extremely anxious to obtain for their sons. He was, in fact, so anxious for the instruction of his subjects, that he not only gave every encouragement to Mr Jones to settle in the country, but wrote himself to the Missionary Society requesting them to send out more missionaries, provided there was among them a proportion of artizans to instruct his people in the arts of civilization, as well as in the principles of religion. Radama even allotted to him one of the royal houses as his residence, with servants to attend upon him. Mr Jones had not long resided at this place before the king placed under his care a number of native children for the purpose of receiving an English education. Three of these were the children of his sister, one of whom was heir-apparent to the crown; the others were the children of different nobles. A separate school was afterwards established for the education of the children of the more respectable classes. The king was so anxious for the instruction of his people, that he sent for parents, and desired them to place their children under the care of the missionaries.[1]

In August 1821, the Rev. John Jeffreys, accompanied by four artizans, sailed from England for Madagascar, in company with Prince Rataffe and his suite, who had been sent on an embassy to this country. On their arrival, Radama received them in the most gracious manner; and he immediately directed that a piece of land should be allotted to the artizans, on which they might erect houses and workshops, and that each of them should have two apprentices, and a boy as a servant. About two thousand men were employed in levelling the ground and in erecting houses for them, and in the course of two or three days the work was completed. To introduce, however, the arts of civilization among barbarians is no easy task, and accordingly the artizans were only partially successful in teach-

[1] Quart. Chron. vol. ii. p. 92, 95, 126; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1821, p. 93; Ibid. 1822, p. 127; Evan. Mag. vol. xxix. p. 531; Ibid. 1823, p. 74.

ing the natives their respective trades. The smith had the most constant employment.[1]

The king not only patronized the schools, but took a lively interest in their success. Those established in Tananarivo, the capital, were by his desire united into one, which was called the Central School, or Royal College. Other schools were established in different villages, within a circuit of thirty miles from the capital. These schools in the country were chiefly under the charge of teachers selected from among the more intelligent youths, who had previously distinguished themselves by their proficiency at the Central School in the capital. Female schools were also established, and the progress of the children of both sexes was of the most gratifying kind; but it was, at the same time, found necessary to exercise a constant and vigilant superintendence of the whole of them. Unless they were frequently visited, it was found they would do little good. The name of a school might remain, but there would be no solid improvement.[2]

In February 1824, Messrs Jones and Griffiths commenced preaching in the Malagasy language. Even at first their congregations usually amounted to about a thousand persons, and occasionally were much more numerous. They also visited the villages where the schools were established, for the purpose of preaching and catechising the people. There also they had large congregations, often preaching in the open air.[3]

In 1827, the printing press was introduced into Madagascar, to the great gratification of the king. In the course of a few years there issued from it school-books, catechisms, and tracts. Other and larger works were also printed; particularly the Old and New Testament, translated into the Malagasy language by the Rev. Messrs Griffith and Jones; a Dictionary of the Malagasy language, in two parts, the English and Malagasy by the Rev. Mr Freeman, and the Malagasy and English by the Rev. Mr Jones. A Grammar of the language was also prepared; and the Pilgrim's Progress was afterwards printed in England.[4]

[1] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1822, p. 126; Evan. Mag. 1823, p. 73; Ibid. 1826, p. 211.

[2] Quart. Chron. vol. iii. p. 318; Evan. Mag. 1826, p. 209; Ibid. 1828, p. 503; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1825, p. 142.

[3] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1825, p. 143.

[4] Evan. Mag. 1828, p. 502; Ibid. 1830, p. 542; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1833, p. 99; Ibid. 1836, p. 105; Ibid. 1837, p. 112; Freeman's Nar. of Persecutions in Madag. p. 74.

In July 1828, Radama the king died, and was succeeded in the government by one of his wives, named Ranavalona. Immediately on her accession, the missionaries received assurances that they need be under no apprehensions; that she would countenance them not less than the late king, and would rather augment than diminish the encouragement given to the schools. Many of the schools, however, decreased in number, and some of them dwindled away entirely. The attendance on them does not appear to have been voluntary on the part either of the parents or the children, but to have been dependent on the orders of government. The queen repeatedly gave directions for the maintenance of the number of scholars, and for promoting their efficiency. The favour shewn to the schools will excite less surprise, when it is understood that the government was accustomed from time to time to obtain from them numerous youths who, from the education they received in them, were capable of performing services to the state which the uneducated part of the juvenile population were not qualified to render.[2]

Neither did the queen interfere for some time with the other labours of the missionaries; on the contrary, she gave permission for the opening of new places of worship, and she also granted liberty, to such of the natives as wished it, to receive baptism at their hands, and to unite with them in observing the Lord's Supper. In consequence of this a number of them were baptized, and two native churches were formed. The attendance at the chapel in Tananarivo became more numerous than at any former period. Not only those who had formerly been scholars, but others of the natives were frequent hearers. In 1830, Mr Baker wrote as follows:—"It is truly delightful to see the present attendance at the chapel. The hour of the solemn assembly never arrives without exhibiting the pleasing spectacle of many already met together, awaiting with apparent desire the commencement of the service. The number of adults was so considerable as to render the children almost invisible; and those adults consisted principally, not of occasional hearers who step in when passing by, but of regular attendants, who

[1] Evan. Mag. 1830, p. 543; Ibid. 1831, p. 457; Ibid. 1832, p. 34; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1833, p. 93; Ibid. 1834, p. 102; Ellis' History of Madagascar, vol. ii. p. 469.

manifested a desire to become acquainted with the gospel, and to become the followers of Christ. The chapel was not only crowded within, but numbers usually stood around several of the windows to some distance outside. The attention of the people is equally pleasing: all are silent and reverent, apparently intent upon listening to what is said; and sometimes a degree of emotion is manifested under the preaching of the word quite unparallelled here in former times."[1]

But notwithstanding these circumstances, the missionaries appear to have been much discouraged even in the earlier years of the queen's reign. The principle of the Malagasy government seems to have been to interfere in every thing; nothing could be done but by its orders or its permission. Such interference must often have been very capricious and very vexatious. Even the permission to the natives to be baptized and to observe the Lord's Supper was, after a few months, withdrawn. The idolatrous superstitions of the country, which in the latter part of Radama's reign appeared to have lost much of their credit and influence, regained, under the public and express sanction and encouragement of the government, in a great degree their ancient power over the minds of the people. Amidst the clouds which hung over the mission, gleams of sunshine would occasionally appear;[2] but at length a storm burst upon it which threatened its extinction, and even the very existence of Christianity in the country.

In March 1835, a kabary or great assembly of the people was held at Tananarivo by orders of the queen; the whole population from a considerable distance around the capital, men, women, and children, were collected on the occasion. A message was sent from the queen, expressing her indignation that any of her people should have dared to depart from the old established customs, to despise the gods, to neglect divinations, to receive and practise a new religion, and to observe other usages of the foreigners. One month was allowed to the people to come forward, on pain of death, and accuse themselves of whatever they had done of the things now proscribed, particu-

[1] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1832, p. 97; Ibid. 1833, p. 97; Quart. Chron. vol. iv. p. 415.

[2] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1830, p. 89; Ibid. 1833, p. 98; Ibid. 1835, p. 99; Evan. Mag. 1831, p. 457; Ibid. 1832, p. 34.

larly such as had been baptized, attended prayer-meetings, united in public worship, or had voluntarily learned to read. All in possession of honours, civil or military, who were chargeable with these practices were to be degraded in rank, while others were to pay a fine according to their districts. Prayer in the name of Jesus was prohibited, and the people were even forbidden to retain recollection of the instructions given them by the missionaries. Offenders were to suffer death, their property to be confiscated, and their families sold as slaves. The schools were virtually abolished, writing and arithmetic within a very limited extent, being the only kind of instruction which was allowed to be given.

The missionaries, as foreigners, were allowed the free exercise of their religion, but they were given to understand that they must not violate the law of the country by leading the people to abandon the customs. In consequence partly of these, and partly of other circumstances, the Rev. Mr Freeman, and Messrs Cameron and Chick, two of the artizans, left the country about three months after these orders were issued by the queen. The Rev. Mr Jones, and Mr Baker, the printer, however, remained for the present, and endeavoured to employ themselves as usefully as circumstances would permit; but in the autumn of the following year, they also left the island and retired to the Mauritius, where they remained, with the view of resuming their labours in Madagascar should there be any opportunity.[1]

It is not easy to form a correct estimate of subsequent events in Madagascar. The missionaries were now gone, and no very intelligent or competent witnesses remained to report things exactly as they were; the accounts received could scarcely fail to rest often on doubtful evidence, sometimes probably on mere rumours. It would not appear that the number of converts previous to the departure of the missionaries was considerable, but there were many others, it is stated, who had obtained a knowledge of the gospel, and were convinced of the vanity of idolatry. Notwithstanding the orders of the queen, the Christians, it is said, continued to meet in secret for prayer and other religious exercises; but this being discovered, a number of them were reduced to slavery, and two, a female named Rasalama,

[1] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1835, p. 98, 100; Ibid. 1836, p. 103; Ibid. 1837, p. 111.

and a young man called Rafaralahy, were put to death by spearing. Some escaped to other parts of the country; several made their way to the coast and obtained a passage to the Mauritius, from whence six of them afterwards came to England.[1]

It was not indeed Christianity only that was under proscription in Madagascar. The whole country was subjected to the most grievous oppression, and was reduced to a state of the utmost disorder and wretchedness. Numbers of the people were reduced to slavery, multitudes were subjected to the tangena, or ordeal, executions were numerous, and the banditti increased in all directions. Many of the people took refuge in the woods, and many sought to escape from the country, though the roads were so narrowly watched that escape was nearly impossible.[2]

The Christians, though much disheartened by the persecutions to which they were exposed, still held meetings for religious worship, not only in sequestered places, but in Tananarivo, the capital, or its neighbourhood; and it is stated that their numbers, instead of being diminished, were much increased. After some years, the persecution, instead of relaxing, broke out with greater fierceness than ever. Many hundreds were subjected to punishments of greater or less severity on account of their following the new religion. Some were burnt alive, others were thrown down fearful precipices and dashed to pieces; some were degraded from their honours, others were reduced to slavery; some were condemned to work in chains during their life; some were flogged and others fined.[3]

[1] Evan. Mag, 1853, p. 741; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1835, p. 99; Ibid. 1838, p. 104; Ibid. 1839, p. 97.

[2] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1838, p. 104; Ibid. 1839, p. 97; Evan. Mag. 1842, p. 95; Ibid. 1846, p. 46.

[3] Evan. Mag. 1842, p. 92; Ibid. 1846, p. 46; Ibid. 1847, p. 107, 162; Ibid. 1851, p. 431, 734; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1848, p. 14; Ibid. 1851, p. 17; Ibid. 1852, p. 70.

We are told that the number put to death on account of religion since the commencement of the persecution, was between forty and fifty.—*Rep. Miss. Soc.* 1851, p. 17. Mr Ellis, who was deputed in 1853 by the London Missionary Society to visit Madagascar, stated, that it was "known that not fewer than one hundred persons had been put to death."—*Evan. Mag.* 1853. p. 745. We might give other statements received by Mr Ellis, but we are doubtful how far they rest on satisfactory evidence.

## SECT. IV.—INDIA.

In February 1804, the Rev. Messrs Ringeltaube, Cran, and Des Granges, sailed from England for the East Indies with a view to missionary operations in that country. Other missionaries were from time to time sent out, and numerous stations were established in various parts of the country. The following table contains a list of the principal stations which are still occupied by them :—

| Begun. | Stations. | Begun. | Stations. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Bengal Presidency. | | Madras Presidency. |
| 1816 | Calcutta. | 1805 | Vizagapatam. |
| 1824 | Berhampur. | 1852 | Vizianagarum. |
| | | 1810 | Bellary. |
| | Agra Presidency. | 1822 | Cuddupah. |
| 1820 | Benares. | 1852 | Tripassore. |
| 1838 | Mirzapur. | 1805 | Madras. |
| 1850 | Almorah. | 1820 | Bangalore. |
| | | 1827 | Salem. |
| | Bombay Presidency. | 1830 | Coimbatoor. |
| 1820 | Belgaum. | 1817 | Nagercoil. |
| 1847 | Mahi Kantha. | 1828 | Neyoor. |
| | | 1838 | Trevandrum. |
| | | 1821 | Quilon. |

Though many of these stations were highly important, yet as, in their general features, they do not differ from other missions in India, it would only be to repeat statements similar to those we have elsewhere made, were we to enter into particular details regarding them. As respects the conversion of the natives, most of them have been attended with no great success, though probably it has not been less than that of the generality of missions in India.

Travancore may perhaps be deemed an exception to this statement. There, as in other missions in the south of India, great numbers of the natives professed to renounce idolatry, and placed themselves under Christian instruction ; numerous congregations were formed, and many schools established for the

education of the children, numbers of the native converts were employed in travelling about from place to place for the purpose of instructing the congregations, and of making known the gospel to the heathen part of the population. But the most of the people forming the congregations, were Christians only in name. Many maintained connection with the missionaries, more in the expectation of obtaining protection or other temporal advantages by means of them than from a desire of instruction, while some proved unfaithful to their religious profession and returned to idolatry. The progress of the gospel was much retarded by the violent and unprovoked persecution to which the native Christians were from time to time subjected by their own countrymen.

Though the missionaries in India did not engage extensively in translating the Holy Scriptures, as they were already translated by others into the languages of most parts of the country where they laboured, yet there were several versions executed by them. The missionaries at Benares translated the whole Bible into Hindustani; those at Vizagapatam translated it into Telinga; those at Bellary into Canarese, and those at Surat into Gujarati.

## SECT. V.—CHINA.

In January 1807, the Rev. Robert Morrison sailed from England, by way of America, for China, with a particular view to the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the Chinese language.[1] On his arrival he thought it would facilitate his object

[1] In 1800, the Rev. William Moseley, an Independent minister at Long Buckby, Northamptonshire, published a valuable "Memoir on the Importance and Practicability of translating and publishing the Holy Scriptures in the Chinese language." He had discovered in the British Museum a MS. containing a Harmony of the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of Paul, and the 1st chapter of the Hebrews in Chinese. It was a folio volume, and was lettered by mistake *Evangelica Quatuor Sinice*. On a blank leaf, at the beginning of the volume, is the following note: "This transcript was made at Canton in 1737 and 1738, by order of Mr Hodgson, who says it has been collated with care, and found very correct. Given by him to Sir Hans Sloane, Bart., in 1739."—*Moseley's Memoir*, 2d Edit. p. 20; *Evan. Mag.* vol. ix. p. 445. It was this Memoir by Mr Moseley which first turned the attention of the friends of Missions to China.

to adopt the dress and manners of the natives. He accordingly walked about in a Chinese frock, and with thick Chinese shoes; he had a tail or tress of hair of some length, allowed his nails to grow, dined with his Chinese teacher, and ate with chop-sticks. But he was afterwards convinced, that though in adopting the manners of the Chinese he meant well, he had judged ill. To make himself remarkable in external appearance was proclaiming to the Chinese that he had different objects in view from those of other foreigners in Canton; and hence the very means which he had adopted for conciliating them were calculated to rouse their jealousy.[1]

Previous to leaving England, Mr Morrison had paid some attention to the Chinese language, and on arriving in the country he prosecuted the study of it with unwearied diligence. To this he directed the whole energies of his mind, morning, noon, and night. The Chinese had an extreme contempt for foreigners, and were exceedingly averse to communicate to them a knowledge of their language and literature. They were absolutely forbidden by the local government to teach it to Europeans; and the people, partly from fear and partly from their own prejudices, were very incommunicative. He, however, did obtain persons to assist him in the study of the language; but they had every reason to tremble for their own safety should they be discovered. In consequence of an order from Pekin, that every foreigner should have in his house a man licensed to provide for his table, who should become responsible for whatever was transacted within it, he had at one time some difficulty in even procuring provisions, as those who had hitherto served him were afraid to come under such an engagement.[2]

In consequence of the very difficult and delicate circumstances in which he was placed, Mr Morrison judged it necessary to act with the utmost caution. When at Macao, he felt so unwilling to obtrude himself on the notice of the inhabitants, that he never walked out; but the confinement at length told materially on his health. The first time he ventured out to the fields adjoining the town was in a moonlight night, under the escort of

[1] Milne's Retrospect of the Protestant Mission to China, p. 62.

[2] Milne's Retrospect, p. 73; Panoplist, vol. iii. (N. S.) p. 227; Memoirs of Robert Morrison, D.D., vol. i. p. 396.

two Chinese. To relax in circumspection, even in a single instance, might, he apprehended, be of fatal consequence to the object he had in view. In fact, the situation of all foreigners in China was exceedingly precarious. In their commercial intercourse with the Chinese they had often to submit to unpleasant circumstances, such as persons who had been accustomed to civil liberty in their own country could not but feel to be very mortifying and degrading. They had to do with a people whose jealousy of foreigners was never, perhaps, exceeded, and who possessed, in a singular degree, the art of turning to account every error, and every thing like an error, in their conduct. These characteristics of the Chinese were naturally calculated to awaken their jealousies and fears in reference to Mr Morrison's object. Mere literary or philosophical pursuits might be sanctioned and supported by them; but the man whose aim was to spread Christianity could scarcely fail to be viewed by them with suspicion, have his proceedings narrowly watched, and the most dangerous consequences to trade dreaded as the result of them. But though many of the foreigners probably did view Mr Morrison with jealousy, he met with countenance and support from some influential men among them, both English and Americans, and was, in many respects, treated with kindness and politeness by them.[1] He had not, indeed, been long in the country when he received the appointment of Chinese secretary and translator to the English Factory in China, with a salary of £500 a year, which was, after a few years, raised to £1000, with the other privileges of the East India Company's establishment, consisting of certain allowances for teachers and a place at their public table. The duties of this office were at first extremely oppressive, in consequence of his still imperfect acquaintance with the language. He had not confidence in his own knowledge of it, nor could he trust in the natives. The many perplexing hours which he spent in the duties of his new employment were not soon forgotten by him; but yet he had the satisfaction of finding that these duties were of such a kind as had a direct bearing on his acquisition of the language. His time was in after years much occupied with the duties of his office, and though he appears to have been sometimes sick of

[1] Morrison's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 316.

the engagements which it imposed upon him, and of the restrictions which it laid him under in his attempts to spread the gospel, yet he always viewed it as having afforded him facilities in perfecting himself in the language which he could not otherwise have enjoyed, and as having secured his residence in the country when, under other circumstances, he must have withdrawn from it. It must, however, be acknowledged, that the two offices of a missionary, and of secretary and translator to the British Factory, do not appear very compatible. Indeed, the Directors of the East India Company, under the idea of their incompatibility, and of the union of them endangering the interests of the British trade in China, sent out instructions to the committee at Canton to discontinue his connection with the Company; but they, on the other hand, were so sensible of the importance of his services, and so satisfied of his prudence and discretion, that they postponed giving effect to these orders until they should make a representation, and obtain further instructions on the subject; and the Court of Directors, on receiving their explanations, were satisfied.[1]

In January 1814, the New Testament, in the Chinese language, was completed at press. Of this work the Four Gospels, the closing Epistles, and the book of Revelation were translated by Mr Morrison himself: the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of Paul were founded on the manuscript in the British Museum, a transcript of which he carried with him from England, only he made such corrections and alterations upon it as he judged necessary. He afterwards proceeded with the translation of the Old Testament; and the Rev. William Milne having lately come to his assistance, they divided the work between them, and after some years it also was published.[2]

Mr Milne having, on his arrival at Macao, which is subject to the crown of Portugal, been ordered by the governor, through the influence of the Catholic priests, to leave that island, he retired for the present to Canton; and he afterwards proceeded to Java, with the view of circulating the New Testament and tracts among the Chinese, who have emigrated in great num-

[1] Morrison's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 256, 315, 379, 396, 414, 469; vol. ii. p. 429.

[2] Rep. Bib. Soc. 1815, App. p. 26; Ibid. 1824, App. p. 113; Quart. Chron. vol. ii. p. 65.

bers to that and other islands in the Indian Ocean. After distributing considerable numbers among those resident in Batavia and the neighbourhood, he made a tour of about fourteen hundred miles through the eastern part of Java and the island of Madura, visiting most of the principal towns where the Chinese were settled. In the course of this extensive journey he was treated by all ranks of persons in the kindest and most respectful manner. He was even introduced to the emperor of Java, and when at the seat of the sultan of Madura, he slept a night in the palace.[1]

In April 1815, Mr Milne proceeded to Malacca, with the view of establishing a branch of the Chinese mission in that country, in the hope that missionaries would there be able to carry on their labours without restriction or interruption. Here he was joined by other labourers, and an extensive establishment was formed by their united exertions. They instituted schools for Chinese, Malay, and Malabar children; they preached regularly in various places, both in Chinese and Malay; in short, they put into active operation all the usual apparatus of a Christian mission. Other branches of the Chinese and Malay mission were formed in Pulo Penang, at Batavia in Java, and at Singapore, a small island at the southern extremity of the Malayan peninsula. Similar plans were pursued at these stations as at Malacca.[2]

In November 1818, the foundation-stone was laid at Malacca of an institution called the Anglo-Chinese College, the chief object of which was the cultivation of Chinese and English literature, and the diffusion of Christianity. To this institution Dr Morrison devoted £1000 for the erection of the buildings, and he promised a further sum of £100 annually for the first five years, commencing from the opening of the institution.[3] It does not appear, however, that the Anglo-Chinese College was ever in a state of much efficiency as regarded either professors or students. It dragged on for years a languid existence, and realized in only a small degree the views of its founder. Some of the pupils were very young, and but few were worthy of the name of

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 126, 245.
[2] Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 309; Milne's Retrospect, p. 295.
[3] Quart. Chron. vol. i. p. 397.

students. We cannot, indeed, help thinking that most of the colleges established in connection with missions, have been premature institutions, and that it will be difficult to point to one which, in its results, has warranted the machinery, the money, and the labour expended upon it. In the early stage of missions, something much short of a college appears to be sufficient for all practicable purposes.

There was nothing for which this mission was so much distinguished as by the extent to which the printing and circulation of books was carried. At all the stations, at Canton and Malacca, at Batavia, Penang, and Singapore, a great variety of books and tracts, including large editions of the Holy Scriptures, were printed. Besides circulating them among the Chinese and Malay population of the several stations, the missionaries, especially those at Singapore, were in the habit of going on board the junks and other vessels which frequented them from the various countries and islands of south-eastern Asia, and distributed them among the crews, in the hope of thereby conveying the seeds of divine truth to other and distant lands. With a view to a still more systematic and extensive circulation of them, Messrs Gutzlaff, Tomlin, and Medhurst made voyages to Siam, along the Malayan peninsula, the north-east coast of Java, and the island of Bali, the western coast of Borneo, where many of the Chinese are settled, and along the coast of China itself, every where distributing them in great numbers.[1]

[1] Dr Medhurst states that no fewer than 751,763 books and tracts were printed at the different stations from 1810 to 1836, and that there were probably others which were not included in this enumeration."—*Medhurst's China*, p. 592.

This extensive circulation of the Scriptures and tracts was no doubt considered at the time as a work of great importance, and as likely to bring forth much precious fruit; but here, as in many other cases, the quantity of the work was more looked to than the quality. There is something in wide and unknown fields where we have no opportunity of following out the results, which gives ample room for the imagination to luxuriate in undefined and fallacious hopes, like airy phantoms looming through a mist. Extensive as was the distribution of books, little or nothing was ever known of spiritual good being effected by them, nor are there any traces of their having had any bearing or influence as regards the spread of the gospel in China, or in any of the other countries to which they were carried. They were distributed not only much too freely, but much too indiscriminately. Comparatively few of the people of these countries, not excepting China, are able to read intelligibly, and a large proportion of those to whom books were given being of the poorer classes, many of them common sailors, it is probable they were not so much as able to understand them, and were still less likely to be influenced by them. The press is a most important engine for propagating

The voyages of Messrs Gutzlaff, Medhurst, and Stevens, along the coast of China, for the purpose of distributing the Scriptures and other works, landing, as they did, at various points, though they never ventured far into the country, awakened the jealousy of the Chinese government; and each successive voyage was followed by proclamations prohibiting such visits in future; but in China little attention was often paid to the imperial edicts, as the government did not employ an adequate force to carry them into effect. Orders were also sent to Canton, that strict search should be made for natives engaged in manufacturing Christian books; but though search was made, no persons were for the present seized. The authorities were told that books were printed at Batavia, Singapore, and other places, by means of paper sent from China.[1]

Though it was found impossible for European missionaries to penetrate far into the interior, and still less to settle in the

Christianity in the world, but, like every other instrument, it requires to be used wisely.

In confirmation of these views, we may here quote the following statement by Mr Williams, a missionary-printer from America, in China: "We may well hesitate before calculating too sanguinely upon the effects of a promiscuous distribution of tracts among a people *almost wholly unacquainted with the truths taught in the books*, and the style of which is not very inviting. We can regard them as only seed thrown by the wayside, on hard and stony ground, where they receive little or no cultivation afterwards. By this we mean that hitherto (*i. e.* up to 1838, when this was written) we have had no proofs that the thousands of books thrown among this people, have excited one mind to inquire concerning them, have induced one soul to find a teacher among the foreigners in China, or have been the means of converting one individual. I have seen books on board the junks which were received at Bankok or Batavia; but I have never had a question asked concerning their meaning, have never heard an objection started, nor a request made to have a doubt solved, though the sight of the books I had brought was the occasion of their shewing me the books they had received. I know that our opportunities for ascertaining how much good has been done by the books which have been circulated are too few to enable any one to pass an opinion on this point; and also that the sailors in the junks could hardly read the volumes they had received, though in no junk did we find the crew so ignorant that none could read."—*Miss. Her.* vol, xxxv. p. 54. Other testimonies to the same effect by the American missionaries at Singapore may be found in vol. xxxiv. p. 420, and vol. xxxvi. p. 208.

Besides all this, there is reason to believe that many of the books circulated were far from being intelligible, and very imperfect in point of style.—*Malcolm's Travels in South-Eastern Asia*, vol. ii. p. 217.

[1] Tomlin's Journal of a Residence in Siam, p. 66, 117, 121, 139; Gutzlaff's Journal of Three Voyages, p. 65, 153, 427; Medhurst's China, p. 365, 381, 403, 510, 517; Quart. Chron. vol. iv. p. 69, 145, 171, 193, 225, 257; Evan. Mag. 1831, p. 163; Ibid. 1836, p. 317; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1836, p. 25; (Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xxxii. p. 79, 197, 202.

country, yet Chinese converts, it was thought, might use greater liberties in this way than it would be safe for Englishmen to take. On one occasion, Leang Afa, who had been baptized many years before by Dr Milne at Malacca, accompanied by Keuh Agong, who had lately been baptized by Dr Morrison at Macao, itinerated about 250 miles into the interior, for the purpose of making known the gospel to their countrymen, and distributing tracts among them. For three or four years, Afa was constantly in the practice of circulating books in Canton and the neighbouring villages. Through his labours, some of his countrymen were led to profess themselves Christians, and were baptized by him. On one occasion, however, when he and three of the converts were employed in distributing books in that city, the police interfered. Several of them were seized, and also some other persons who had been connected with the printing of the books. Search was made for Afa; but he made his escape, and afterwards got to Macao, from whence it was judged necessary to send him off to Malacca to be out of the way. The persons who were imprisoned, ten in number, were soon set at liberty, on the payment by Mr J. R. Morrison[1] of 800 dollars. But for the present, all efforts to extend a knowledge of Christianity in the country were stopped, and the few Chinese who had professed themselves Christians were scattered.[2]

It is well known that the art of printing was in use in China several hundred years before it was discovered in Europe. It was executed not by types, but by means of wooden blocks, on which the characters were cut out, each block forming a whole page, and every character having to be cut anew, though it should occur ten thousand times. It was in fact a species of stereotype printing. Though possessed of some advantages as applied to such a language as that of China, it also laboured under great disadvantages as compared with moveable metal types. These indeed were not unknown in Chinese printing,[3]

[1] Dr Morrison's eldest son.

[2] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1831, p. 25; Ibid. 1833, p. 19; Ibid. 1835, p. 24, Ibid. 1837, p. 26; Evan. Mag. 1835, p. 206, 337; Ibid. 1836, p. 318; Morrison's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 462.

[3] Printing with moveable types is not a new thing even in China. In 1722, the Emperor Kang-hi ordered an assortment of moveable types to be prepared of copper, which he called "congregated pearls." At the college of St Joseph, in Macao,

but they had never come into general use. Much credit is due to the Rev. Samuel Dyer, one of the missionaries, who directed particular attention to this object, and succeeded in preparing punches and matrices for casting metal types for the Chinese language. The time, ingenuity, and perseverance he expended in prosecuting this end, the difficulties which he met with and overcame, exceed every thing that can well be conceived by those who have had no experience in matters of this kind. His disadvantages were many. Though he had seen the process of type-founding before he left England, he was an entire stranger to the manual operation. There was no one with whom he could consult. Experiments and books were his only assistants. Yet he acquired after some time the utmost dexterity in finishing off the punches, and performing the other parts of the work. In forming the first fount, every punch was tempered by his own hands, every matrix was struck under his superintendence, and the ingredients for type-metal were prepared for fusion by himself personally. The types which he cast were remarkable for their beauty, and were generally allowed to be the most correct and the best adapted to the Chinese taste of any that had ever been prepared. Previous to his death, he had completed a fount of large type, sufficient for printing the Scriptures, and had begun the preparation of a fount of small type. Both these were afterwards improved and completed by Mr Richard Cole. The printing even from the smaller type was truly beautiful, neater and more distinct than the best specimens of block-printing with the larger character commonly used in Chinese books. By means of it, too, the whole Bible may be printed in one volume, instead, as hitherto, of half a dozen of volumes. The expense of both paper and printing was also greatly reduced. The New Testament was comprised in less than ninety pages, while the cost

there is an assortment of metal types, which have been employed in printing various Romish works, and also a Portuguese and Chinese Dictionary. The Serampur missionaries, after employing, in the first instance, wooden blocks, succeeded in casting a fount of moveable types, with which they printed Dr Marshman's Translation of the Old and New Testament in the Chinese language. Of late years, Chinese moveable types were also cast in Paris, under the direction of M. Pauthier, a member of the Asiatic Society. Being executed by one of the most expert type-founders in France, they were, as respects fineness of stroke and exactness of height, superior to any thing that Asiatic workmen could produce.—*Medhurst's China*, p. 562, 566.

was less than fourpence sterling. These are points of vast importance where so many millions of copies will be required before the people can be supplied with the Holy Scriptures.[1]

In August 1842, a treaty was concluded at Nanking between the Chinese and the British governments, by which the former ceded to the latter the small island of Hongkong at the mouth of the estuary leading up to Canton, and opened to foreigners of all nations, five of the chief ports of the empire, Canton, Amoy, Fuh-Chau-fu, Ningpo, and Shanghai, with the right of residence in them for the purposes of trade, and also the power of erecting churches, and the prospective privileges which might be conferred on any particular nation. At Canton, to which the trade of Europeans had hitherto been confined, differences were every now and then occurring between the authorities and the English, and these, it was generally found, were not easily settled. Of late years there had sprung up a more serious ground of quarrel than any which had ever before occurred. The Chinese government had long prohibited the introduction of opium into the empire, but in spite of all its prohibitions, there had grown up a great smuggling trade in that pernicious drug. Vessels built for the purpose, armed and manned as ships of war, were sent along the coast for the purpose of smuggling it into the country; and the more effectually to gain their ends, they supplied with arms and ammunition the Chinese craft engaged in assisting them, to enable them to defend themselves against the officers of government. The continuance of the trade threatened to convert the whole coast into one scene of ruthless piracy. It was carried on to a large extent even with the concurrence of the officers of government. The very officers sent down the river from Canton to inspect ships on their arrival, bribed by a share of the profits, brought it up in the government boats when they returned, and reported that there was none on board. Meanwhile, it was carried into all parts of the country, and was entailing a tremendous curse on China, producing to a fearful extent, and even in a greater degree, the same or similar evils as intemperance produces in our own land,

[1] Friend of India, (Quarterly Series), vol. i. p. 241; Memoir of the Rev. Samuel Dyer, p. 81, 102, 234, 243, 257, 264; (Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xlv. p. 18; Rep. Miss Soc. 1851, p. 19.

poverty, demoralization, degradation, wretchedness, profligacy and recklessness, vice and crime, disease bodily and mental, premature decay and early death. The annual amount of this nefarious traffic was estimated at upwards of £3,000,000 sterling. The East India Company were the chief dealers in the prohibited drug. It was one of the great sources of its revenue, and the cultivation of it within its territories had of late years greatly increased. The Chinese government, much to its own honour, was at length roused to make a great effort to save its subjects from the ruin which it was fast bringing upon them. Proclamations were issued, the foreign importers were warned to desist from their contraband trade, the police were urged to increased vigilance and activity, and the ordinary trade at Canton was stopped. Captain Elliot, the superintendent of the English trade in China, appears to have cordially united with the Chinese authorities in their efforts for suppressing the trade in opium. In consequence of orders issued by him, the smuggling vessels all left the river, and the regular trade was again opened. But the smugglers were not to be thus put down.

In the spring of 1839, an imperial commissioner named Lin arrived at Canton with absolute power, and with orders to stop the traffic, whatever it might cost. He ascertained that there were more than 20,000 chests of opium, valued at ten or twelve millions of dollars, on board the vessels at or near Canton. He knew that if he merely prevented its being landed, it would be sent along the coast and smuggled into the country. He, therefore, again stopped all trade, confined all foreign merchants to their factories, and demanded the surrender of the chests of opium which were on board the shipping. With this demand, Captain Elliot thought it necessary to comply. He required all British subjects to deliver up to him the opium in their possession, and to take his receipts for it, given in the name of the British government. He then delivered it to the commissioner, who destroyed it agreeably to the command of the Emperor. Lin then published a decree that no foreign merchant should be allowed to reside or trade at Canton, except on condition that his life and property should be forfeited, if any foreigner should be detected in introducing opium into the country, thus making the body of foreigners responsible for the offences of each

one of their number. By order of Captain Elliot, all English residents and shipping withdrew from Canton to Macao and other places in the vicinity, and other foreigners generally followed their example.[1]

The English would have had no right to complain, though the Chinese government had destroyed their contraband goods whatever might be their value, provided it acquired possession of them by means of its own officers. If they chose to carry on the disgraceful trade of smugglers, they must be content to run the risks and to pay the penalty of smugglers. By the laws of England and of other civilized nations, the seizure and destruction of smuggled goods are held to be reasonable, righteous, legal acts; and by all honourable men the name and profession of a smuggler are justly held in execration. The Chinese government was likewise quite entitled to say to Captain Elliot, as superintendent of the English commercial interests, that unless the opium on board the English ships was surrendered, and an end put to the opium traffic, the trade of England with China must cease, and on receiving it upon this intimation, the commissioner was quite entitled to do what he did, destroy it; for every country has a right to say to other countries on what terms it will trade with them, and especially to prescribe such moral terms as these. This was a peaceful and honourable way of gaining its object, provided Captain Elliot would accede to it, and he in that case would become responsible for his acts to his own government. Up to this point all was right on the part of the Chinese government, and so we may hold Captain Elliot to have considered it. But now the imperial commissioner unquestionably overstepped both justice and reason, when he sought to make the body of the foreigners responsible for the acts of each other. We shall perhaps wonder the less at this, however, if we consider that it was in accordance with the laws and the practice of China; but he had already obtained possession of the opium on the expressed or implied condition, that the trade would then be opened, and he had no right to make any new stipulations or restrictions on the subject, and especially a condition so unjust and unreasonable, capricious and tyrannical,

[1] (Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xxxiv. p. 383; vol. xxxv. p. 463; vol. xxxvi. p. 320; Smith's Exploratory Visit, p. 431; Oriental Christian Spectator, vol. x. p. 104.

It was a grievous error; and yet England, moral Christian England, had no great right to be indignant at it. Weighed in the balance with the iniquitous and outrageous proceedings of her own subjects, including her great EAST INDIA COMPANY, it was light as a feather.

To punish China for what she had done, and to establish trade with her on a more satisfactory footing than it had hitherto been, England, moral Christian England, now sent a fleet and an army to wage war upon her. To enter into details of the war is foreign to the object of this work. Suffice it to say, that the arms of our country were every where triumphant; that China was made to feel her might, and was brought to enter into the humiliating treaty of Nanking, for humiliating it was, that a vast empire, the most populous on the face of the earth, should feel itself compelled, at the point of the sword, to break up that system of policy which, whether wisely or unwisely we do not here inquire, it had maintained from immemorial ages, and to open, contrary to its own will, its chief ports to foreigners, for whom it had ever felt a supreme contempt. We rejoice in some of the results of that treaty; but we cannot forget the principle of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, that we are not to "do evil that good may come."

By subsequent decrees obtained by the consuls of the United States of America and France, many new and important privileges were gained from the Chinese government, some of which had an intimate bearing on the cause of Christian missions in China. It was provided that not only the merchants of all nations, but the people generally, should be at liberty to settle at the five ports, and should enjoy equal rights and immunities with them; that they should be at liberty to establish temples for worship, schools or colleges, hospitals for the sick, and cemeteries for the dead; to employ teachers, Chinese or Tartars, the illegality and treasonableness of which had hitherto been so serious a hindrance to the acquisition of the Chinese language; and not only to purchase all kinds of Chinese books, but to sell their own, and to teach the Chinese, the French, and other languages. It was further decreed, that those Chinese who practise "the religion of the Lord of heaven, which all the Western nations adore and receive," "and who do not cause

disturbances, and do wickedly," should not be punished as criminals. But while Christians without distinction, Chinese as well as others, were allowed the free exercise of their religion, foreigners of every nation were, in accordance with existing regulations, prohibited from going into the country to propagate religion.[1]

[1] (Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xli. p. 307, 417.

It would appear that M. La Grene, the French commissioner, had in his memorial described the "Religion of the Lord of Heaven," according to some of the usages of the Romish Church; and it was supposed that the decree obtained by him might be restricted to Roman Catholics. Sir J. F. Davis, the British plenipotentiary, therefore, represented to Keying, the imperial commissioner, through whom the previous decrees had been obtained, that some doubts existed as to whether Chinese, who professed themselves Christians, but did not conform to their usages, would be protected equally as those who did. M. La Grene also made a new representation to Keying, in which he says, "Formerly, in requesting that a memorial might be laid before the throne for removing the prohibitions against the religion of the Lord of Heaven, it was my original design that all persons professing the religion, and acting well, should alike share the imperial favour, and that the great Western nations should all as one be held blameless in the practice thereof. The religious customs referred to on a previous occasion were those of my own nation; yet if persons of other nations did not entirely conform to these, still there was to be no distinction, no obstruction—thus shewing great magnanimity." In reference to this communication, Keying says, "After this," (*i. e.* after M. La Grene's first memorial) "local magistrates having made improper seizures, taking and destroying crosses, pictures, and images, further deliberations were held, and it was agreed that these might be reverenced.

"Originally I did not know that there were among the nations these differences in their religious practices.

"Now with regard to the religion of the Lord of Heaven, no matter whether the crosses, pictures, and images, be reverenced or be not reverenced; all who, acting well, practise it, ought to be held blameless.

"All the great Western nations being placed on an equal footing, only let them, acting well, practise their religion, and China will in no way prohibit or impede their doing so. Whether their customs be alike or unlike, certainly it is right there should be no distinction and no obstruction."

Subsequently a decree by the Emperor was received, containing the following important clauses:—

"Let all the ancient houses throughout the provinces which were built in the reign of Kang-hi, and have been preserved to the present time, and which, on personal examination by the proper authorities, are clearly found to be their *bona fide* possessions, be restored to the professors of this religion in their respective places, excepting only those churches which have been converted into temples and dwelling-houses for the people.

"If, after the promulgation of this decree throughout the provinces, the local officers irregularly prosecute and seize any of the professors of the religion of the Lord of Heaven, who are not bandits, upon all such the just penalties of the law shall be meted out.

"If any, under a profession of this religion, do evil, or congregate people from distant towns, seducing and binding them together; or if any other sect or bandits, borrowing the name of the religion of the Lord of Heaven, create disturbances, transgress the

In 1843, and the following years, the stations in Malacca, Java, Pulo Penang, and Singapore, were all given up. These stations had been carried on for many years, and though much labour and money had been expended upon them, they had been attended with little success, particularly as regarded the conversion of souls; nor had they realized in any considerable degree, the primary object for which they were originally established, the exercising of an influence and bearing on the cause of Christianity in China. When, therefore, China was opened to foreigners, the missionaries removed thither and formed stations on Hongkong, at Canton, Amoy, and Shanghai. The Anglo-Chinese college was removed from Malacca to Hongkong, and was converted into a theological seminary, principally with the view of training up a native ministry for China. As yet the mission has been attended with no great success; but in the mean while, preparatory work is going on which we trust will at length be followed by important results.[1] We shall afterwards have occasion to give a general view of the progress of missions in China, in which that of the London Missionary Society will of course be included.

laws, or excite rebellion, they shall be punished according to their respective crimes, each being dealt with as the existing states of the empire direct.

"Also, in order to make apparent the proper distinctions, foreigners of every nation are, in accordance with existing regulations, prohibited from going into the country to propagate religion."—*Evan. Mag.* 1846, p. 208; *Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1846, p. 173.

This last restriction we find also in a previous memorial of Keying, which received the Emperor's assent: "They," (*i. e.* "individuals of the French and all other Western nations,") "must not presume to enter into the inner land to disseminate their religion. Should they act in opposition to, or turn their backs upon, the treaties, overstep the boundaries, and act irregularly, the local officers will, as soon as they seize them, forthwith send them to the consuls of the several nations to restrain and punish them: but death must not be inflicted upon the spot, in order to evince a cherishing and kind disposition. Thus, peradventure, the good and vile will not be intermixed, and the laws of kindness will manifest their equitable course."—(*Amer.*) *Miss. Her.* vol. xli. p. 417.

[1] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1843, p. 42; Ibid. 1844, p. 38; Ibid. 1845, p. 43; Ibid. 1849, p. 50; Evan. Mag. 1845, p. 173; Ibid. 1846, p. 439; (Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xxxi. p. 183; Malcolm's Travels, vol. ii. p. 105, 112.

## SECT. VI.—BRITISH GUIANA.

In December 1807, Mr John Wray sailed for Demerara, in consequence of the request of Mr Post, a pious and respectable Dutch planter in that colony, who contributed with great liberality in support of the mission. Immediately upon his arrival, he had an opportunity of beginning his labours at Le Resouvenir, the estate of that gentleman. From the very first, the negroes shewed a great readiness to attend on the preaching of the gospel, and listened to it with much attention. Many of them professed to be impressed with a sense of divine things, and a great reformation took place among them. Numbers were baptized and received into the communion of the church. Other stations were occupied at George Town, and on the west coast of Demerara, and also in Berbice, and were attended with similar results.[1]

In January 1817, the Rev. John Smith proceeded to Demerara with the view of occupying the station of Le Resouvenir, which had been without a resident missionary for the last three years and a half. The congregation in consequence of this had been much scattered, but it speedily collected and increased under the ministry of Mr Smith; and the moral and religious improvement of the negroes on that and the neighbouring estates, afforded pleasing evidence of the usefulness of his labours.

But while the mission was making progress from year to year, the slaves were labouring under various grievances, which soured their minds and rendered them discontented with their condition. These grievances consisted chiefly in the exaction of immoderate labour, in the unjustifiable severity of punishments, and in the hindrances thrown in the way of their attending on public worship. The last-mentioned evil was at length greatly aggravated, and in combination with other circumstances led to an outbreak among the slaves, which was followed by very disgraceful and distressing results.

In May 1823, Major-General Murray, Lieutenant-Governor

[1] Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 219, 251; Evan. Mag. vol. xxii. p. 160, 296; vol. xxvi. p. 179; vol. xxvii. p. 37.

of the colony, issued a proclamation, founded ostensibly on the instructions which were some years before sent out by the British government, and which were designed to release the slaves from restraints as regarded their religious instruction; but though professedly designed to accomplish this object, it was turned into an occasion of aggravating them. It proposed to the planters not to refuse passes to their slaves to attend divine worship on the Sabbath; thus leading them to allow no negro to attend without a pass. The consequence was, that the slaves were either refused passes, or they were not able to obtain them in due time; they were also bantered and reproached on account of their religion when they asked for them. Many of them, therefore, resolved to attend divine worship without a pass, and thus they exposed themselves to punishment, which there was reason to believe was inflicted in numerous instances, and in some with considerable severity. These grievances were still further increased by some of the planters and managers interfering, under the supposed authority of the proclamation, with the religious exercises of the slaves in their own houses; by their taking away and destroying their religious books; and by their appointing an overseer to accompany them to the chapel, in conformity with a suggestion in the governor's proclamation, and "to judge of the doctrine held forth to the negroes!" By these proceedings, a suspicion was excited among the slaves that the Whites wished to deprive them of their religion, which they declared they valued more than life.

While the negroes were in this state of excitement and alarm, despatches were received from England, containing instructions as to a more lenient treatment of the slaves, in conformity with certain resolutions lately adopted by the British parliament; particularly that the disgraceful practice of flogging female slaves should be abolished, and that the whip should no longer be employed by drivers in the field as an instrument of coercion. On the arrival of similar despatches in the neighbouring colony of Berbice, the governor requested Mr Wray to explain to the slaves the nature and extent of the instructions, in order to prevent on their part all misapprehension and mistake in regard to them; but in Demerara, they were purposely concealed from the public at large for several weeks. Meanwhile, however, the

instructions were made a subject of discussion in the court of policy and of conversation among the Whites, and even at the governor's own table, and in the presence of his domestics. It was not long before it became known to the slaves themselves that something for their good had come out from England; but the good being quite undefined, it was magnified by their hopes far beyond the reality. A negro belonging to one estate was told expressly by one of the governor's servants that the report about their freedom was really true. This intelligence was quickly conveyed to the negroes on the east coast, who began to suspect that the Whites designed to withhold the intended boon from them. Already smarting under many and sore grievances, their minds were now thrown into a state of increased irritation. At this critical period, many of the negroes belonging to estates in the neighbourhood of Le Resouvenir, instead of experiencing any diminution of their sufferings, were treated with even greater severity than before. Thus were the irritation and discontent of the slaves inflamed to a still higher pitch, till at length a considerable body of them abandoned their work, and resolved to obtain by force the freedom which they supposed the Whites were withholding from them. The governor sent a military force against them, who, after an unsuccessful attempt of the commanding officer to induce them to lay down their arms, fired upon them, which they returned; but when it came to close fighting, they fell on all sides, and it was computed that at least two hundred of them were killed on the spot. Several other skirmishes took place between the military and them on this and one or two following days, in which considerable numbers of the negroes fell, but on the side of the troops very few were killed. Tranquillity was speedily restored, the greater part of the negroes laying down their arms, and tendering their submission.

Among the negroes engaged in the rising, there were many who attended the chapel at Le Resouvenir. In consequence of this some persons attached suspicions to Mr Smith, the missionary, as being a prime mover of the outbreak. Martial law having been proclaimed in the colony, a person of the name of Nurse came to his house at the head of a company of infantry, and intimated to him that he had it in command to require his atten-

dance in order to enrol and accoutre himself as a militiaman, to which Mr Smith replied that he could not comply with that demand, as his profession legally entitled him to exemption.[1] His papers were then sealed up; and in about three quarters of an hour afterwards, his house was surrounded by a troop of cavalry under the command of one Simpson, and the company of infantry under Nurse. Simpson demanded of him, in the foulest language and the fiercest manner, why he dared to disobey the order for enrolling himself in the militia, and, brandishing a sabre in his face, swore that he was the cause of all the disturbance. He then called for a file of men to seize him; his papers were also taken possession of. He and his wife were then hurried away from their home, without being allowed to carry with them even a change of clothes, or to lock up the doors, and were escorted to George Town under a military guard, and lodged in the Colony House. Here, though he was in ill health, he was kept closely confined, prohibited from intercourse with his friends, precluded from correspondence with the Society in England, and altogether subjected to such treatment as is unknown to prisoners in this country, whatever be the crimes with which they are charged.

After being kept in confinement near two months, Mr Smith was brought before a court-martial, under the charges of having knowledge of the intended rising of the negroes without disclosing the same to government; of having promoted, as far as in him lay, dissatisfaction in their minds with their lawful masters and managers; and of holding communications on the subject of the revolt with one of the rebels, named Quamina, both before and after the insurrection broke out. The trial lasted for twenty-eight days, so that it cannot be expected that we should enter into any particular examination of the evidence; yet we cannot but express our full conviction that there was not the slightest ground for believing Mr Smith chargeable with any crime; that in the course of the investigation there was the grossest exaggeration and perversion of circumstances; and that the most unjust and oppressive measures were pursued to-

[1] Mr Smith appears to have been ignorant of the nature of martial law, and applied to it the principles of the militia law, which exempts ministers of the gospel from military service.

ward him. Notwithstanding this, he was brought in guilty, and sentence of death was passed upon him; but being accompanied with a recommendation of mercy by the court, the governor suspended the execution of it, until His Majesty's pleasure thereon should be known.

Immediately after his trial, Mr Smith was removed to the common jail of the colony. He had been labouring for some time past under a pulmonary affection; but the false accusations which had been brought against him, the deep anxiety he had suffered, the long imprisonment he had endured, combined with the unhealthiness of the place in which he was confined, hastened on the progress of the disease, and he at length sunk under it, February 6. 1824. Even now, however, the malice of his enemies was not at an end. His poor widow, and Mrs Elliot, the wife of another missionary, who was with her, intended burying the body at ten o'clock the same evening; but between eight and nine o'clock one of the head constables came to the prison, and told them that he was ordered to inform them that he would come at four o'clock next morning to demand the body for interment. He at the same time intimated to them, that by the orders of the governor no persons would be allowed to follow the corpse to the grave, and that in this prohibition they were both included. They were afterwards given to understand, that if they attempted to follow it he had orders to confine them. They therefore determined, as there was no order to prevent them leaving the prison, to meet the corpse at the grave. They accordingly left the jail at half-past three in the morning, dark as it was, accompanied only by a free Black man with a lantern, and proceeded to the burial-ground, where they beheld the mournful spectacle of a beloved husband and friend committed to the cold and silent tomb.

Not only, indeed, did the governor refuse permission to Mrs Smith to accompany the remains of her husband to the grave, but 2000 guilders, being part of 3000 which were seized along with his papers at the time of his arrest, were, though claimed for her, retained by him to discharge the expense incurred on account of his and her maintenance during their confinement in the Colony House. After such procedure it will excite no surprise that a memorial of gratitude and respect which was

erected over Mr Smith's grave by two of his hearers was ordered by the authorities to be removed, and that all similar manifestations of regard for his memory were prohibited on pain of their heavy displeasure.[1]

We have had to record many shameful proceedings against missionaries on the part of our West Indian colonists; but these crown them all. In most other cases they were the deeds of reckless and infuriated mobs; but the persecution of Mr Smith was the act of the government and of the constituted authorities of the colony, was carried on under the sanction or at least the forms of law; and when death snatched away their victim, was directed, with heartless and unrelenting cruelty, against his afflicted and unoffending widow.

In August 1834, the act for the emancipation of the slaves was carried into effect in Demerara and Berbice, as in the other British colonies. Previous to this, the Society had begun to extend its operations in this part of the world; and after that event it greatly enlarged them in both colonies. A number of new stations were established;[2] the negroes flocked in great numbers to hear the word; and the churches which were erected had in some instances to be enlarged more than once in order to contain the increasing congregations. Schools were also established, and were attended by hundreds of the negroes, both old and young. One remarkable feature of the missions in these colonies was the liberality of the people. Several of the stations, after a few years, provided entirely for their own support, paying the salaries of the missionaries and teachers, and all other expenses; and when chapels required to be erected or enlarged, the people contributed with a cheerfulness and liberality which were truly surprising.[3] After a few years, indeed,

[1] Miss. Chron. vol. ii. p. 465, 473, 491; Report of the Proceedings against the Rev. J. Smith, p. 1, 177, 182.

[2] Wallbridge's Memoirs of the Rev. John Smith, p. 188, 190, 196.

[3] In 1840–1, the contributions in Demerara amounted to £2120 : 7 : 10, and in Berbice to £2562 : 14 : 10, making together £4683 : 2 : 8.—*Rep. Miss. Soc.* 1841, p. xciv. In the following year, 1841–2, Demerara raised £2723: 11 : 11, and Berbice £6542 : 2 : 10, making together £9270 : 14 : 9. In that year one congregation contributed £815, another £1500, and a third £2000.—*Ibid.* 1842. p. 19, lxxxvii.; *Evan. Mag.* 1842, p. 379. In the following years, the contributions continued to be very large; but it is unnecessary to specify them; and even still they must be held to be very liberal, especially when we take into account the diminished wages, and the increased difficulties of the people.

their liberality diminished; but even still the contributions of many of the congregations were very considerable, and would have been thought remarkable, had it not been for their previous liberality, and for the expectations which the friends of missions were naturally led to entertain, that the congregations in the West Indies would generally, in a short time, support themselves without the help of this country, expectations which, except in a few cases, have not hitherto been realized.

Since emancipation the condition of the negroes has greatly improved. If their industry did not correspond with the wishes of their old masters (who were themselves a chief cause of this), it was at least sufficient to provide for their own comfort, and to enable thousands of them to become owners of the soil which they formerly tilled as slaves. Numbers were prosperous in their circumstances, and were in possession of many domestic comforts. They had neat houses, some of them of considerable size; their lots of land were neatly enclosed, and in most cases cultivated. The general appearance of this description of property was highly creditable to the owners. In their villages there was as much peace and order as are usually found in the country villages of England. As an instance of the progress they were making in regard to the comforts of life, it was only necessary to go out on a Sabbath, when the people, who the day before were working in the field, would be seen respectably dressed, and conducting themselves in the most decent and orderly manner. It could not, however, be reasonably expected that the moral evils produced by a state of slavery should all at once disappear from among a people who were so long subject to its degrading influences. In their social and domestic habits there was still much that needed improvement. Fondness for company was a prevailing habit among them, and this led to idleness and frequently to still greater evils. Family discipline and arrangement were but little known or practised by them. The universal custom in the times of slavery was for the parents to look to their masters to control, if not to manage, their children; and now that this duty devolved upon themselves, many had neither the ability nor the desire to fulfil it.[1]

[1] Wallbridge's Memoir of the Rev. John Smith, p. xi., xvi., xviii; Evan. Mag. 1840, p. 254.

Though, after the abolition of slavery, there was, at least for some years, an increased attendance on the outward means of grace, yet many of those who had formerly, by their appearance and conduct, excited the highest expectations, now became careless and indifferent about religion. Even stations, when left for a time without a missionary, generally sunk into a depressed state, and fell into disorder. "Many," says Mr Dalgleish, referring to the station of Lonsdale, which had been for some time without a minister, "Many of the people had 'forsaken the assembling of themselves together,' and many returned to their former ways, walking no more with the people of God; while a great majority of the church members exhibited a form of godliness with little of its power. Intemperance also prevailed to a great extent, and was at the root of the existing evils." Such statements as these indicate a want of stability among the people, and shew the necessity of great caution in judging of their religious character. Negro professions are not always to be trusted: there is often a simplicity and warmth in their expressions which are singularly pleasing, and are very apt to impose on the inexperienced hearer.[1]

## SECT. VII.—IONIAN ISLANDS.

In October 1816, the Rev. Isaac Lowndes sailed for Malta, with a special view to the promotion of the interests of religion in Greece. At Malta he remained upwards of two years, acquiring the modern Greek and the Italian languages, labouring at the same time to make himself useful by preaching and by distributing copies of the Holy Scriptures and religious tracts.[2]

In December 1818, the Rev. Samuel S. Wilson sailed for Malta, with the view of carrying forward the plans of usefulness which Mr Lowndes had been prosecuting on that island, and of setting him at liberty to proceed to the Ionian Islands. Mr Lowndes accordingly now went to Zante, and after la-

[1] Evan. Mag, 1839, p. 513; Ibid. 1844, p. 46.
[2] Wilson's Narrative of the Greek Mission, p. 68; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 98.

bouring there between three and four years, he removed to Corfu, which henceforth became his head-quarters. Like most of the missionaries who have been sent among the ancient churches, they both proposed not to attempt to make converts from the Greek Church, but to endeavour to revive in it the dormant principles of true religion and the practice of Christian piety, and with this view to seek to implant truth rather than to attack error, though they might not set aside altogether the latter means of propagating the gospel. This is the mode of procedure which has been commonly adopted in missions among the ancient churches; but though it may appear plausible in theory, as being less calculated to awaken the prejudices and to call forth the opposition of the priests and people, we are persuaded that in practice it will generally prove unsuccessful. To reform corrupt churches will be found a more arduous task than to make individual converts out of them, and to form these into scriptural churches.[1]

Though Mr Wilson and Mr Lowndes occupied different fields of labour, yet both directed their chief efforts to one and the same object, the evangelization of the Greeks. The press was a principal means which they employed for this end. Besides school-books, catechisms, and religious tracts, they translated and printed several large works; as, Doddridge's Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul, Bogue's Essay on the Divine Authority of the New Testament, Mason on Self-Knowledge, Scott's Essays, Keith's Evidences of Prophecy, The Clergyman's Guide. These works, and also copies of the Scriptures in modern Greek, the Italian, the Albanian, and other languages, they circulated very extensively. For this purpose they made tours through Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, and others of the Ionian Islands, in continental Greece, and some of the islands of the Ægean sea. Copies of the works printed by them also found their way into Asia Minor, Cyprus, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Italy, Sicily, and the coast of Barbary. Mr Lowndes also compiled and published an Anglo-Greek grammar, an English and modern Greek lexicon, and a modern Greek and English lexicon. He likewise translated into modern Greek Gesenius'

[1] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 98; Ibid. 1820, p. 73; Ibid. 1823, p. 88; Wilson's Narrative, p. 73, 493.

Hebrew Lexicon, which, it was hoped, might be useful in reviving among the Greek clergy the study of the Hebrew language.[1]

Messrs Lowndes and Wilson also endeavoured to promote the cause of education among the Greeks. Considerable efforts were made, both by individuals and by societies, particularly by the British and Foreign School Society, to promote education in the Ionian Islands; and it is much to the credit of successive British governors, or lord high commissioners, as they are styled, that they gave every encouragement to measures for this end. The government was, in fact, the great promoter of education in the Ionian Islands. In October 1835, Mr Lowndes was appointed inspector-general of schools in the Ionian Islands, including every department of education except the university; and when the office was abolished a few years afterwards, he was appointed a member of the Commission for Public Instruction, an office which afforded him, in some respects, still greater facilities for advancing the leading objects of his mission. The Ionian University in Corfu, founded by Lord Guildford, and the Lyceum preparatory to it, formed a separate and higher department of public instruction. From the favourable influence of education, the general state of society in the Ionian Islands was much improved, as compared with what it was some years before.[2]

It does not appear, however, that the mission was productive of any material results among the Greeks in a religious point of view. Much seed was sown, but hitherto there has been little appearance of fruit. For some years Mr Lowndes preached frequently in the Greek language; but in consequence of the hostile influence of the clergy, he refrained latterly from this, still availing himself, however, of opportunities of conversing with the people on the things belonging to their everlasting

[1] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1823, p. 88, 90; Ibid. 1824, p. 97, 99; Ibid. 1825, p. 114, 116; Ibid. 1827, p. 82; Ibid. 1830, p. 69; Ibid. 1832, p. 79; Ibid. 1833, p. 71; Ibid. 1834, p. 79; Ibid. 1837, p. 90; Ibid. 1843, p. 83; Wilson's Narrative, p. 249.

From 1825 to 1834, Mr Wilson printed in Malta for insular and continental Greece upwards of 132,000 copies of various works, from the value of a halfpenny to a quarto size. These were beside the works printed by Mr Lowndes in Corfu.

[2] Evan. Mag. 1836, p. 38; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1838, p. 79; Ibid. 1839, p. 71; Ibid. 1841, p. 75; Wilson's Narrative, p. 503, 516.

peace. The books circulated by the missionaries were formerly received by the Greeks with considerable eagerness, but of late years they shewed themselves more indifferent in regard to them.[1]

In 1844, the mission in the Ionian Islands was given up by the London Missionary Society, in consequence of its funds not being equal to its expenditure; but Mr Lowndes entered into the service of the British and Foreign Bible Society, as one of its agents in the Mediterranean, so that he was still engaged in one department of the same great work in which he had been for so many years employed.[2]

Besides the missions of which we have given an account, the London Missionary Society sent missionaries to the Bullom shore, near Sierra Leone, to the Mauritius, to Siberia, to Ceylon, to Amboyna, to Tobago, to Trinidad, to Jamaica, and to various other quarters, but most of these have long been given up; some of them were, in fact, of only short continuance, and as they furnish few details of special interest different from other missions, we do not think it necessary to give any particular account of them.

[1] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1828, p. 59; Ibid. 1829, p. 65; Ibid. 1836, p. 77; Ibid. 1839, p. 70; Ibid. 1841, p. 74.

[2] Evan. Mag. 1844, p. 608; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1845, p. 98; Rep. Brit. and For. Bible Soc. 1845, p. 95.

# CHAPTER X.

## PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

### SECT. I.—WESTERN AFRICA.

#### ART. 1.—SUSOO COUNTRY.

IN April 1799, the Church Missionary Society, consisting of members of the Church of England, was instituted in London. It was a considerable time, however, before the committee commenced their operations, but having at length obtained two missionaries from Germany, they resolved to undertake a mission to the Susoo country, in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone.[1]

In March 1804, the Rev. Messrs Renner and Hartwig sailed from England, and after an agreeable voyage of about five weeks, they reached Sierra Leone in safety. Agreeably to their instructions, they took up their residence for the present in Freetown, with the view of inuring themselves to the climate, in a situation where, in case of necessity, medical help could readily be obtained; and, as the colony had long been without a regular chaplain, Mr Renner, in the mean while, undertook the charge of its spiritual concerns. Mr Hartwig and his wife were attacked soon after their arrival by the seasoning fever, and both were so ill, that they appeared to be near the gates of death. Their illness lasted many months, and they had a new attack the following year. Hartwig himself fell into a course of grievous backsliding, and his wife found it necessary to return to England.[2]

[1] Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, vol. i. p. 220; Missionary Register, 1845, p. 53.

[2] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. i. p. 433; vol. ii. p. 52, 190, 319.

In February 1806, Messrs Butscher, Nylander, and Prasse, three other missionaries, embarked for Sierra Leone. They had not, however, sailed above a week, when they were stranded on the coast of Ireland. In the middle of the night, they were awaked out of a profound sleep by an alarming cry "We are lost, we are lost!" Instantly they sprung upon deck; but owing to the darkness of the night, they knew not where they were. In the mean while, the vessel was driven nearer the land, and though the sails were taken in, it seemed as if she would every moment go to pieces. When the morning dawned, they discovered they were not far from a rock, against which, had they struck, they must inevitably have perished. Having now procured assistance from shore, they all landed in safety, and were treated by the inhabitants in the most hospitable manner. After meeting with various other disappointments, they again embarked for Sierra Leone; but owing to the death of the captain at Madeira, several months elapsed before they reached Freetown.[1]

In March 1808, Messrs Renner, Butscher, and Prasse, proceeded to the Susoo country, where a slave trader, of the name of Curtis, assigned them a factory belonging to him at a place called Bashia, on condition that they would teach his children. The house consisted of two stories, was about sixty feet long and twenty broad. It was built chiefly of country brick, and there were several other houses attached to it. The gardens also were extensive, and contained abundance of lemon, plantain, pine, and other trees. The surrounding country was hilly, but the prospect was pleasant, especially opposite the settlement, where hundreds of palm-trees presented a charming view. Besides this station at Bashia, the missionaries established another, named Canoffee, at a place a short way further up the country.[2]

Being now settled in the Susoo country, the missionaries directed their chief attention to the education of the young. It was the wish of the Society, that, after acquiring the Susoo tongue, they should teach the children to read their own language; but as those who were intrusted to their care were all

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. ii. p. 53, 56, 94, 185.
[2] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 195, 461, 465, 500.

sent for the express purpose of learning "the White man's book," to which their parents chiefly looked for rendering them superior to others of their countrymen, they found it necessary to acquiesce in their wishes, and to employ themselves principally in teaching them the English language. Some of the scholars were the sons of chiefs, whose goodwill was thereby secured to the mission, and several of them were ransomed from slavery by the missionaries. Such of them as belonged to traders, were supported by their parents; but the children of the Susoos it was necessary to furnish with food and clothing, as well as to educate them. The missionaries, with great liberality, proposed to maintain them out of their salaries, but the number increased so much, that this was beyond their power. Renner and Butscher, however, still offered to live on one half of their salary, and to devote the other half, amounting to £100 a year, to this benevolent purpose; thus furnishing a striking proof of their disinterestedness and zeal in the sacred cause in which they were engaged.[1]

In December 1812, Mr Butscher, who had come to England for the purpose of communicating full information to the Society with respect to the state of the mission, sailed again for Africa on board the brig Charles, with eight other persons, several of whom were mechanics, and an investment of stores, amounting nearly to £3000. Soon after they passed the island of Goree, and when they were flattering themselves with the hope of arriving in the Rio Pongas in three or four days, the vessel struck upon a reef of the Tongui rocks, about five miles from the shore, and twenty miles south of the river Gambia. Most of the passengers were then in bed, but they were soon roused by the violence of the shock. Every one hastened upon deck, some half naked, and others lightly dressed. It was then dark, and as the vessel beat violently upon the rocks, they expected every moment that she would go to pieces. When the morning dawned, however, they were happy to discover the land so near; but as they failed in all their attempts to bring her off the reef, the captain, after some days, asked Mr Butscher to proceed to Goree with the view of procuring assistance from that island, and to bring, if possible, a vessel to save the cargo. He accord-

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. iii. p. 58, 87, 395.

ingly set off, together with his wife and several others of his companions, and on arriving at Goree, he procured a brig to go to the relief of the Charles. In the mean while, however, the captain and one of the passengers were killed in an affray with the natives; while the rest of those on board fled to Goree, in a small vessel which had been assisting them; the ship was then taken possession of by the natives, and they were now discharging the cargo. Thus the missionaries lost nearly all the property they were carrying with them; but they soon after found an opportunity of proceeding to the place of their destination.[1]

It is not unworthy of notice, that of the six lay assistants who accompanied Mr Butscher to Africa, there remained only one at the end of eighteen months. The history of one of them, named Meyer, holds forth a striking warning to candidates for missionary labours, to examine narrowly their Christian character, and to weigh well their motives, before they embark in a service which requires so much patience, and self-denial, and deadness to the world. Previous to his departure from England he appeared a pious man, and on his arrival in Africa he at first conducted himself with propriety. It was not long, however, before he began to indulge in worldly views. Having married a young woman, the daughter of a slave trader, he was tempted to listen to the flattering proposals of her father, who promised to establish him in business at Sierra Leone, and to provide him with a vessel for trading in the rivers along the coast. He now began to neglect his work, absented himself from family worship, spent most of the week, and generally the Lord's day, with his father-in-law, and behaved in a surly quarrelsome manner to the whole missionary family. After one of his paroxysms of anger he was seized with a fever, and next day his father-in-law sent a canoe to bring him to his house. Here he became very ill, and was for a long time confined to bed. After his recovery he repeatedly visited the missionaries, and one day declared his intention to return to Bashia, as his father-in-law was very unkind to him. He was prevented, however, by death from executing his design. After dinner he proceeded homewards, contrary to the persuasions of the mis-

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. iii. p. 387, 461; Missionary Register, vol. i. p. 145, 149, 267.

sionaries, who were anxious that he should remain over the night, as from the appearance of the sky they were apprehensive of a tornado. By the way the storm overtook him. He was drenched to the skin by the rain, and was thrown into such a violent fever that it was with difficulty he reached home. His disorder now increased so rapidly that after three days he breathed his last. Scarcely was his body laid in the grave, when the old slave trader, his father-in-law, drew a bill for £200, which he insisted on the missionaries accepting; on account of the expenses which he pretended to have been at with him, and as they of course refused so unreasonable a demand, he retained all the articles which Meyer had taken with him.[1]

In February 1814, the Governor of Sierra Leone ordered three armed vessels up the Rio Pongas, to bring off the slave traders who remained in that part of the country, or to destroy their factories, as they still persisted in carrying on a smuggling trade in slaves, notwithstanding all the means he had employed to prevent it. The ships engaged in this nefarious traffic entered the river, delivered their cargoes, and in the short space of twenty-four hours, were laden with slaves, and took their departure. By this means, the traders effectually eluded detection, and nothing promised to put a period to their proceedings but rooting them out of the country. In this expedition the armed vessels destroyed about twelve factories, and recovered about three hundred slaves; but they were careful not to injure the Susoos, and even treated them in the most friendly manner. Notwithstanding this, however, the natives, as well as the traders, were terribly enraged against the missionaries, as they imagined it was they who gave information to the governor at Sierra Leone of the slave vessels which arrived in the river, and incited him to send armed ships to destroy the factories.[2] They had often menaced them with the whole weight of their vengeance; and they had of late threatened to set Bashia on fire. Repeated attempts were now made to burn

[1] Miss. Reg. vol. ii. p. 507; vol. iii. p. 14.

[2] These suspicions were without foundation. It was a standing rule with the missionaries, not to correspond on this subject with any one, either in Sierra Leone or in England, not even with the Society, except merely noticing the smuggling vessels which occasionally visited the coast.—*Walker's Missions in Western Africa of the Church Missionary Society*, p. 273, 277.

both the missionary settlements, and, unhappily, they proved but too successful. One day, some persons set on fire the grass in a field near Canoffee: the flames consumed the dry combustible with great rapidity, and toward evening approached the settlement. About eleven o'clock, they were within about two hundred yards of the place; and therefore Mr Wenzel, the missionary, who had sat up to watch their progress, called the children to rise and remove into the middle of the yard some grass which was designed for the thatching of a church they were then building: and as the dews had now fallen, and the fire was not so violent as before, he sent them to extinguish it in order to remove all further cause of uneasiness. About two o'clock in the morning, Mr Wenzel rose to see that the flames had not again kindled. Every thing was then perfectly safe: the fire was entirely extinguished, the children asleep, and their apartment dark. He, therefore, lay down again; but scarcely had ten minutes elapsed, when he heard the boys in the yard crying, "Master, Master!" Upon this he sprung out of bed, and ran into the yard. There he met the children crying their apartment was all light. On entering it, he beheld the flames ascending to the roof: they had already made so much progress, that it was impossible to quench them, or to save any thing. He hastened to the dwelling-house, and ordered the most valuable articles to be removed with the utmost expedition. On returning into the yard, he found the flames had burst forth with great violence, and were ascending in one column of fire along the whole extent of the building. He now stood for a moment to observe whether it was in the direction of the dwelling-house; but as it arose almost in a straight line, he countermanded his former order, and directed that nothing should be removed from the house, as he was afraid the people might steal more than would be saved. He then went with the boys, and removed every thing of a combustible nature near the fire, particularly the thatch, of which there were nearly six hundred bundles in the yard. In the mean while, the violence of the flames abated, and happily they did not touch the dwelling-house, though the heat was so intense that it was scarcely possible to pass between the fire and the house. Still, however, the loss was very considerable. Mr Meisner, one of the

lay settlers, saved nothing but a single trunk: his wife was obliged to escape covered only with a blanket. Besides other articles, the whole of the children's bedclothes, tables, benches, chairs, books, slates, and other things connected with a school, were burnt to ashes. Providentially, however, no lives were lost. At the moment the fire began, the children were all asleep; but, happily, a little of the burning grass fell from the roof on the face of one of the scholars, who instantly gave the alarm, and thus all escaped in safety.[1]

Previous to this, one of the houses at Bashia had been set on fire; but a still calm prevented the flames from communicating to the other buildings. The diabolical attempt was afterwards renewed with more success. One Saturday evening, the cry of fire was heard in the yard, and though it had as yet made no great progress, it spread so rapidly, that the hope of extinguishing it was vain. Mr Renner, assisted by the servants and the elder boys, attempted to save some parts of their property; but the danger became at last so imminent, that they all forsook him, and a cry was raised that the roof was falling. He, therefore, hastened down on a mangrove beam, and shortly after the house fell in. The house of Mr Wilhelm, another of the missionaries, caught fire from the mere heat of Renner's, and so rapid was the conflagration, that in a quarter of an hour, both were consumed. Next day was the Sabbath, but there was no Sabbath in Bashia. Such was the confusion of their minds, they could not sing the Lord's song. The influx of strangers was also very troublesome: some came to pity, others to deride them. Early on Monday morning, the cry of fire was again heard. Mr Renner at first could scarcely believe his own ears, but jumping up, he saw the school-house on fire, notwithstanding there had been a watch of twenty people in the yard. This reduced the missionaries to greater distress than ever. They had now to lodge the boys in the ruins of their house, fixing some palm leaves on the standing walls, as a temporary roof. Some months afterwards, the church at this place was set on fire; but though the roof was consumed, the rest of the building was preserved. There can be little doubt that these successive fires were kindled by incendiaries. It seemed

[1] Miss. Reg. vol. ii. p. 483, 489, 495.

to be the intention of their enemies, not to leave them a house to shelter them from the sun by day, or the dews by night.[1]

In January 1815, the Rev. Mr Sperrhacken, accompanied by several other assistants, among whom was Mrs Hartwig, who was returning to Africa to join her husband, sailed from Cork for Sierra Leone, with an investment of stores to the amount of £3000. It is truly affecting to think of the havoc which death quickly made among them, and others connected with the mission. A few days after their landing, Mr Hartwig arrived in the colony extremely ill of dropsy. He was one of the first missionaries whom the Society sent to Africa; but he had not been long in the country, when he indulged in conduct inconsistent with his profession as a Christian and a missionary. His connection with the mission had been dissolved for a number of years; but he had of late professed contrition for his errors, and though it was not deemed expedient to receive him in the capacity of a missionary, until by a series of consistent conduct he had evinced the sincerity of his repentance; yet, as in the course of his wanderings among the Susoos, he had acquired a superior knowledge of their language, he was appointed to prepare elementary books, and to begin a translation of the New Testament in that dialect. His wife, who had left Africa some years before on account of the state of her health, and had hitherto been deterred from returning by his irregular conduct, was now encouraged to go back by these symptoms of repentance. She arrived, however, only to close his eyes in death. Their meeting seemed to revive his spirits, and though extremely ill, he was for the first two or three days very cheerful and happy. He often acknowledged the mercy of God in conducting her again to Africa, saying, he thought she was sent to him as an angel from heaven. He spoke of his past departure from the faith, yet acknowledged that the Lord had never given him up to a reprobate mind, and that the stings of conscience used to be like a hook in his heart. After enjoying the kind attentions of his affectionate wife for about a week, he breathed his last, and it is hoped, found mercy with Him whose bowels yearn with compassion over the returning backslider.[2]

[1] Miss. Reg. vol. ii. p. 410; vol. iii. p. 273, 603; vol. iv. p. 195.

[2] Miss. Reg. vol. iii. p. 2, 270, 318; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. ii. p. 319; vol. iv. p. 552.

Mrs Hartwig had not long to mourn the loss of her husband. After his death she opened a school for young girls; but within less than two months she was attacked by the yellow fever, and died after an illness of four days. Other three weeks had not elapsed when Mrs Butscher died of the same disorder, and her youngest child soon after followed her to the grave. Mrs Schultz, the wife of another missionary, who had lately arrived, was next seized with the fever, and after being ill about eleven days was delivered of a child; but the same evening she departed into the world of spirits. Next day the infant died. It was laid in the arms of its mother, and buried in the same tomb. Mr Schultz himself was so ill at the time, that he was unable to accompany their remains to the burying-ground; and in less than a fortnight, he followed them to the grave. Three weeks more had scarcely elapsed when his fellow-missionary Mr Sperrhacken, was also removed out of the world. A few days after his infant child died; and his wife was at the same time very ill, but she, it appears, recovered.[1]

Here we cannot but remark, that the mortality which occurred among the missionaries on the western coast of Africa was truly appalling. From the commencement of the mission, upwards of thirty individuals connected with it, including men, women, and children, fell victims, chiefly, we apprehend, to the insalubrity of the climate. No sooner, in some instances, did new labourers arrive, than one after another sickened and died. How far it is the duty of missionary societies to undertake or even to persevere in missions, especially on an extensive scale, to countries which occasion so immense a sacrifice of human life, appears to us very questionable, at least, while there remain entirely unoccupied so many other parts of the globe, which present equal, or even more promising, fields of usefulness. In the one case, many valuable men, and all the sums expended in educating them and sending them forth to the heathen, are soon for ever lost to the world; in the other, they might in all likelihood be spared for years to come, and the expense incurred on their account be amply repaid in the usefulness of their labours.

In January 1816, the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, the assistant-

[1] Miss. Reg. vol. iii. p. 388, 452, 568; vol. iv. p. 118, 404.

secretary of the Society, sailed from England for Sierra Leone, with the view of visiting the missionary settlements in that neighbourhood, of investigating their circumstances, and of making such arrangements as might seem best adapted to promote their prosperity. On his arrival at Bashia, it was deemed expedient to abandon that settlement, partly on account of the frequent attempts which had been made to burn it, several of which were supposed to originate with a person claiming the ground, partly on account of its vicinity to a native town, which exposed the children to numerous temptations. They were therefore removed to Canoffee, where it was hoped all the objects of the mission might be attained.[1]

Hitherto the missionaries had confined their attention to the education of children, and had made no attempt to preach the gospel in the native towns, partly from a mistaken idea that little success was to be expected with the adults in a country where the slave trade had ruined the morals and debauched the feelings of the inhabitants, partly from a combination of other causes. In consequence, however, of the representations of Mr Bickersteth, they now began to visit some of the neighbouring villages for the purpose of preaching to the people. They were at first received with all that pleasure and cordiality which novelty commonly produces. The inhabitants of one town immediately built a place of worship, and two other villages promised to follow their example. No sooner, however, was the edge of novelty worn off than they grew tired of hearing the gospel, and had always some apology or another for neglecting to attend divine worship.[2]

In 1818, the mission to the Susoo country was relinquished, after a long and severe struggle with difficulties of no ordinary kind, most of them arising out of the iniquitous traffic in slaves. It may appear to us a singular circumstance that the inhabitants of Africa should cling to that as a blessing which we had abolished as her greatest curse; but the fact is, the slave trade had from time immemorial been the main support of the Susoos, and the destruction of the slave factories had stopped the whole trade of the country. This could, therefore, scarcely fail to be

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. v. p. 163, 166.

[2] Ibid. vol. iii. 231; vol. v. p. 179; Miss. Reg. vol. v. p. 390, 529.

felt as a serious evil, until some other profitable traffic was established in its room. The abolition of the slave trade had already begun to operate very beneficially in promoting industry, diminishing the number of trials for witchcraft, establishing personal security, reviving mutual confidence, increasing sobriety, and checking quarrels; but yet the chiefs and others who used to be enriched by it were now reduced to poverty: they had no means of disposing of their produce, and of obtaining even a pinch of snuff or a smoke of tobacco. Unhappily, the restoration of peace in Europe proved the signal for renewing the miseries of Africa: the right of searching ships having ceased, the traffic in slaves again commenced. The chiefs hailed with delight the appearance of slave vessels on their shores, and, on a short notice, supplied them with cargoes of slaves in exchange for tobacco, gunpowder, and rum. This operated like a moral blast, checking the progress of improvement, and spreading idleness, disorder, and misery through the whole country.[1]

It was evident that the chiefs had received and protected the missionaries merely for the sake of the trade carried on at each of the settlements, and the presents they expected from them, not with a view to any advantages of a moral or religious nature. Most of the natives seemed to have no idea of any benefit to be derived from White men, except rum, tobacco, and gunpowder. But as any traffic carried on by the missionaries was on a small scale, it had long been a complaint against them, that they made no trade and did no good to the country. They were considered, indeed, not only as useless, but as positively injurious. A man-of-war having about this time come up the river and captured an American slave-ship, the Susoos became much exasperated against them in consequence of this circumstance. Though the missionaries scrupulously avoided interfering in matters of this kind, yet the people laid the whole blame on them, especially as, when they came and demanded powder from them to fight the man-of-war, they refused, saying, that if the Foulahs or any other enemy should invade the country, they would give them all the powder in their store; but they could not give them any to attack the English, who

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. v. p. 167; Miss. Reg. vol. iv. p. 143; vol. x. p. 283.

were their friends. In consequence of these circumstances the enmity to them was almost universal. Some were for burning them out of the country; others were for plundering them; others proposed to murder them; but, through the firmness of two of the chiefs, they were for the present preserved from molestation. Considering these circumstances, the general dissatisfaction of the Susoos with their residence in the country, and the perilous nature of their situation, combined with the little prospect of success while the slave-trade continued, and the more promising field of labour which presented itself in Sierra Leone, the missionaries abandoned the settlement of Canoffee, and retired with the greater part of the children to that colony.[1]

## Art. 2.—Sierra Leone.

We have seen the slave trade blasting the prospects of the Church Missionary Society in the Susoo country. We are now to behold it opening to them an important field of usefulness in Sierra Leone. After the abolition of this nefarious traffic, multitudes of negroes captured in smuggling vessels were brought to Freetown. Most of them being at a distance from their native land, they were settled in villages in different parts of the colony, and were supplied with food and clothing at the expense of the British government, until they were able to provide the necessaries of life for themselves. Among these recaptured slaves were hundreds of children, who were in a most wretched and forlorn condition, without father, or mother, or friend.[2]

With the view of providing for these destitute children, the Church Missionary Society resolved to form an establishment, on an extensive scale, in the neighbourhood of Freetown, where they might be supported and educated, formed to habits of industry, and trained to useful occupations. For this purpose the government made them a grant of land on Leices-

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. v. p. 165, 169; Miss. Reg. vol. v. 161, 528; vol. vi. p. 231, 234.

[2] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. iv. p. 542; vol. v. p. 174.

ter Mountain, a part of the range of hills which rises behind Freetown, and which, on account of its elevation, was considered as more healthy than the low country. Here Mr Butscher proceeded to erect the necessary buildings, to clear the land, and to plant it with cassada, Indian corn, and other vegetable productions. In these operations the children afforded their assistance, and, to stimulate their industry, every boy had a little spot to himself. It was one of the rules of the institution, that the children should be engaged in useful labour one half of the day, and be instructed in school the other. Such was the plan on which this establishment was originally conducted; but it was afterwards judged advisable to change it into a seminary, in which a number of the more promising youths might receive a superior education, with the view of being qualified to act as Christian teachers among their own countrymen, or to fill responsible situations in the colony; and after some years it was removed from Leicester Mountain to Regent's Town, one of the villages of captured negroes, where it was carried on, on a still further reduced scale.[1]

Besides the Christian Institution, as it was called, the Church Missionary Society established schools and other means of instruction in several of the towns of recaptured negroes. It deserves to be recorded to the honour of the British government, that in the plans which the Society formed for the amelioration of Africa, it not only afforded them every encouragement, but bore part of the salaries of the missionaries and schoolmasters, and for every child above two hundred in the Christian Institution on Leicester Mountain, agreed to pay the annual sum of five pounds. It was also at the expense of establishing schools in Freetown and the neighbourhood. Sir Charles Macarthy, Governor of Sierra Leone, likewise deserves the highest praise for the uniform countenance and the important aid which he afforded the missionaries in their various labours.[2]

The education of the children in the villages of the liberated negroes, was the principal object which the missionaries origi-

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. iv. p. 542; vol. v. p. 172, 422; vol. vii. p. 82; vol. viii. p. 99; vol. ix. p. 85; Miss. Reg. vol. iv. p. 193; vol. v. p. 480.

[2] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. v. p. 175; Miss. Reg. vol. iv. p. 362; vol. v. p. 253, 484.

nally had in view; but they afterwards extended their attention to the adult population; and their labours among them appeared to be attended with very gratifying success.

In June 1816, Mr Johnson proceeded to Regent's Town, but he was exceedingly discouraged at first by the character and condition of the people. Here were collected the natives of more than twenty different countries; and a considerable number of these had been but lately liberated from the holds of slave vessels: they were greatly prejudiced against one another, and in a state of continual hostility, with no common medium of intercourse except a little broken English. When clothing was given them, it was difficult to get them to wear it: they either sold it or threw it away. None of them on their arrival appeared to live in a state of matrimony; all the blessings of the married state and of female purity appeared to be unknown among them. In some huts, ten of them were crowded together; in others fifteen and twenty: many of them were ghastly as skeletons; six or eight sometimes died in a day, and only six infants were born during one year. Superstition in various forms was prevalent among them; many devils' houses sprung up, and all of them had implicit confidence in a species of charms they call gregrees. Scarcely any desire of improvement was discernible among them: for a considerable time, there were hardly five or six acres of land brought under cultivation, and some who wished to cultivate the soil were deterred from doing so by the fear of being plundered of the produce. Some lived in the woods apart from society; others subsisted by theft and plunder; and not a few of them, particularly those of the Ebo nation, the most savage of the whole, preferred any kind of refuse meat, to the rations which were served out to them by order of government.

When Mr Johnson first went among them, and informed them that he had come to tell them how they might be saved, they paid little attention to him; and on the following Sabbath, to his great mortification, only nine people came, and even these were almost naked. Afterwards the number increased considerably. Frequently, however, when he had warned them to flee from the wrath to come, he had the mortification, after the service, of receiving visits from some of his hearers,

either to be paid for attending, or to be rewarded on some other account. Mr Johnson's labours increased, as more negroes were landed from slave vessels. He had to provide for a thousand individuals to whom he issued rations twice a week; but he met with so many difficulties among them, that he was often on the point of abandoning the work.

But though Mr Johnson was often much discouraged by the circumstances of the people, he had not laboured many months among them, when several of them began to inquire what they should do to be saved, and, in a short time, he baptized a considerable number of them. Old and young now became concerned about their souls, and as new negroes were brought to the settlement, many of them also were brought under religious impressions. The young people were observed retiring into the woods for prayer; and the mountains were heard, by moonlight, to echo with the hymns of little groups of them assembled in different places. Many and most pleasing were the evidences of piety given by the negroes; their diligent attention to the means of grace; their deep convictions of their sinfulness and misery; their grateful acknowledgments of the divine forbearance and mercy; their watchful jealousy over their own hearts; their inward conflicts with corruption; their tenderness of conscience; their faith and patience under afflictions; their benevolence to their fellow-creatures; their love to the souls of their relatives; their cultivation of domestic happiness; their docility, integrity, and industry. In expressing the feelings of their hearts, their language was characterized by much simplicity, and though very plain, was often very impressive and very delightful.[1]

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. vii. p. 86, 92; vol. viii. p. 87, 245; Miss. Reg. vol. v. p. 256, 481; vol. vi. p. 343; vol. vii. p. 323; vol. ix. p. 288, 294; vol. x. p. 161, 289; vol. xi. p. 312.

Though the following circumstance did not occur at Regent but at Charlotte Town, we may here introduce it, as illustrative of the spirit of the negroes at both places. "I had occasion one evening," says Mr Taylor, "to speak sharply to one of the communicants, who had been led away by covetousness to commit an act dishonourable to the gospel, and for which I forbade his attendance at the Saturday evening meeting. The next morning he looked very sorrowful, and his swollen eyes testified how he had been employed all night. In the afternoon he came to my wife, begging her to intreat for his admittance at the evening meeting. 'Suppose somebody,' said he, 'have a child, and that child do bad and he punish him, he no turn him out of his house—he must keep him in his house. Me do bad, for true—Massa been punish me very

The people were at the same time greatly improved in their outward circumstances. The town was laid out with regularity; nineteen streets were formed, with good roads round the village, a large stone church, a government house, a parsonage house, school-houses, store-houses, an hospital, a bridge of several arches, some native dwellings, and other buildings, all of stone, were erected. The people had gardens attached to each dwelling; all the land in the immediate neighbourhood was under cultivation, and pieces of land to the distance of three miles. They raised cassada, plantains, cocoa, yams, coffee, Indian corn, bananas, oranges, limes, pine-apples, guavas, papaws. No less than 4050 bushels of cocoa, and near 10,000 bushels of cassada, were sold to government in one year. Besides cultivating the ground, many of them were masons, bricklayers, carpenters, sawyers, blacksmiths, and other trades. In these various ways a large proportion of the negroes maintained themselves, and had relieved the government from all expense on their account. The appearance and manners of the people were at the same time greatly improved. They were all now decently clothed, and most of the adult population were regularly married. Formerly they were accustomed to spend their nights in dancing and drumming; not a drum was now left in the town, and oaths and drunkenness were unknown. The church was enlarged three or four successive times, and was regularly attended by twelve or thirteen hundred negroes, while in the school there were about five hundred scholars. Seldom, in short, has the powerful influence of Christianity in civilizing barbarians, and in imparting to them the multiplied

much; but where must I go? what must I do? When the other members and candidates came in the evening he came with them. I asked him why he came, when I had told him he should not come; but he was speechless. I read that part of the fifth chapter to the Ephesians which respects covetousness, and then left it to the other members to decide whether he should still be allowed to meet among them or not; giving them thereby an opportunity to shew what spirit they were of. I was much pleased to observe the manner in which they treated the offender, at once manifesting a hatred of sin, and pity to him who had fallen into it. One said, 'We all sinners: we know what it is to be tempted: the devil come and tempt we softly and easily; and we fall into sin before we are aware or consider the consequences.' Another spoke in a similar manner, adding, 'I hope this will be a warning to him not to go the same way again.' One was rather severe, and said that the man had been reproved for covetousness before; he was rather averse to his being retained: but he was the only one who was so inclined. He was therefore allowed still to attend."—*Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc.* vol. x. p. 74.

enjoyments of civil and social life, been so strikingly illustrated as among the liberated negroes at Regent's Town.[1]

It may easily be supposed that the arrival of new negroes, captured in slave vessels, would give rise to scenes of an interesting nature, and furnish some fine specimens of the improved feelings of the Christian converts. On one occasion of this kind, as soon as the strangers came in sight of Regent's Town, all the people ran out of their houses to meet them with loud acclamations. When they beheld them weak and faint, they laid hold of them, carried them on their backs, and brought them to Mr Johnson's house. As they lay there on the ground, faint and exhausted, many of the inhabitants recognised their friends and relatives, and there was a general cry of "O Massa! My Brother! My Sister!" "My Countryman! he live in the same town!" The poor creatures having just come out of the hold of a slave vessel did not know what to think, nor whether they should laugh or cry when they beheld those whom they had probably supposed to be dead, and whom they now saw clothed and clean, and perhaps with healthy children in their arms. The people now ran to their houses and brought them what victuals they had ready; and in a short time their unfortunate countrymen were overpowered with messes of every description. Pine-apples, oranges, and nuts were brought to them in great abundance.[2]

Though Regent's Town presented the most striking example of the powerful effects of religion among the negroes, yet several of the other villages, particularly Gloucester, Charlotte, Leopold, Kissey, and Waterloo, furnished very pleasing instances of success, both in the conversion of the negroes and in the improvement of their outward condition; but now many circumstances occurred to check the progress of the work, and even to cast a cloud over its past success.

In May 1823, Mr Johnson, whose labours at Regent's Town appeared to have been attended with so much success, died at sea on his way to England, within about a week after his embarkation. The Rev. Mr During, who had laboured for several

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. viii. p. 90; vol. x. p. 80; Miss. Reg. vol. x. p. 245, 283, 285; vol. xi. p. 311.

[2] Miss. Reg. vol. x. p. 285.

years at Gloucester station with similar appearances of success, embarked with his wife for England about four months afterwards; but the vessel was never more heard of, and it was concluded that it had foundered at sea and that all on board had perished. Nor were these the only losses which the mission sustained. Within little more than twelve months, other eight of the Society's labourers were removed by death, besides two of the chaplains of the colony. Seldom had Sierra Leone been the scene of such mortality as occurred at this time among the European inhabitants.[1]

These painful bereavements were the first serious blow to the prosperity of the mission, nor were they a solitary or temporary trial. It was one which occurred in a greater or less degree from time to time; in some cases the mortality was perfectly appalling, the agents of the Society following each other in quick succession to the grave, while of those who survived, some were obliged from the state of their health to leave the country, and to return to England, either temporarily or permanently.[2] Such circumstances could not fail to have a very injurious influence as regards the mission. In consequence of the frequent sickness and death, or removal to England, of the missionaries and teachers, incessant changes took place in the several stations; the number of labourers was quite unequal to the work

[1] Miss. Reg. 1823, p. 299, 379; Ibid. 1824, p. 140; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1824, p. 63.

Mr Bunyer died April 20. 1823; Rev. W. H. Schemel, April 25; Rev. W. Johnson, at sea, May 3; Rev. Mr Flood (chaplain), May 6; Rev. Mr Palmer (chaplain), at sea, May 8; his wife, Mrs Palmer, June 6; Mrs Bunyer, June 22; Mrs Vaughan, June 25; Rev. Mr Becknar, June 28; Mr Vaughan, November 25; Mr Pope, March 30. 1824; Mrs Schemel, June 17; to whom may be added, the Rev. Mr During and his wife, who were lost at sea.—*Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc.* 1824, p. 62.

[2] In 1825, there again occurred a great mortality among the mission families. The Rev. Charles Knight died March 20; Mrs Coney, May 1; the Rev. Henry Brook, May 4;—all of whom had arrived only the preceding February; Mrs Metzger, February 14; Mrs Gerber, May 22; the Rev. G. R. Nylander, May 23; and Mr C. Taylor, at sea, on his way to England.—*Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc.* 1826, p. 40.

In 1826, Mrs Betts died March 20; Mrs Scholding, March 28; both of whom had arrived only the preceding month; Mrs Renner, May 29; and the Rev. Mr Scholding was so much debilitated by repeated attacks of fever, that he was obliged to leave the colony, and died September 26, six days after reaching Ireland.—*Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc.* 1827, p. 63, 68.

It must not however be supposed that Sierra Leone was in all years so unhealthy. There were particular seasons which were specially sickly, and which proved peculiarly fatal to Europeans.

which required to be done; natives, who were not always competent, were of necessity employed as teachers, and frequently there was a want of teachers of any kind.[1]

Besides, the Society's agents had been requested by Sir Charles Macarthy, the governor, to act as civil superintendents of the villages of liberated Africans under their care. This proved a heavy tax on their time and attention; and partly perhaps from the inadequacy of their numbers, partly from this being a kind of work for which they were not generally qualified, it appears to have been done very imperfectly; or at all events, when commissioners were employed by government in 1826 to investigate the state of the colony, they found the liberated negroes in a very unsatisfactory condition, so that it would appear they had greatly retrograded, in certain of the villages at least, from what they were some years before. Even the population was much diminished, and many of the houses were deserted and going to ruin.[2] Indeed, such were the character and habits of the poor creatures, that the commissioners and others apprehended that nothing short of some measure of

[1] Miss. Reg. 1825, p. 311, 340; Ibid. 1828, p. 13; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1826, p. 48.

[2] "It is," the Commissioners say, "with deep regret that we state it as our conscientious opinion, that the progress hitherto made towards the civilization of the liberated Africans, as exemplified in their present habits and condition, fall infinitely short of what might have been reasonably expected from the liberal means dedicated to this benevolent undertaking; but the great object to be accomplished was new, and difficulties, therefore, presented themselves, which should not be lost sight of in appreciating the exertions made for its attainment. That these exertions have not been attended with greater success may, in part, be attributed to the eagerness with which it was endeavoured *prematurely* to produce results, which, however desirable, *could be attained only by the continued operation of adequate means judiciously and perseveringly applied.* This does not seem to have been sufficiently considered, and hence it is that the good really obtained bears so small a proportion to that which it was attempted to effect."—*Parliamentary Papers and Abstracts during the Session* 1826-7, p. 112.

We are not to conclude from the Report of the Commissioners, that the accounts given by the missionaries a few years before were without foundation, or that they were even essentially exaggerated, or beyond the *aspect* of things at the time. They might be given prematurely, before they were long enough and sufficiently tested, and there might not be all the caution and discrimination exercised which were desirable. But we find strong testimonies to the progress of the negroes, not only by the missionaries but by various other independent authorities.—*Walker's Church of England Mission in Sierra Leone*, p. 119, 120, 137, 140, 143, 153; *Miss. Reg.* 1823, p. 264. We are, therefore, disposed to conclude that this is just an example of the changing aspect of missions which is so frequent, particularly among barbarous tribes.

coercion was likely to effect any material improvement in their condition.[1]

It was also a very unfavourable circumstance as regards the progress of the people, that every year brought a large accession to the numbers of captured negroes in the colony. About 20,000 had already been introduced into it, and there was lately, in one year, no fewer than 2400, forming an addition of nearly one-eighth to the previous numbers. Such a perpetual influx of new comers had a retrograding influence on the state of civilization and on the progress of religion in the colony, as they brought with them not only their native character and habits, but many demoralizing and heathenish practices, which found a ready response in the hearts of their countrymen, and were but too commonly followed by them.[2]

Indeed, from the number of captured slaves who were annually brought into the colony, the arrangements, in the opinion of General Turner, the present governor, which had been made for their improvement, became every day more inadequate. They were already a large and unwieldy mass of people, and it was matter of serious consideration how they were to be disposed of, and how they were to maintain themselves. Under the arrangements hitherto prevailing, they had been distributed into villages where they were for years supported in comparative idleness at the expense of government. They were partly employed, indeed, in public works, or in cultivating the ground on their own account; but as the former no longer gave them occupation, and as the poor land around their villages began already to refuse them a scanty subsistence, many of them wandered in search of a better soil and easier sustenance. The system which had hitherto prevailed, instead of promoting, had retarded their improvement. Indolence was its natural result, and those who lived in the villages could with difficulty be induced to give a day's labour even for good wages. It was also a great defect, that there had never, so far as appears, been a person in any of the villages who had the slightest knowledge

[1] Miss. Reg. 1828, p. 20, 22, 27, 29, 30; Parliamentary Abstracts during the Session of 1826, p. 183, 185; Ibid. 1826-7, p. 112.

[2] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1840, p. 36; Parliamentary Abstracts during the Session of 1826, p. 183.

of either European or tropical husbandry, and who might by precept and example teach the negroes how they might best cultivate the soil. Under such disadvantages, it is no wonder that cultivation made but little progress. It was, however, high time that there should be a change in the system, and that the people should be thrown more on their own resources.[1]

In January 1827, Sir Niel Campbell, who had lately come out as governor of the colony, made an entire change in the arrangements for the education of the captured African children, which he conceived might be placed on a more economical footing, and yet be rendered more efficient in forming them to habits of industry. Hitherto, all the children, except those who lived with their parents, were placed under the entire care and control of the Church Society's agents from the time of their being landed from the slave ships. In this way it was hoped they would be preserved from the contaminating example of their heathen countrymen, while they would have religious knowledge early instilled into their minds, and be trained up under its influence; but now their education was taken entirely out of the hands of the missionaries, except that they were still to be at liberty to visit the schools and to examine the children in the various branches of learning taught in them. Persons of colour only were to be employed as teachers, and new arrangements were also made as to the maintenance and employment of the children.[2]

By the new arrangements, the Society's agents were relieved from the civil superintendence of the villages, which had long been a burden to them, withdrawing their time and attention from their proper duties, exhausting their strength and spirits, and exposing them in some instances to unmerited reproach. Indeed, whatever might be the benefits which the mission derived from government in the way of support, they appear to have been greatly overbalanced by the evils resulting from that connection.[3]

But while relieved from these embarrassing engagements, the

[1] Parliamentary Abstracts during the Session of 1826, p. 183; Ibid. 1826–7, p. 110; Miss. Reg. 1825, p. 274.

[2] Miss. Reg. 1828, p. 15.

[3] Ibid. 1828, p. 20, 21.

missionaries found themselves so fettered by the regulations as to the schools, that after various ineffectual attempts to get them altered, they were convinced that they could not take part in the new system with any prospect of success. They, therefore, withdrew from all connection with the government schools, and established others at the expense of the Society wherever they had the means of efficiently conducting and superintending them. These were at first few in number; but in the course of years, the system of education carried on by the mission was far more extensive and much more efficient than it had ever been under the old arrangement with government.[1]

Meanwhile, there was for some years a material change to the worse in the religious aspect of the mission. The people in many of the villages, including Regent's Town, which once appeared so promising, were very neglectful of public worship, and utterly careless about their souls. The Sabbath was sadly profaned by them: they might be seen on it engaged in work, washing clothes, carrying loads, &c. In some places they relapsed into their old heathenish customs, drumming, dancing, and other African practices. Some of the church members fell into grievous sins, particularly fornication and adultery; and it became necessary to lop off many decayed and withered branches, some of which had once appeared lively, and put forth blossoms, and bade fair to yield good fruit.[2] The communicants were few in number, and their conduct was in many cases; not consistent with their religious profession. Some were living under the influence of their country superstitions, trusting in their gregrees or charms, which they concealed under their clothes; and it was even believed there were instances of

[1] Miss. Reg. 1829, p. 304; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1828, p. x.; Ibid. 1847, p. xiv. 28.

[2] Examples of this kind were not confined to the negroes. In 1830, the Rev. Mr Wilhelm, in reviewing his missionary course, speaks of having "experienced at different times several most painful instances amongst our fellow-labourers in this mission of deplorable inconstancy and depravity, and of falling in the hour of temptation and trial." He had here a special reference to the recent case of the grievous fall of the Rev. Thomas Davey, who had long enjoyed the full confidence of the Committee, and who was shortly after drowned by the upsetting of his boat.—*Miss. Reg.* 1831, p. 131, 551.

their coming to the Lord's Supper with these refuges of lies hanging about their body.[1]

Many circumstances contributed to lead the liberated negroes to take up a profession of Christianity while yet ignorant of its nature and strangers to its power. Perceiving the manifest superiority of Europeans, and feeling perhaps some degree of respect and gratitude to their deliverers and benefactors, they shewed a readiness to conform to their manners, and were generally willing to adopt the outward forms of their religion, when this could be done without compliance with its spiritual requirements. The truth is, the idolatrous superstition of the African tribes has in it so little that is fixed and exclusive, that it will accord with, or even give way to, any new religion or external rites which may be presented to them. The whole heathen population of the colony would probably have been glad to press to the baptismal font, under the idea that of all gregrees baptism was the best.[2]

The countenance given by the colonial government to missionary efforts, and the long-continued combination in the missionaries of the magisterial and the ministerial functions, introduced in the early years of the mission an outward observance of the Sabbath, which gave to it the appearance of a day of sacred rest, had a pleasing and imposing effect, and passed with many as an evidence of true religion.[3]

It is also an important observation of the missionaries, that in their endeavours to convey instruction to the liberated negroes, they found them very susceptible of excitement of their feelings, leading often to a considerable agitation of their bodily frame. A style of preaching calculated to produce such effects, appeared to be greatly liked by them, and was much preferred to an appeal to their understanding. This disposition hindered them from seeking after clear views of Christian doctrine and duty, and though we do not mean to say that where these are wanting, the individual cannot be the subject of divine grace, yet we apprehend that his Christian character rests on an imperfect and insecure foundation. Even among the members, there pre-

[1] Miss. Reg. 1825, p. 21, 274; Ibid. 1832, p. 428, 430, p. 53; Ibid. 1833, p. 53; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1828, p. 39, 47, 49; Ibid. 1829, p. 50, 52, 54, 57.

[2] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1830, p. 43.

[3] Ibid. 1830, p. 43.

vailed a certain devotional phraseology, while yet from many of them it was found impossible to elicit any account of their views of the simplest truths of religion.[1]

Indeed, such was the degradation of the negro mind, that it was no easy matter to convey to it any thing like just views of divine truth. It would not be fair, however, to attribute this entirely to the stupidity of the people. The missionaries had great difficulty in understanding them, as well as in making themselves understood by them, the negroes speaking a variety of languages or dialects, while they employed only the English in communicating with them, circumstances which, in the case of any people, would have rendered it exceedingly difficult to convey to them, and for them to acquire, clear ideas on any subject.

Indeed, as the experience of the missionaries increased, they became more diffident than ever in giving favourable accounts of the success of their labours, and of the improvement of the people. Circumstances often arose to occasion a manifestation of character which they little expected, and dashed those hopes in which they had been disposed to indulge. There was not only much instability but much insincerity about the negro character.[2]

Among the causes of the grievous falls of so many of the professed converts, and of the unsteady walk of others, we may particularly notice the indolent habits of the negroes, and their love of spirituous liquors. Some appeared to have no regular or settled employment, but spent their time, for the most part, either in sauntering about the villages, or in slumbering upon their beds during the heat of the day. We must also take into account what they were in their own countries, to what customs and practices they were habituated from their earliest years, what examples of vice they had daily before their eyes in the colony, and to what temptations they were constantly exposed, circumstances which account but too naturally for many of them giving up with religion, and returning to their old courses.[3]

Here we may mention, that backsliders often expressed with tears their contrition for their past misconduct; but Mr Collins,

[1] Miss. Reg. 1830, p. 310.
[2] Ibid. 1833, p. 52.
[3] Ibid. 1834, p. 299; Ibid. 1836, p. 421.

one of the catechists, says, that experience taught him to receive their statements with extreme caution, and often to doubt the truth of their professions, even though accompanied with tears. He discovered in too many instances that their touching appeals were prepared for the occasion; and their constant repetition of them, with a copious flow of tears at each meeting, led him to fear the sincerity of their repentance.[1]

From the preceding statements, it will be seen that the mission passed through a lengthened period of great difficulties and trials; and though some of them are inherent in the nature of the undertaking, arising out of the climate of the country, and the character and condition of the people, and may consequently be expected always to attend it in a greater or less degree, yet it has of late years risen above its past difficulties and trials, and has gained a position which it never attained in its early days of greatest promise.

We have already mentioned that at an early period of the mission, a seminary was established under the name of the Christian Institution, one chief object of which was to raise up some of the more promising youths to act as Christian teachers among their own countrymen. This design was prosecuted with great patience and perseverance, but for many years with little success; it was in fact one of the most discouraging departments of the mission. From year to year, pupils were prepared and sent forth from it; but they often disappointed the expectations which were entertained of them, yielding to temptation, and departing from the path of rectitude; indeed, the premature advancement of them to the office of teachers of others, was very apt to have an injurious effect on themselves.[2]

In 1843, the Christian Institution, which was now at Fourah Bay, was placed on a more respectable and efficient footing than it ever was before, with a special view to the training up of a native ministry, chiefly as missionaries to the interior of Africa. The progress of the pupils in various branches of learning was very respectable: it was truly interesting to find the children of Africa, whom many were accustomed to consider as an inferior race of beings, making such advances in useful knowledge.

[1] Miss. Reg. 1836, p. 421.

[2] Miss. Reg. 1830, p. 310; Ibid. 1843, p. 413; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1830, p. 44.

Three of them were admitted to holy orders by the Bishop of London. The number of native teachers was also now not only much augmented, but what was of special importance, their qualifications were increased.[1]

In March 1845, a grammar school was begun at Freetown, with the view of giving a higher education to the more advanced scholars in the ordinary schools, with a view to their preparation as native teachers, or to their being received into the Christian Institution, and trained up for the ministry should they give proof of qualifications for the sacred office. It was also open to the children of any of the inhabitants of the colony, and of any chiefs of the neighbouring tribes who might choose to pay for their education. These, in fact, came to form the great majority of the scholars, including among them the sons of the most influential families in the colony.[2]

An institution was also established for giving a higher degree of education to promising native girls, with the view of preparing them for being employed as teachers of female schools. The want of such an institution had long been felt.[3] We hope it will be also useful in preparing suitable wives for the native male agents of the Society and others of the educated sons of Africa, who might otherwise be doomed to form matrimonial connections injurious to their improvement, comfort, and happiness.

Indeed, the cause of education generally appeared to be advancing in the colony. The schools were better attended than they had ever been, and were also in a state of greater efficiency;[4] yet it is painful to state, that the results of education in the colony were found, on review, not such as might have been anticipated. The missionaries had all along directed special attention to the education of the young, and some thousands of them had passed through the schools, but their progress was not to be compared with that of children in England. Hitherto the missionaries had derived their chief comfort and encouragement from observing the progress of the gospel among the adult

[1] Miss. Reg. 1846, p. 98; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1844, p. 28; Ibid. 1849, p. 66; Ibid. 1850, p. 63.

[2] Miss. Reg. 1846, p. 396; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1849, p. 66; Ibid. 1850, p. 64; Ibid. 1851, p. 77; Ibid. 1852, p. 40.

[3] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1845, p. 35. [4] Ibid. 1846, p. 41; Ibid. 1847, p. 35.

negroes; and it was matter of frequent sorrow to them, that the children of these once enslaved Africans, born in the colony, and educated in Christian schools, did not manifest much concern for their spiritual and eternal interests. As they grew up they were carried away by the sinful pleasures of the world, and the early instruction imparted to them appeared to have done them no good; yet instances occurred in which the seed that seemed to be dead sprung up and promised to bring forth fruit.[1]

Indeed, the mission had now assumed, in every department, a more flourishing aspect than it had shewn for many years. The attendance of the negroes on public worship was not only numerous, but was on the increase; and it was interesting to observe the earnestness of attention and the solemnity of feeling, which many of them manifested when in the house of God. There was a great desire among them for the Holy Scriptures, and numerous copies were purchased by them. Among the communicants family worship was general, and there was, at the same time, a marked improvement in their attention to personal and relative duties. A season of sickness is commonly a time of peculiar trial to converts from heathenism, as it is often ascribed by their neighbours and friends to the anger of the gods for their desertion of their worship, and means are employed to induce them to have recourse to some of their superstitious charms or ceremonies for their cure; but though the African mind is peculiarly given to be the dupe of such follies, the missionaries had many examples of the converts rising above such senseless notions and counsels.[2]

It had long been considered by the Society as an object of great importance, to reduce to a written form as many as possible of the languages of Africa, and to obtain grammars and vocabularies of them. Several works of this kind had already been prepared and printed at its expense, in various African dialects; and of late years the increased facilities of intercourse between Sierra Leone and the interior led to the adoption of more extensive and systematic measures for this end. More

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1845, p. 38; Miss. Reg. 1830, p. 310; Ibid. 1835, p. 498; Ibid. 1847, p. 425.

[2] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1846, p. 39, 43; Ibid. 1847, p. 27, 31, 33.

than one of the missionaries directed special attention to this object, and some progress has been made in labours of this description.[1] This is, no doubt, in many respects, a very desirable object; but in order to its being effected in such a way as to be useful either for philological or practical purposes, the compiler of grammars and vocabularies of hitherto unwritten languages, besides possessing a talent for acquiring languages, and a knowledge of the principles of philology, would require to take up his residence among the people who speak them, and to live for years among them. Grammars and vocabularies, or other elementary works, drawn up by persons not possessed of these qualifications, or which are hastily executed, can scarcely fail to be very imperfect and incorrect, and to be of comparatively little use to missionaries and others who may have occasion to take them as a guide, or even worse than useless, misleading the scholar so that he will afterwards have to unlearn much that he learned from them. To prepare grammars and dictionaries of new and unknown languages requires rare qualifications; and we suspect that not a few of the works of this kind which have been compiled of late years, by missionaries in different parts of the world, will turn out to be little better than labour in vain.

In 1852, the number of communicants connected with the mission in Sierra Leone, amounted to 2743.[2]

Before concluding our account of this mission, we may mention that Mahomedans have not ceased their attempts to gain proselytes to the faith of the False Prophet. They have of late years raised lofty mosques in different parts of the colony; their teachers went about the villages seeking to make proselytes, and their efforts were attended with considerable success, many of the liberated Africans being induced to join them.[2] These rival efforts of the Mahomedans cannot fail to form a new obstacle to the progress of the gospel.[3]

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1843, p. 37; Ibid. 1849, p. 67; Ibid. 1851, p. 80; Ibid. 1853, p. 33.

[2] Ibid. 1853, p. 34.

[3] At the Cape of Good Hope, the Mahomedans have also of late years made considerable efforts for proselytizing the coloured population, and not without much success.

## Article 3.—Yoruba Country.

In December 1844, the Rev. H. Townsend, C. A. Gollmer, and Samuel Crowther, the latter a liberated African from the Yoruba country, who had been admitted to holy orders by the Bishop of London, and four native teachers, sailed from Sierra Leone for Badagry, with the view of commencing a mission at Abbeokuta, a large town in the interior, in the Yoruba country. Numbers of the liberated Africans in Sierra Leone had of late been returning to that part of Africa from whence they had been carried off as slaves, and were anxious that the means of religious instruction should be provided for themselves and their countrymen.

On arriving at Badagry, the missionaries found the country in so disturbed a state as to render it unsafe for them to proceed to Abbeokuta; but they in the mean while opened a school at the former place, and sought to communicate religious instruction to the inhabitants, who appear to be a very mixed population. It was deemed advisable to retain Badagry as a branch of the mission, as affording the means of communication with the interior. The inhabitants, however, were wedded to their idolatrous and superstitious customs, and shewed utter indifference to the gospel. Even the boarding-school, like a beautiful flower scorched by a midday sun, withered away, because no immediate temporal advantages accrued to the parents from their children's attainments; in plain words, because the missionaries only fed, clothed, and taught them free of expense, and did not pay them or make presents to them besides for their attendance, they took them away and sent them to the bush to cut sticks.[1]

In July 1846, Messrs Townsend and Crowther, after being detained at Badagry upwards of eighteen months, found an opportunity of proceeding to Abbeokuta; and on reaching that place, they were received by the chiefs in the most friendly manner, and every facility was held out to them for instructing

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1845, p. 35; Ibid. 1847, p. 36; Ibid. 1850, p. 73; Ibid. 1851, p. 91; Ibid. 1853, p. 35; Miss. Reg. 1846, p. 153, 438.

the people: all classes, indeed, appeared disposed to listen to their instructions. After some time, a number of the natives were baptized, and though they were called to suffer trials of various kinds in consequence of their profession of Christianity, yet they were enabled to maintain their stedfastness. The opposition made to them appears to have been the work chiefly of the priests, and of parties interested in the slave trade both on the coast and in the interior, who sought to crush the rise of Christianity, and to expel the missionaries from this part of Africa.[1]

The first alarms arose at Badagry. The slave-trading chiefs, both at Lagos on the east and at Porto Novo on the west, combined with the King of Dahomey, and sent their war canoes to pass and repass the town of Badagry, which is situated on the banks of a river or lagoon. At length the grand attempt was made for the destruction of Abbeokuta, by the powerful army of Gezo the tyrant, or "Leopard" of Dahomey. Masses of well-trained warriors, male and female, armed with muskets, bore down with a steady tread upon the town, which was defended only by a low mud wall. They fought with desperation, but they were completely routed, first under the walls of Abbeokuta, and the next day at a neighbouring town, which they attacked in their retreat, and where they were overtaken by the Egbas. Great numbers of the Dahomians were killed and taken prisoners.

The next event of a hostile character took place at Badagry, where Kosoko, the usurper of Lagos, attempted to seize some of the inhabitants and to carry them off as slaves. The opposite party armed themselves, and a general conflict ensued. The town was set fire to, and nearly the whole of it was reduced to ashes. The party of Kosoko, however, was driven away with great loss. The British consul came to the coast and attempted to mediate with the usurper. He had an interview with him in the town of Lagos; but upon approaching a second time, with a flag of truce, both his own boat and the boats of the men-of-war were fired upon, and such hostile demonstrations took place, as left no doubt of the determination of the slave-trading party to persevere in their iniquitous schemes. Under these circum-

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1847, p. 35, 37; Ibid. 1850, p. 79, 83; Ibid. 1852.

stances, Her Majesty's cruisers felt it necessary to interfere and to take measures against Lagos. Two attacks were made by the boats of the men-of-war at the interval of a month. The second was completely successful. The usurper Kosoko was driven from the town with only a few followers; Akitoke, the lawful king, was restored to his authority, and the most decisive measures were taken to put down for the future the slave-trading practices of this its last stronghold upon the western coast of Africa.

Important treaties were made with Lagos and Abbeokuta by the commodore on the station, according to which protection was secured to the missionaries as well as to lawful commerce. Two of the articles in the treaty with Akitoke and the chiefs of Lagos were as follows:—

"The king and chiefs of Lagos declare, that no human beings shall at any time be sacrificed within their territories, on account of religious or other ceremonies, and that they will prevent the barbarous practice of murdering prisoners captured in war.

"Complete protection shall be afforded to missionaries or ministers of the gospel, of whatever nation and country, following their vocation of spreading the knowledge and doctrines of Christianity, and extending the benefits of civilization;" "nor shall any subjects of the king and chiefs of Lagos, who may embrace the Christian faith, be, on that account, or on account of the teaching and exercise thereof, molested or troubled in any manner whatsoever."[1]

In consequence of the unfavourable state of matters at Badagry, the missionaries commenced a new station at Lagos, which, it was hoped, would prove a more favourable field of labour.[2]

## SECT. II.—MALTA.

In September 1815, the Rev. William Jowett sailed for Malta, for the purpose of acquiring information relative to the state of religion in the countries surrounding the Mediterranean, and of

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1852, p. 46, 47, 50. [2] Ibid. 1853, p. 36, 41.

promoting the cause of scriptural Christianity in them by such means as might be found practicable and advisable.[1]

In the prosecution of the first of these objects, Mr Jowett and other missionaries, who were afterwards sent to the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, visited Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, and other parts of the East, and they communicated much important information relative to the moral and religious condition of the inhabitants of these countries, Christians, Mahomedans, Jews, &c.[2]

In prosecuting the second of these objects, a press was established at Malta, from which issued many thousand copies of the Holy Scriptures, of school-books, and religious tracts, in various languages, particularly Italian, Greek, Arabic, and Maltese, which were extensively circulated in the countries where these languages were spoken or understood.[3]

In 1842, the operations of the Society in Malta were brought to a close. The press was sold, together with the lithographic apparatus and the type-foundry.[4] We are not able to record any important results of this mission, but yet we hope that the seed which was so extensively sown may not have been without its fruits, though they may not have been seen or traced by man. The missions to which we shall next direct our attention, stood in close relation to the Malta station, and drew some of their principal resources from its press.

## SECT. III. GREECE—TURKEY—ASIA MINOR.

In January 1825, the Rev. John Hartley proceeded from Malta on a visit to the Ionian Islands, and thence to Smyrna and other parts of Asia Minor, Constantinople, the islands of the Archipelago, and the Morea. In the course of his extensive

[1] Jowett's Christian Researches, vol. i. p. vi.; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. v. p. 141.

[2] Jowett's Christian Researches, vols. i. and ii., and Hartley's Researches in Greece and the Levant, *passim*; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1820, p. 118.

[3] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1842, p. 44; Miss. Reg. 1828, p. 163; Ibid. 1831, p. 135; Ibid. 1832, p. 509; Ibid. 1834, p. 142.

[4] Ibid. 1843, p. 44.

tours he had ample opportunities of circulating copies of the Holy Scriptures and religious tracts. He also held meetings in private with a few persons for reading the Scriptures and prayer, and he was even permitted in some instances to preach in the churches. Though he could not behold without deep regret the low state into which Christianity had fallen in these countries which were so early blessed with the light of the gospel; yet he was greatly encouraged by much that he saw and heard, and formed sanguine expectations of the success of missionary efforts, particularly among the Greeks.

In 1828, the Rev. Dr Korck took charge of a school in the island of Syra, which had lately been begun by Mr Brewer, an American missionary. He for some time received much countenance from the Greek authorities, who appeared quite disposed to avail themselves of his instrumentality in promoting the cause of education in Greece. The school in Syra became a kind of central or model school, and being divided, was numerously attended by both boys and girls. Young men were sent from a distance to be instructed in the system pursued in it, with a view to their taking charge of schools in other places. Two years, however, had scarcely elapsed, when it was proposed to introduce images or pictures of the Virgin Mary into the schools, and to employ a Greek priest instead of the missionaries, to explain to the children a catechism in place of the Scriptures. Dr Korck having objected to this, the boy's school was taken out of his hands. The Government also published a collection of prayers for the use of schools, which was introduced into it, and abounded in invocations to the Virgin Mary and the saints, and other unscriptural matter.[1]

In 1830, the Rev. Mr Hildner commenced a school entirely independent of the Government, which quickly grew into what was called the Pædagogion, and included an infant school, a boys' school, a girls' school, and a girls' school of a higher order. Attempts were more than once made, at the instigation of the authorities of the Greek Church, to interfere with the religious instruction given in this institution; but it would appear that after a time things returned to their ordinary course. Great numbers of children, both boys and girls, were educated in it,

[1] Miss. Reg. 1829, p. 166; Ibid. 1831, p. 137, 140.

and a number of them were afterwards employed as teachers of other schools, some in the Greek or Turkish islands, some in Asia Minor, and one or two even in Egypt. As a model school it exercised an important influence upon the educational system of the kingdom of Greece. The institution, however, is now confined to girls, but it still enjoys the protection of the local and general government, and the favour of all classes of the people.[1]

The missionaries also attempted to establish schools in Asia Minor, but with less success than in Greece. The Rev. Mr Jetter opened schools in Smyrna, Boujah, Vourlah, and Magnesia; but the spirit of hostility to missionaries and their schools, which, as we have just mentioned, manifested itself in Greece, broke out simultaneously among the members of the Greek Church in Turkey. A circular was received at Smyrna from the Patriarch of Constantinople, directing the priests to put down all the schools of the missionaries, and to place the education of the children entirely under the care of an ecclesiastical committee. No layman was henceforth to interfere in this department. The schools established by the missionaries at Smyrna, Boujah, and Vourlah, were now broken up, and though the priests alleged that they would establish better ones, they failed to fulfil their promise. Their schools were generally of the most wretched description. The opposition spread throughout the Turkish empire wherever Greeks and missionaries were to be found. It extended even to Syria, where the Sultan had at that time little to say, and was felt likewise in the Ionian islands.[2]

Many thousand copies of the Holy Scriptures, in various languages, had of late years been circulated in Greece, and Turkey, and Asia Minor, by the agents of the Church Missionary Society and other Societies, particularly the British and Foreign Bible Society. This could scarcely be expected to go on long without calling forth opposition, perhaps even from different quarters. Some years before,[3] a firman was sent by the Grand Seignior to the pachas or governors in Western Asia, and per-

[1] Miss. Reg. 1833, p. 269, 529; Ibid. 1837, p. 250; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1846, p. 48; Ibid. 1847, p. 41; Ibid. 1849, p. 75; Ibid. 1850, p. 87; Ibid. 1851, p. 108; Ibid. 1853, p. 66.

[2] Miss. Reg. 1837, p. 184.

[3] In 1824.

haps throughout the Ottoman dominions, prohibiting the distribution of the Scriptures, and commanding all persons who had received copies to deliver them up to the public authorities that they might be burnt. The copies remaining in the hands of distributors were to be placed under sequestration till they could be sent back to Europe. There is little doubt that this movement of the Turkish government was instigated by the ecclesiastical authorities of one or other of the Christian communities in that empire. No such document was known to have ever before emanated from the Turks uninfluenced by others, and it was understood that persons belonging to the various Christian bodies in Turkey had always until now been allowed the use of their sacred books, and that they had been indifferently printed in the country or imported from the west of Europe, in any number and without any impediment or inquiry on the part of government. It is even said that Mussulmen were not forbidden to read the Bible till now. The effect of this apparently formidable edict was not at first great. In some cities a few copies of the Scriptures were delivered up to the authorities; in others not a single copy was obtained from the people. The whole affair, so far as the Turks were concerned, appeared to be rather a heartless business. They still regarded the circulation of Christian books, as they had been accustomed to do before, with perfect indifference. But advantage was afterwards taken of the Grand Seignior's firman for burning hundreds of copies of the Holy Scriptures, and for imprisoning and otherwise punishing such persons as had them in their possession.[1]

Though the firman of the Grand Seignior was not improbably called forth by Romish bribery or intrigue, the circulation of the Scriptures and other publications also called forth the direct opposition of the Roman Catholic authorities in Turkey. The Archbishop of Sardia, vicar apostolical in the patriarchate of Constantinople, issued a circular[2] requiring the faithful, under pain of excommunication, to deliver up the books prohibited by the Holy See, which persons of foreign communions were continually disseminating among them, and also such other prohi-

[1] Report American Board for Foreign Missions, 1825, p. 91; Miss. Reg. 1828, p. 55.
[2] In 1826.

bited books as they had not the permission of the Holy See to read, that they might be consigned to the flames, as was merited by such infected and pestilential works which depraved and corrupted the world; and enjoining the priests to interrogate their penitents in confession, whether they had any prohibited books in their possession, and not to grant them absolution till they were given up. Many books were accordingly collected and burnt by the Roman Catholics; but murmurs arose in some quarters against this act of ecclesiastical authority, and curiosity to see the prohibited books was awakened among the less passive and superstitious minds.[1]

For some years no opposition was made by the priests or ecclesiastical authorities of the Greek Church to the circulation of the Scriptures and other works printed by the missionaries; indeed they were sought after with great avidity by the people, and in many cases were even purchased by them. But afterwards persons high in the Greek Church endeavoured to persuade the people not to receive their books. The circulation of the Scriptures, however, still went on, and great numbers of copies were introduced into the kingdom of Greece.[2]

In 1851, Mr Charles Sandreczki, who was distinguished for his knowledge of languages, removed from Smyrna to Jerusalem, which it was now proposed to make the centre of operations of the Mediterranean mission. Here he was soon afterwards joined by the Rev. A. Klein.[3]

The great object of the missions of the Society among the churches of the East, was the revival in them of purity of doctrine and of vital piety; and the means employed by them for this end were chiefly the circulation of the Holy Scriptures, education, and conversation. It was in no degree their object to make proselytes from these churches, and to receive them into the communion of their own church. We shall afterwards take occasion to consider this question; but in the mean while, we are gratified to find that the Committee after much experi-

[1] Miss. Reg. 1827, p. 36.
[2] Ibid. 1832, p. 173; Ibid. 1833. p. 275; Rep. Bib. Soc. 1844, p. 85.
[3] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1852, p. 65.

ence in reference to the subject, have seen reason materially to modify their views in regard to it, and that they now see "the wisdom of their missionaries making an open protest against the errors of the Oriental churches, and receiving under Christian instruction all who desire to hear and embrace the truths of the gospel." "Events," they say, "render it each year more difficult for such inquirers to continue in communion with their own church."[1]

## SECT. IV.—EGYPT.

In 1825, the Rev. Messrs Lieder, Kruse, Mueller, Gobat, and Kugler proceeded to Egypt, and on their arrival took up their residence at Cairo. The three former were to direct their attention to the Coptic Church in Egypt; the two latter to attempt to enter Abyssinia, but the accounts which they received of the distracted state of that country, proved the occasion of great delay in carrying their design into effect.[2]

Meanwhile, the missionaries who remained in Egypt sought to render themselves useful by circulating the Holy Scriptures and religious tracts among the Copts and other inhabitants of the country. With a view to a more extensive distribution of them, they made repeated voyages and journeys in Upper and Lower Egypt, and also in Nubia. The copies of the Scriptures and other works which they circulated, were not only in Arabic, which is now the vernacular language of Egypt, but also in the Coptic, Turkish, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Armenian, Amharic, English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish languages. The Copts received the books with great eagerness, and in many cases paid for them. The missionaries avoided as much as possible the gratuitous distribution of the Scriptures, and encouraged the purchase of them, thus obtaining the best security they could, that they were not thrown away. Many copies of the Scriptures and other works were introduced into the Coptic

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1853, p. 60.
[2] Ibid. 1826, p. 43, 68; Ibid. 1827, p. 85; Ibid. 1828, p. 62.

and other schools, and not a few found their way to the Coptic convents in the desert.[1]

Preaching, in the ordinary acceptation of the word, was scarcely practicable among the Copts. The missionaries attempted something of the kind, but with small success. Their religious services were never well attended; sometimes a few came out of mere curiosity; some, even if they had been willing, would not venture to come for fear of being excommunicated by the priests. The missionaries, however, sought to communicate a knowledge of divine truth, in the way of conversation, to those who visited them, and with the same view they also visited them in their own houses. The more respectable part of the people, and particularly their families, they were for a long time not allowed to visit, only their physicians and priests being permitted to enter their domestic circles. To meet this difficulty, Mr Lieder applied himself to the study of medicine, and by the practice of it, he succeeded in getting admission into families, and holding religious intercourse with them. It is not unworthy of remark, that the prejudices of the people against the missionaries were materially diminished by his practice of medicine among them.[2]

The Coptic priests did not make much effort to oppose the missionaries. One reason of this was their great indolence and ignorance of their own religion; another was, that they had little to fear from them, in consequence of the stupidity and sluggishness of their people, who, great and small, care nothing about their own, and still less about any other religion.[3]

Much cannot be expected from the labours of missionaries in Mahomedan countries. Even in Egypt, where there was more of religious toleration than in most countries under Mussulman rule, copies of the Scriptures and religious tracts could not be openly circulated among the Mahomedan portion of the community, yet the missionaries succeeded in putting them into the hands of numbers of them; but a Mussulman would not let his best friend know that he had such a book or tract in his possession, lest he should be betrayed and punished on that

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1828, p. 61; Ibid. 1845, p. 46; Miss. Reg. 1829, p. 172; Ibid. 1831, p. 144; Ibid. 1832, p. 131, 234; Ibid. 1834, p. 402, 408; Ibid. 1839, p. 379; Ibid. 1844, p. 310, 352.

[2] Miss. Reg. 1832, p. 234; Ibid. 1834, p. 312; Ibid. 1839, p. 234; Ibid. 1847, p. 303.

[3] Ibid. 1834, p. 313.

account. Whether they generally read the Scriptures and tracts which they received may indeed be doubted. With respect to the circulation of the Scriptures amongst Mahomedans, the Eastern Christians, particularly the Copts, did every thing they could to prevent it. They cannot bear to see a Mahomedan take the Scriptures into his hands, just as the Mahomedans do not suffer a Christian to take the Koran into his hands.[1]

If preaching to the Copts was scarcely possible, still less was it practicable among the Mahomedans. Had the missionaries made the attempt, they would have been in danger of being killed on the spot, or would at all events have suffered imprisonment and exile. A Mahomedan will not even enter into conversation concerning Christianity in the presence of another Mussulman, but only in a private room and alone, lest he should be betrayed. With one of the superstitious and bigoted class of Mahomedans, it was scarcely possible to carry on a religious conversation; in his eyes it is a kind of crime to doubt or examine the truth of his religion. The ignorant and careless class, consisting chiefly of the peasantry and others of the lower orders, will not readily enter into discussions of a religious kind; they depend entirely on their teachers and sheiks in regard to all such matters. The sceptical and infidel portion of the population, consisting chiefly of the higher and more learned classes, shewed less reluctance to enter into religious discussions; but their state of mind was very unfavourable to the investigation and reception of truth.

The indisposition of the Mahomedans to examine the claims of Christianity was greatly strengthened by the consideration, that among them, a man must die if he change his religion. Many a Mussulman looks on a missionary who seeks to draw his attention to matters of this kind, as a man who aims at his life, and he is careful to avoid any thing that might prove an occasion of leading him to doubt of his religion. Mahomedans are thus deterred from inquiring or thinking seriously about religious matters, and so long as they will not inquire or think about them, there can be little hope of their conversion.

[1] For this the Copts quote Scripture. One day, Mr Kruse, in vindication of the course pursued by the missionaries in regard to Mahomedans, referred to the command of Christ to his disciples, to "go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." "O," replied the monk, "our Lord said also, 'Cast not your pearls

There are also in the religious system of the Mahomedans great obstacles to their reception of Christianity, particularly as it excludes altogether the doctrine of the necessity of a Saviour. Most heathen nations have the idea of sacrifices as a means of propitiating offended Deity, but the Mussulman does not acknowledge the necessity of an atonement on account of sin; neither does he see any need of regeneration or of the sanctification of the heart and life. His religion allows whatever gratifies the carnal heart; and if he offers up prayers at the appointed times, gives alms, and is kind to women and slaves, he will be admitted to all the delights of paradise. No doubt mankind generally lean strongly to acts of righteousness of their own, as a ground of acceptance with God; but these are principles of the Mahomedan's religion, and he cleaves to them with peculiar pertinacity.

Besides, both Eastern and European Christians are a great stumbling-block to Mahomedans, and a main hindrance to their conversion. They set a bad example before them, and the latter, judging of Christianity by the conduct of the Christians around them, and comparing themselves with them, feel their own superiority, and have in some respects a right to do so. When therefore a missionary begins to talk with a Mussulman on the subject of Christianity, he will break off the conversation, saying, "Would you wish to make me as bad a man as your Christians are?" And if the missionary allege that those of whom he speaks are only nominal Christians, he will be ready to reply, "Well, if they are not true Christians, they bear your name. Therefore convert them first." There is much foundation for such observations; and hence it is of peculiar importance, where there is a mixed Mahomedan and Christian population, to seek the conversion of the latter, with a view to the conversion even of the former.

before swine.'" "But how," answered Mr Kruse, "can you apply this passage to the Mahomedans, seeing there were none living when our Lord said this to his disciples? What do you mean by pearls?" "Pearls," said he, "are the Four Gospels," lifting the book in his hands. "Were there four gospels written when Christ was on earth?" "No." "Well then how could our Lord mean the four Gospels when they were not written?" He was confounded, and said, "Thus I have been taught, and our priests always explain and apply this passage thus. But you know best. I perceive we are still in ignorance."—*Miss. Reg.* 1838, p. 208; Ibid. 1839, p. 428.

But notwithstanding these and other difficulties, the missionaries did find opportunities of conversing with Mahomedans on religious subjects, and they flattered themselves with the hope that they had made an impression on some of them; but little dependence is to be placed on the confessions which a Mussulman may make in private, for he will be ready to deny the fact as soon as he leaves the room, particularly in such a country as Egypt, where dissembling and hypocrisy are so general.[1]

Among the measures adopted by the missionaries, the most successful perhaps were those connected with education. Even at an early period, they opened schools in Cairo for the children of the Copts, one for boys and another for girls. These were at first on a small scale; but after some years, education, and even female education, began to be somewhat appreciated by the people. The schools were attended not only by the children of the poor, but by those of some of the first Coptic families, and also by a few Mahomedan children. It is not unworthy of observation, that while both schools were latterly well attended (there being commonly upwards of three hundred scholars in them), the number of girls was often greater than that of boys, and that the girls were higher than the boys in point of respectability, the majority of them being, if not of wealthy, yet of good parentage. It was, however, a great disadvantage to the female school, that the girls were, according to eastern custom, so early betrothed and married, both these events generally occurring between the ninth and eleventh year of their age; and as soon as a girl is thus engaged, she is strictly forbidden to appear in public, and consequently at school, or in fact in any society, except that of her nearest relatives.

The government took notice several times of the proceedings of the missionaries in regard to education, and though it could not openly grant them privileges which the nation itself did not enjoy, yet it indirectly protected and countenanced them. The children, for instance, of other schools, whether Christian or Mahomedan, were in continual danger of being seized in the streets for the government manufactories or other establishments. The boys in the schools of the mission were, on the contrary, protected by a certificate; and it was seldom they

[1] Miss. Reg. 1832, p. 232, 517; Ibid. 1847, p. 304.

were touched, or if one was taken by mistake, he was immediately released on application to the proper authorities.[1]

This mission has of late been placed on a reduced scale. The boys' school was closed, and education was restricted to the girls' schools.[2]

## SECT. V. ABYSSINIA—SHOA—ZANGUEBAR.

In October 1829, the Rev. Messrs Gobat and Kugler left Cairo and proceeded to Massuah, with the view of penetrating into Abyssinia. They carried with them copies of the four gospels and of some of the epistles in Amharic, and of the gospels in Ethiopic, the former the vernacular, the latter the ecclesiastical language of that country, with the view of circulating them among the people.[3]

In entering Abyssinia, Messrs Gobat and Kugler did not experience those difficulties of which most travellers complain; and on reaching Adigrate, they met with the most friendly reception from Sebagadis, the ras or governor of Tigre. He gave them permission to take up their residence at Adowah, the capital of the province, and they had every reason to calculate on his protection and countenance.[4]

It being thought advisable that Mr Gobat should visit Gondar, the capital of Abyssinia, he proceeded thither, intending to remain only about ten days; but he was detained upwards of six months, chiefly in consequence of the disturbed state of the country, which rendered travelling dangerous. During his stay, he not only distributed a number of copies of the gospels, both in Amharic and Ethiopic, but he had daily conversations with Abyssinians, both priests and people, on religious topics; and though the views which he expressed differed widely from the dogmas of their church, yet he rarely seemed to give them

[1] Miss. Reg. 1839, p. 380; Ibid. 1840, p. 297.
[2] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1851, p. 116; Ibid. 1852, p. 73.
[3] Miss. Reg. 1830, p. 352; Ibid. 1831, p. 148.
[4] Ibid. 1831, p. 277, 279; Gobat's Journal of a Residence in Abyssinia in 1830-2, p. xv.

any offence. They appear to have looked on him as a very extraordinary person. Such a White man they had never seen. Proposals were even made to him to become their abuna. If any shall inquire, how he came to win so completely their confidence and esteem, the secret is easily told. He was himself remarkably distinguished by love.[1]

We cannot but here notice, with peculiar satisfaction, the simplicity of Mr Gobat in his communications with the Abyssinians. He presents in this respect a fine example to Christian missionaries, particularly to such as labour for the revival of scriptural Christianity among the members of corrupt churches. Though the Abyssinians were ever ready to draw him into an expression of his opinions, and into discussions in regard to the peculiar dogmas of their church, he was not less anxious to avoid the trifling and thorny questions which they were constantly in the habit of bringing forward. His leading object was to bring before them the great truths of the gospel in their scriptural simplicity; and instead of entering into lengthened or abstract reasonings with them, his practice was to appeal to the Holy Scriptures as the only rule of faith and manners,[2] and to lay before them the plain and simple declarations of the inspired writers in regard to them. Though he was not always able to avoid the foolish questions which they brought forward, yet he did not answer their sophistical statements with any refinements like their own; but usually refuted their errors by quoting some simple yet appropriate passage of Scripture.[3]

Here we cannot help remarking, that some of the Church

[1] Miss. Reg. 1831, p. 532; Gobat's Journal, p. xvii., 49, 78, 138, 147, 179, 191, 215, 223, 259.

[2] There was something very beautiful in the way in which Mr Gobat kept up the simple authority of the Scriptures. Thus when Habeta Selasse, an Abyssinian from Shoa, asked him, one day, several questions about Adam, such as, When he received the Holy Spirit? How long he remained in paradise? &c., he replied, "I know nothing about it: The Bible says nothing about it; and we have no other means of knowing." After some further conversation, in the course of which Mr Gobat always made his appeal to the Bible, Habeta Selasse said to his companion, "He knows the Scriptures;" to which the other replied, "He is not ashamed to confess that he does not know what is not in the Bible. We are too proud to confess this even when we feel it."—*Gobat's Journal*, p. 85. Happy would it have been for the church of Christ, if the principle on which Mr Gobat acted, had been always adhered to by its ministers! How many vain speculations; how many errors would it have prevented, not in the Abyssinian and other ancient churches only, but in the churches of the Reformation!

[3] Gobat's Journal, p. 84, 93, 100, 228, 243, 248.

missionaries are, we think, peculiarly distinguished by that style of address which remarkably characterised the excellent men who were the glory of the Church of England in the latter part of the last, and the early part of the present century, and which was a principal means of that revival of simple, earnest, vital piety which was then effected in the hearts of many of her ministers and people. It was not what would be called intellectual preaching; but it was preaching to the conscience and the heart. It consisted in dealing with men as sinful, lost, ruined creatures; in holding up to them the nature and necessity of regeneration; the doctrine of justification by grace, through faith in Christ, to the entire exclusion of human merit in every form; the work of the Holy Spirit in the sanctification of the heart and life; the peace, and comfort, and joy, which flow from the faith of the gospel; the glorious prospects which it opens up to believers beyond death and the grave; and the practical application of these great truths, to the production of a holy life and conversation. There might be something of sameness in the preaching of these excellent men; but be this as it may, it was signally blessed to the conversion and salvation of souls; and that is the best test of good preaching.

In October 1830, Mr Gobat took his departure from Gondar and returned to Adowah; but he had not long come back, when a severe trial befel the mission. Being somewhat indisposed, he took a ride daily on his mule; but not finding that sufficient exercise, he went out to the chase two or three times a week, in the hope that by having an object in view, his health might be the more benefited. Finding himself much the better of this, he, one day, induced Mr Kugler, who also felt himself indisposed, to accompany him; and he likewise found so much benefit from it, that he resolved, two days after, to go out again, with a particular view to hunting wild boars for the purpose of obtaining fat to make ointments for his patients. In passing along the side of a river, he observed a large animal in the water and fired at it; but in firing his gun burst, and wounded his left arm in several places. It was hoped the wounds were not dangerous, and he appeared to be getting better; but one day while leaning his head, in reading, on his wounded hand, he made an involuntary start, and all of a sudden the blood

burst forth from the wound, and he lost a considerable quantity. It was staunched for the present; but it afterwards burst out repeatedly, and in less than a week he died.[1]

During two years that Mr Gobat remained in Tigre, he was able to do little in the way of his mission. Mariam, the governor of Amhara, and other chiefs, having resolved to make war on Sebagadis, advanced into the interior of the country, with the view of attacking his forces before they could assemble in great numbers. In the battle which ensued, Mariam was slain; but Sebagadis was defeated, and being taken prisoner was beheaded on the following day. The country was now in a state of continual consternation and alarm, partly from robbers, and partly from the conflicts of contending chiefs. The people of some of the towns took flight. Mr Gobat had more than once to flee with them, and was obliged to keep moving from place to place. He had long been anxious to return to Egypt; and having at last obtained permission from Wolda Michael, the son of Sebagadis, to leave the country, he proceeded to Massuah, and thence to Cairo, where he arrived after an absence of three years and four months.[2]

In October 1834, Mr Gobat, accompanied by the Rev. C. W. Isenberg, again left Cairo, and proceeded, by way of Massuah, to Adowah in Tigre, where they took up their residence for the present. The country was as usual in a very disturbed state, in consequence of the quarrels and wars of different chiefs. In the truths of religion, neither the priests nor the people took any interest. When religious questions were introduced, it was commonly in regard to those trivial matters which are so much the subject of debate in Abyssinia. Even the desire for those portions of the Scriptures which were printed in the Amharic and Ethiopic languages, was very limited. The Ethiopic psalter was most asked for,[3] being used perhaps in their church service.

With the view of furnishing the people with the Scriptures in their vernacular tongue, Mr Isenberg engaged a learned native, Deftera Matteos, to translate the New Testament into Tigre, he himself revising it with the assistance of other persons who un-

[1] Gobat's Journal, p. 264, 267.

[2] Gobat's Journal, p. xiv., 264, 267, 285, 288, 309, 319, 325, 333, 340; Miss. Reg. 1832, p. 114; Ibid. 1833, p. 57.

[3] Miss. Reg. 1835, p. 365; Ibid. 1836, p. 58.

derstood the language. Assisted by a native named Kiddan Mariam, he also translated the chief parts of the Book of Common Prayer into Amharic;[1] but we suspect that both these translations were very imperfectly executed, and would be found of little use.[2]

In September 1836, Mr Gobat, who had been long suffering from bad health, judged it necessary to leave Abyssinia, and to return to Europe with a view to its restoration; but his place was afterwards supplied by other two missionaries, the Rev. Messrs Blumhardt and Krapf.[3]

The Abyssinians now began to understand better than before the object of the missionaries in coming among them; that it was to turn them from the superstitious dogmas and practices of their church to the plain and simple truths of the Holy Scriptures. They, therefore, constantly sought to throw obstacles in their way; and had it been in their power, they would not have suffered them to remain one day in the country. The priests in particular were opposed to them, and stirred up the people against them. They tried by various complaints and accusations to instigate Oobieh, the chief governor, to drive them out of the country; but he was not disposed to comply with their wishes. Still, however, they prosecuted their object; and they at length succeeded in effecting it.[4]

In March 1838, M. D'Abbadie, a Frenchman, and M. Guiseppe, an Italian priest, arrived at Adowah.[5] The arrival of these Romish emissaries, contributed to increase greatly the clamour against the missionaries; and within a week after,

[1] Miss. Reg. 1837, p. 57; Ibid. 1838, p. 58.

[2] Mr Isenberg, speaking of a learned native named Deftera Gualo, says, "He is the most learned Abyssinian at Adowah, was dragoman to the late Abuna Cyrillos, and is thoroughly acquainted with Abyssinian literature. He cannot, however, write, as this is no necessary part of Abyssinian learning." It must appear a singular fact; but it is not the less true that the most learned persons in Abyssinia do not learn to write.—*Miss Reg.* 1837, p. 61. *Learning* without the ability of *writing*, which in Europe is a common attaintment even of the *unlearned*, seems, according to our ideas, almost incredible, and even scarcely conceivable.

[3] Miss. Reg. 1836, p. 571; Ibid. 1838, p. 47, 57.

In 1846, Mr Gobat was appointed by the King of Prussia Bishop of Jerusalem.—*Miss. Reg.* 1847, p. 88.

[4] Ibid. 1837, p. 59; Ibid. 1838, p. 57.

[5] The Romanists have of late years been renewing their attempts to bring over Abyssinia to the Catholic faith."—*Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, vol. v. p. 1, 145; vol. vi. p. 199.

Oobieh, who had hitherto protected them, gave them up to the will of their chief enemies,[1] who commanded them and also three other Europeans then in Adowah to quit the country immediately; and when they appealed to him, he said he was not able to resist the clamours of their enemies any longer, and that he was obliged to send them away; but yet he allowed them eight days to make the necessary arrangements for their journey. They accordingly had to take their departure; and after a journey of about seventeen days, they reached Massuah in safety, and thence returned to Cairo.[2]

In January 1839, Messrs Isenberg and Krapf, who had resolved to attempt to enter the kingdom of Shoa, which lies to the south of Amhara,[3] set off on this new and hazardous undertaking. They proceeded first to Mocha, whence they crossed to the opposite coast, passed the Straits of Babelmandeb, and landed at Zeilah on the coast of Africa. After a long and irksome journey they reached Shoa, and being favourably received by the king, took up their residence at Ankobar, the capital. The inhabitants of this country are nominally Christians, but there is no more of Christianity among them than in Abyssinia, their religion consisting of a mixture of Christianity, Judaism, Mahomedanism, and Heathenism. The missionaries entered into discussions with them on various religious subjects, both exposing their errors and setting the truth before them, but apparently with little effect. The Shoans were always ready to turn the conversation to the same or similar topics as were perpetually agitated in Abyssinia, such as the worshipping of saints, fastings, the three births of Christ, pilgrimages to Jerusalem or to the tomb of Tecla Haimanout, and other superstitious and frivolous matters. The missionaries also gave away copies of the Amharic and Ethiopic Scriptures, which were received, as is generally the case, especially at first, with great eagerness. They had likewise a few boys as scholars, but as they were in want of school-books, Mr Isenberg, after being only six months

[1] One of their chief enemies was the Alaca Kiddan Mariam. Whether this was the individual who assisted Mr Isenberg in translating the Book of Common Prayer, is not stated; but the name would lead one to suspect so.

[2] Miss. Reg. 1838, p. 220; Ibid. 1841, p. 51.

[3] Shoa was formerly part of Abyssinia; but rendered itself independent in the beginning of the 18th century.—*Miss. Reg.* 1841, p. 50.

in the country, returned to England, partly with the view of carrying through the press several works which he had prepared.[1]

It was originally the design of the missionaries, should they fail in their object as to Shoa, to make their way, if possible, to the tribes of Gallas which are spread over the surrounding country, and extend themselves widely into central Africa. Many of these tribes are subject, and others are tributary, to the king of Shoa, and from no other quarter did it appear practicable to reach them. Mr Krapf set himself to acquire the Galla language, and translated into it the four gospels and the epistle to the Romans. He also visited some of the tribes subject to the king of Shoa.[2]

In April 1841, Messrs John Muhleisen and John C. Muller, who had lately arrived at Aden on their way to Shoa, sailed for Tadjurra on the coast of Africa, but the sultan would not permit them to land, and they were obliged to return to Aden. Here, however, they found an opportunity of accompanying an embassy, at the head of which was Captain Harris, from the British government in India to the king of Shoa, which was passing through Aden, but on arriving at Tadjurra the embassy was divided into two parties on account of there not being a sufficient number of camels for the whole, and the missionaries were left with the second party, which remained at that place, with instructions to follow as soon as camels should be procured. After Captain Harris had proceeded a few days' journey from Tadjurra, he determined that the second party should remain at that place till further orders. The advanced party underwent dreadful sufferings in their journey. One Englishman died, and many of their animals perished in consequence of the heat and the want of water. Two European soldiers and a servant were murdered on the road while they were asleep, notwithstanding the European sentry and the native escort and guides, who had been hired at the expense of 800 dollars to protect the embassy.

The second party having been recalled to Aden, Messrs Muh-

[1] Isenberg and Krapf's Journals, p. vii., 1, 118, 121, 173; Miss. Reg. 1841, p. 50, 52, 464.

[2] Isenberg and Krapf's Journals, p. vi., xiv.; Miss. Reg. 1841, p. 52; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1842, p. 42.

leisen and Muller preferred remaining at Tadjurra with the view of embracing the first opportunity of proceeding to Shoa, but the ill feeling shewn by the people of that place toward the English was so marked, that they were compelled, for the protection of their lives and property, to keep watch by turns throughout the whole night. One morning about half-past two o'clock, during the watch of Mr Muhleisen, he was alarmed by a piercing cry from the place where the servants were lying. Two or three minutes before he had looked over them and they were then all asleep. When he heard the cry he was not perhaps ten yards distant from them. He instantly ran to the spot, when he found their own servant and two of the agent's weltering in their blood. Two died immediately, the third suffered all the agonies of death until noon and then expired; a fourth was saved by his interference. It was supposed that the intention of the murderers was not to kill the servants only, who were all Mahomedans, but to kill them first, they being in their way, and then the missionaries.

Alarmed by these appalling deeds, Messrs Muhleisen and Muller engaged two boats to take themselves and their goods on board a ship, but they were stopped by the sultan. After the murder of the servants, from five to seven men used to sleep with them, but they had reason to trust them as little as possible. The people appeared determined not to permit them all to depart; but it was at length arranged that Mr Muhleisen should be allowed to return to Aden, and a vessel having on his arrival been sent from that place to Tadjurra, Mr Muller embarked in it, glad to escape from a country where they appeared to be in daily danger of their life.[1]

Meanwhile, Mr Krapf, who had been about eighteen months alone in Shoa, set out from Ankobar with the view of returning to Egypt, whither his private affairs called him. He proposed travelling through the country to Massuah and designed taking Gondar in his way, with the view of ascertaining what prospects there might be of carrying on missionary operations in the other provinces of Abyssinia; but after advancing within no great distance of that capital, he was obliged, in consequence of the dangerous state of the country, to retrace his steps and

[1] Miss. Reg. 1841, p. 387; Ibid. 1842, p. 291.

take a different route. This new course led him through parts of Abyssinia not previously traversed by Europeans, and in travelling by it he passed through many hardships and dangers. At one place he was plundered of nearly all he had by a Galla chief, named Adara Bille, amidst great professions of friendship; he and his servants were put in confinement, and he was threatened with death if he did not give up all he had. They were afterwards allowed to depart under an escort of soldiers, who were to conduct them beyond the territory of that chief, and who went before them armed with spears, swords, and shields. After a long and perilous journey, he at length reached Massuah, where he was received with great hospitality by M. De Goutin, the French consul.[1]

Having returned to Egypt, Mr Krapf there met with Messrs Isenberg and Muhleisen, and they agreed to proceed together to Tadjurra with the view of again entering Shoa. They, however, met with insuperable obstacles in their attempts to enter that country, either from Tadjurra or Zeilah. Influenced, it is supposed, partly by political, partly by ecclesiastical motives, the king of Shoa, who had formerly made great professions of friendship for Mr Krapf, prohibited their return, and all their efforts to induce the Dankali and Somali chiefs, in the country lying between the sea and Abyssinia, to permit them to undertake the journey, proved unavailing.

In March 1843, Messrs Isenberg and Muhleisen embarked at Tadjurra for Massuah, with the view of entering Abyssinia from that point; but though they made a journey into Tigre, which was as usual in a disturbed state, they found themselves obliged to return without delay, being again ordered by Oobieh to quit the country. But though they were unsuccessful in regaining a footing in Abyssinia, they disposed of more than 2000 copies of portions of the Scriptures during their short stay. Being thus ordered to leave the country, they returned to Massuah and then proceeded to Cairo.[2]

Meanwhile Dr Krapf, reluctant to relinquish the mission in the east of Africa, proceeded to Aden, and after some months

[1] Isenberg and Krapf's Journals, p. 261, 328, 366, 528; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1843, p. 49.

[2] Isenberg and Krapf's Journals, p. 328; Miss. Reg. 1844, p. 253.
Messrs Isenberg and Muhleisen afterwards proceeded as missionaries to India.

he sailed to Zanzibar, in the hope of reaching some of the Galla tribes in the interior, from some part of the coast between Cape Guardafui and that island. He had a strong conviction of the importance of a mission among the Gallas, on account of the great extent to which they are spread over the interior of this part of Africa, and of their connection with Abyssinia and other countries. After visiting various parts of the coast, he took up his residence on a small island named Mombas; but he afterwards removed with the Rev. J. Rebmann, who had lately joined him to New Rabbai, a village on the continent opposite to it. Here they commenced missionary operations; but they met with little encouragement in their labours. The natives around the station manifested the utmost indifference to the gospel, nor did they set more value on education. The schools at length dwindled away and were given up. The missionaries were much occupied in making journeys into the interior, with the view of discovering new fields of labour which might be occupied by missionaries from Europe; but we suspect the hopes on this subject in which they indulged are not likely to be soon realized.[1]

[1] Miss. Reg. 1844, p. 267; Ibid. 1845, p. 98, 243, 268, 351; Ibid. 1846, p. 48; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1849, p. 84; Ibid. 1850, p. 95, 99; Ibid. 1851, p. 118; Ibid. 1852, p. 61; Ibid. 1853, p. 52.

This mission, though in other respects very unfruitful, has not been unproductive of translations into different languages, and of works of a philological nature. Mr Isenberg, when he was in England, carried through the press the following Amharic works:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Grammar of the Amharic language, | | | 8vo. |
| Dictionary of | do. | | 4to. |
| Spelling-Book in | do. | | 8vo. |
| Catechism in | do. | | 8vo. |
| Geography in | do. | | 8vo. |
| Universal History in | do. | | 8vo. |
| History of the Kingdom of God, in | do. | | 8vo. |
| Liturgy of the Church of England, in | do. | | 8vo. |

He likewise prepared a Vocabulary of the *Dankali* language, which was printed.

During Mr Isenberg's stay in England, the following *Galla* works, prepared by Dr Krapf, were also printed: Elements of the Galla language, Vocabulary of do., the Gospels of Matthew and John in do. Dr Krapf afterwards sent to England the Book of Genesis, the other two Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistle to the Romans in the Galla language.

Dr Krapf, when in England a few years afterwards, carried through the press the following works prepared by himself:

An Outline of the Elements of the Kisuaheli language, with special reference to the Kinika dialect;

## SECT. VI.—INDIA.

### ART. 1.—CALCUTTA.

IN June 1816, the Rev. W. Greenwood arrived in Calcutta and settled at Garden Reach, about four miles below that city, where an estate had been purchased for about £1500, with the view of establishing upon it a Christian institution in which it was proposed to carry on, in a special manner, three great branches of missionary labour, the supply of Christian teachers, the maintenance and extension of education, and the employment of the press; but this property was sold after a few years, and a similar institution was established at Mirzapur in the native part of Calcutta. It does not, however, appear that much was attempted for several years beyond the carrying on of a few schools and the printing of some small works.[1]

In 1822, an important step was taken in the cause of Hindu education by the commencement of female schools. A lady of the name of Miss Cooke had come out from England, with a recommendation from the British and Foreign School Society to the Calcutta School Society, with a special view to this object; but that society not being prepared to enter on the work of female education, an arrangement was made with the Corresponding committee of the Church Missionary Society for employing her in this department of missionary labour. Under her care, a number of female schools were in a short time established in Calcutta. They increased to thirty, and contained about 600 scholars,

A Vocabulary of Six East African languages, Kisuaheli, Kinika, Kikamba, Kipo-Komo, Kihaua, and Kigalla;

The Gospel of Mark in Kikamba.

Dr Krapf also translated nearly the whole of the New Testament and the Book of Genesis into the Kisuaheli language, and the Gospels of Luke and John, and the Epistles to the Romans and the Ephesians into the Wonika (Kinika?), which, however, is merely a corruption of the Kisuaheli. He also prepared a somewhat extensive Kisuaheli and Kinika Dictionary.—*Isenberg and Krapf's Journals*, p. viii.; *Miss. Reg.* 1842, p. 292; *Ibid.* 1846, p. 197; *Ibid.* 1847, p. 106; *Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc.* 1843, p. 48; *Ibid.* 1850, p. 106; *Ibid.* 1851, p. xix., 125.

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. v. p. 439; Ibid. 1818, p. 78; Ibid. 1822, p. 104, 108; Miss. Reg. 1821, p. 49.

of whom about 400 were in daily attendance. After a few years a central school was erected, to which one of the natives, Rajah Boidonath Roy Bahadur, gave a donation of 20,000 rupis. Much interest was at first excited in female education, and high expectations were formed of its beneficial effects on the character and condition of the sex, and of the salutary influence which they in their turn would have on the other sex, both old and young. It was hoped too that it would so commend itself to the natives, particularly to the more wealthy portion of them, that they would take measures for the education of the female part of their families. But though the female schools were doubtless attended with a measure of success, yet like many untried schemes, they did not fulfil the sanguine expectations which were entertained of them, while the richer natives, cleaving to their old customs and prejudices, were, with a few exceptions, still content that their wives and daughters should remain uneducated.[1]

The Rev. Mr Jetter held divine service in Bengali in the school-rooms of the institution at Mirzapur; he likewise preached to the natives as he found opportunity, in different parts of Calcutta. A chapel was afterwards erected at Mirzapur, and several Bungalow chapels were opened in places at some distance from each other, in which the missionaries preached more or less frequently. The attendance was very encouraging. Many stopped the whole time of divine service, others were constantly coming and going. Somewhat of a spirit of inquiry manifested itself in the many sensible questions and arguments which the hearers sometimes started, whereas formerly they used often to indulge in frivolous inquiries and in abusive language. The missionaries did not now allow them to interrupt them during their addresses; they told them to wait with their

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1823, p. 107; Ibid. 1827, p. 104; Ibid. 1828, p. 71; Miss. Reg. 1822, p. 483; Chapman's Hindu Female Education, p. 86.

In 1836, Mrs Wilson (formerly Miss Cooke) commenced in Agurpara, a retired village about seven miles above Calcutta, an institution which was called the Orphan Refuge, into which she received a number of orphan girls, with the view of training them up under the full influence of Christian principles, apart from all heathen connections, which were found to defeat, to a great extent, the usefulness of the ordinary day-schools. In 1838, the Refuge contained 130 girls; but about 1848, there were only 30, and in the following year it was given up.—*Chapman's Hindu Female Education*, p. 131, 139; *Miss. Reg.* 1850, p. 319.

questions to the end of the discourse, and if this was not done, they either answered them very briefly, or begged them to leave the chapel. Much judgment, however, was necessary in dealing with the Hindus. Neither severity nor too great gentleness does with them. Instances occurred in which even raising the voice was construed by them as arising from anger, while on the other hand, mildness and forbearance proved an occasion of mockery and rudeness, and of dissipating the attention of the other hearers.[1]

In 1836, a seminary was begun in Calcutta for training native Christian youths of talents and piety as catechists and missionaries. It was proposed that they should receive a high intellectual, moral, and religious education; but that they should be trained up, in all other respects, in the same temperate and frugal habits as the humblest of their brethren. By this plan, it was hoped that it would be found practicable to raise up a body of native catechists and missionaries, who would be on a level with the people in all their physical wants, while they would possess all the advantages over their countrymen which superior knowledge and a long course of scholastic discipline would confer. The necessity of an institution of this kind was particularly felt in Calcutta, where the advancement of many of the natives in general knowledge and intellectual improvement was more decided than in any other part of India.[1]

The mission to Calcutta, however, was not, on the whole, attended with much success. Its progress was for many years materially retarded by the frequent changes and removals of the missionaries, and by the feeble state in which it was often kept in consequence of the inadequate number of labourers. But even making due allowances for the unfavourable operation of such causes, it must be acknowledged, that the success attending it did not bear any proportion to the means employed. A considerable number of the natives were baptized; but how far, they in general, gave evidence of piety does not very distinctly appear. Some years ago, it was stated that too many of the members neglected to attend the means of grace, when not employed directly in connection with the mission or in mission families.

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1823, p. 113; Ibid. 1840, p. 50; Miss. Reg. 1827, p. 382.
[2] Miss. Reg. 1837, p. 281; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1839, p. 62.

There was also a number of small villages to the south of Calcutta, the inhabitants of which were under Christian instruction, and many of whom were baptized. In the school, the progress appears to have been greater and more satisfactory. The scholars are stated to have made surprising advances in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, of history, geography, grammer, logic, arithmetic, natural philosophy, and other branches.[1]

### Art. 2.—Krishnagur.

In 1835, the Rev. Mr Deerr, one of the missionaries in Burdwan, heard of a body of people about Krishnagur, partly of Hindu, partly of Mahomedan origin, who, it was said, were suffering persecution on account of their religion. They were called Khurta Bhoja, or worshippers of the Creator. It is stated that they worshipped only one God, would have nothing to do with idols, and believed that God would come into the world in human form. On visiting them, Mr Deerr was convinced of their sincerity, saw much that appeared good among them, and greatly admired the love and affection which they shewed for each other.[2] Two or three years before this, the Church missionaries had established schools in Krishnagur; and Mr Deerr, assisted by three of the natives, now commenced preaching the gospel to the Khurta Bhoja. Many of them professed themselves convinced of the truth of Christianity, and openly declared that this was the very thing they had been seeking for. Upwards of a thousand of them, including adults and children, were, after a time, baptized; besides whom, there were about four thousand, living in above seventy different villages, who were under Christian instruction, and were called Inquirers.[3]

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1840. p. 51; Ibid. 1845, p. 57; Ibid. 1846, p. 59; Ibid. 1847, p. 57; Miss. Reg. 1837, p. 497; Ibid. 1845, p. 276; Long's Handbook of Bengal Misions in Connection with the Church of England, p. 109.

[2] Other accounts of the Khurta Bhoja are very unfavourable. The accounts of their origin are also various.—*Home and Foreign Record for the Church of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 131, 146. As, however, they are spread over a considerable district of country, these different accounts may perhaps refer to different portions of them.

[3] Christian Intelligencer, 1839, p. 145, 149, 155, 544, 546, 548; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1840, p. 138, 142.

This movement was spoken of as a mighty display of divine grace; as an extraordinary religious awakening; as such a glorious scene as had never before been witnessed in Bengal; as a work for which the good men of former days would have blessed and praised God in the loudest strains of gratitude and joy. It was represented as being the result of a great deal of preparatory work; and though there was little ground for the statement, it was alleged that this might not only give us greater confidence in the reality and permanence of the awakening, but was an example of what may be expected as a common result of such preparatory labours, a theory which, whether true or false, was assuredly no way warranted by the case before us. The views we have now stated were not so much those of the missionaries as of other sanguine friends of the Society, who, from the stations they held, might have been expected to exercise more judgment and caution than they shewed on this occasion.[1]

The idea of a great awakening in Krishnagur was kept up for a considerable time; but at length it became manifest that there was much in it which was fallacious and unsound. There was great misapprehension on the part of the Khurta Bhojas in regard to the nature of the gospel, and many who joined the Christian party did so in utter ignorance of the religion they were adopting. Nor was it with a view solely to the salvation of their souls that numbers professed themselves Christians. The country having been laid waste, and the crops destroyed by an inundation of the river Jellinghi, loans of money to a considerable extent were granted to the people to enable them to buy seed corn, and so save them from borrowing for that purpose from the native money-lenders at an enormous rate of interest. So long as this was done, the work appeared to advance, but it was soon discovered that many had crept into the church merely from worldly motives; and when, after about two years, the practice was given up, comparatively few sought to join it. They also hoped to find in the missionaries protectors who would side with them in their disputes with the zemindars or land-proprietors. Many accordingly who at one time appeared anxious to be placed on the list of Inquirers,

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1840, p. 137, 141, 147.

afterwards drew back; and many who made a profession of Christianity shewed, after some years, little desire for religious instruction, and were very indifferent about spiritual and eternal things. There were in fact comparatively few who gave satisfactory evidence of real piety. It appears that the converts who formerly belonged to the Khurta Bhoja sect, continued to keep up all the distinctions of the brotherhood, holding nightly meetings at which they practised heathenish ceremonies and sins. "The question," say the missionaries, "will be asked, What is the state of the native Christian body as to its religious knowledge, spirituality, and moral practice? To this we unhesitatingly reply, that it is on the whole very low. The people are ignorant; there is little true spirituality of mind amongst them as a body, and there remain many old evil habits, prejudices, and customs which often break out into open sin."[1]

In 1852, the whole number of native Christians in the Krishnagur district was 4769.[2]

## Art. 3.—Madras.

In February 1814, the Rev. Charles T. E. Rhenius and John C. Schnarre sailed for India, and after their arrival, they settled in Madras.[3] The mission was carried on for many years with great energy, but with little success. All the usual instrumentality of a Christian mission was in active operation, the preaching of the gospel, schools both male and female, the printing and circulation of the Holy Scriptures, and other Christian works; but afterwards it was for a long time in a very feeble and languishing state, in consequence of the removal of the missionaries, and their places not being adequately supplied. This could scarcely fail to affect every branch of the mission.[4]

[1] Miss. Reg. 1841, p. 110; Ibid. 1842, p. 299; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1843, p. 55, 57; Ibid, 1847, p. 61; Ibid. 1851, p. 139; Miss. Record for Church of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 161.

[2] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1853, p. 85.

[3] Miss. Reg. vol. ii. p. 50; vol. iii. p. 412.

[4] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1822, p. 131; Ibid. 1823, p. 128; Ibid. 1824, p. 132.

In December 1838, the Rev. J. H. Gray, who had lately arrived in India, gives a very painful view of the state of religion among the professed converts. "There are," says he, "five congregations in Madras and two in the villages; but of their spiritual condition, I can say nothing encouraging. When I have met with them in the congregation, it has always been a painful sight to me. The carelessness and apathy of the people, and their great ignorance of the plainest truths, have often compelled me to inquire, what inducement they had to become Christians, since their conduct seemed to bespeak so little feeling of the importance or apprehension of the real difference between the Christian and all other religions. But I am not surprised when I look back upon the state in which they have been left for the last five years, being indeed as sheep without a shepherd. I am rather surprised that they should have so long borne the Christian name."[1]

Of late, however, the number of missionaries has been increased, and the mission has altogether been put on a more efficient footing.[2]

## Art. 4.—Tinnevelly.

In June 1820, the Rev. C. T. E. Rhenius was removed from Madras to Palamcotta, in the district of Tinnevelly, in the south of India, and he was soon afterwards joined by the Rev. Bernard Schmidt, who had been his fellow-labourer at the presidency. The people among whom they were here called to labour consisted chiefly of the class of Shanars, who subsist principally by the cultivation of the palmyra-tree, and are scarcely affected by the baneful system of caste, as they do not belong to any of the established Hindu castes, yet they were not degraded in their habits like the Pariars. Though they were by no means free from superstition, yet Hinduism had a feebler hold on them than on the population generally. In many instances they cast away their idols, destroyed their temples, or converted them into places of Christian worship, and expressed a wish for

[1] Miss. Reg. 1839, p. 430.

[2] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1849, p. 124; Ibid. 1852, p. 119.

religious instruction. It was in fact no uncommon thing for them, especially the poor or persons in distress, to propose to embrace Christianity, though quite ignorant of its nature, and without any feeling of their own sinfulness, or of their need of a Saviour. They had no other object in view than to get a livelihood, or to obtain protection from their oppressors.[1]

In this way great numbers of the people from time to time professed to renounce idolatry and placed themselves under Christian instruction, and though most of them could not be deemed Christians, and but a small proportion of them were baptized, yet it was considered as something that they had forsaken their idols and that they were learning the Word of God, and were gradually acquiring more correct views of truth and duty. There was a material improvement in their character, both intellectual and moral; they abandoned many of their former sins and much of their former superstition. Still, however, they laboured under many imperfections, and required much patience and forbearance to be exercised toward them. The knowledge of many of them was very imperfect. They had to contend with many superstitious notions, and many evil habits which they had acquired when in a state of heathenism. They were still greatly disposed to adhere to the customs of the country, not excepting those which were at variance with their Christian profession. They were worldlyminded, much given to quarrelling, and greatly disposed to cunning and falsehood. Indeed, many who from time to time placed themselves under Christian instruction afterwards drew back and relapsed into heathenism.[2]

In June 1834, the numbers connected with the Tinnevelly mission were as follows:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Total number of Families, | | | 3,004 |
| Do. | Individuals, | | 10,379 |
| Do. | Baptized— | | |
| | Men, | 754 | |
| | Women, | 560 | |
| | Children, | 715 | |
| | | | 2,029 |

[1] Memoir of the Rev. C. T. E. Rhenius, by his Son, p. 180, 193, 206, 281; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1826, p. 94, 96.

[2] Rhenius' Mem. p. 353, 355.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2. Schools, | | | 108 |
| Scholars— | | | |
| Boys, | 2,650 | | |
| Girls, | 160 | | |
| | | 2,810 | |
| 3. Catechists, | | | 34 |
| Assistant Catechists, | | | 83 |
| 4. Villages, | | | 257 |
| Chapels, | | | 23 |
| Small Prayer-houses, | | | 104 [1] |

From this statement, it will be seen that the mission had now attained to very considerable magnitude. The number of persons under instruction was large, and the machinery employed for this purpose was extensive. Such was the state of the mission when a train of circumstances occurred which for a time threatened its prosperity, and proved a severe trial to all connected with it.

In May 1835, the connection of Mr Rhenius with the Church Missionary Society was dissolved by a resolution to that effect by the committee in London. He originally belonged to the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and between him and the committee in England, and also the Corresponding committee in Madras, under whose superintendence he was placed, there had been in various instances differences both in principle and practice. He was, at least of late years, strongly opposed in many things to the Church of England, and it would not have been surprising though this had occasioned a separation between him and them long before now. Several years before, Messrs Rhenius and Schmidt, feeling the want of ordained assistants, proposed that they should be allowed to ordain one of their catechists; but this the committee refused to authorize, on the ground that there was now a bishop of their own Church in India, to whom they naturally wished to present for ordination any candidates who might be raised up in that country. On its being afterwards proposed to ordain several of the catechists, according to the forms of the Church of England, the individuals

[1] Grove's Present State of the Tinnevelly Mission, p. 4; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1835, p. x.; Rhenius' Mem. p. 554.

themselves, acting no doubt on the information and by the advice of the missionaries, declined receiving such ordination, on the ground of the subscription required to her formularies, of some of which they had no proper knowledge, there being no translation of them into the Tamil language, while to others they had serious objections. Though the committee, on finding this, did not press the matter, yet they expressed their surprise that the missionaries should assume to themselves the right of forming their converts into communities on the Lutheran model, and though they professed not to require them to adopt a different mode of carrying on the mission from that which they had hitherto pursued, yet they, not very consistently we think, put forth a claim that those who were initiated into the Christian faith through the Society's means, should be assimilated to themselves when formally settled as a religious community. In this state things remained for several years, but of late matters had been brought to a crisis. The Rev. Mr Harper, a member of the Madras corresponding committee, having published a work entitled "The Church, her Daughters and Handmaidens, her Pastors and People," had challenged Mr Rhenius to review it, his sentiments on the subject being well known to him. This challenge the latter accepted, and endeavoured to expose what he considered the unscriptural principles contained in the work. This gave rise to strong feelings of dissatisfaction among many of the members of the Church of England in India, and on the subject coming before the committee in London, they passed a resolution dissolving the connection of Mr Rhenius with the Society.[1]

It now became a question with Mr Rhenius and with his fellow-missionaries, Messrs Schafter, Muller, and Lechler, who in consequence of other proceedings resigned their connection with the Society, whether they should maintain their position in Tinnevelly, and they at first resolved to do so, but finding that there was a determination to send Church of England missionaries to Palamcotta and to maintain the mission in connection with the Society, and foreseeing that this would prove an occasion of strife and contention which could not fail to be a stumbling-block to the natives, both Christian and heathen,

[1] Rhenius' Mem. p. 193, 381, 427, 518; Strachan, p. 8, 29, 39.

they resolved to proceed to a different part of the country, notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of the catechists for them to remain.[1]

Mr Rhenius and his brethren met with great sympathy and much encouragement from many of the friends of missions in India, and after visiting Madras, they resolved on founding a new mission at Arcot, about sixty miles west of that city; but they had scarcely gone thither when letters were received by them from a large number of the catechists, urging them to return to Tinnevelly. There appears to have been great dissatisfaction and excitement among the catechists and others connected with the mission, and this was much increased by the proceedings of some of the agents of the Society. Mr Rhenius accordingly did return, and he was afterwards followed by Messrs Schafter, Muller, and Lechler. Great strife and disorder now arose in the mission, of which each party laid the blame at the door of the other; but lie where it might, there was thus presented before the eyes of the heathen the unseemly spectacle of Christian missionaries in an attitude of opposition and hostility to one another, each party striving to draw to itself the several portions of the mission, and to destroy the power of the other. On both sides there appear to have been reprehensible proceedings, at least if we may credit the accounts which they mutually give of the doings of each other, though as these often rest on native testimony, which is little to be trusted, it is not easy to form a correct judgment on the subject; but unquestionably the whole exhibits a most painful state of things in the congregations which had been collected from among the heathen, and particularly among the catechists and other assistants in the mission.[2]

[1] Rhenius' Mem. p. 479; Groves, p. 13, 21.

[2] Rhenius' Mem. p. 487, 510, 530, 533, 540; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1836, p. 36, 63; Rhenius' Reply to the Statement of the Madras Corresponding Committee, respecting the Tinnevelly Mission, p. 1, 18, 22; Rhenius' Narrative of Occurrences which led to his Return and renewed Settlement in Tinnevelly, 1835, p. 1, 3, 6, 7, 14, 18, 20; Petitt's Narrative of the Affairs of the Tinnevelly Mission, part i. *passim*.

We shall here state as briefly as we can, our views of the differences between the Church Missionary Society and Mr Rhenius, without entering very minutely into details.

1. In engaging Mr Rhenius and other Lutheran ministers, in the early years of the Society, without making any conditions as to their conforming to the Church of Eng-

The missionaries had now no longer any certain or regular means of support, but a great interest was excited in their behalf in India, and also among some of the friends of missions in England, Scotland, Germany, and America. They received, in

land, the committee, we apprehend, must be held as conceding to them the right of carrying on their labours, so far as ecclesiastical forms are concerned, according to the views and practice of the Lutheran Church. This is confirmed by the well-known fact that for near a century the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had acted on this principle in reference to its missions in India, in which scarcely any but Lutheran missionaries were employed. With such a precedent before both parties, we apprehend, there must be held to have been a tacit understanding between them that the committee were willing to grant, and that the missionaries were to have, the same liberty. On this ground, the committee were not entitled to refuse their consent to the missionaries ordaining one of the catechists, nor to express their surprise that they should assume to themselves the right of forming their converts into communities on the Lutheran model, nor to put forth a claim that those who were initiated into the Christian faith through their means should be assimilated to themselves when formally settled as a religious community. The missionaries of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had been allowed, whenever it was deemed advisable, to ordain natives to the ministry, and to form churches according to their own views: and though the Church of England had now a bishop in India, that did not entitle the committee to require the missionaries to conform to an order of things which had no existence at the time of their original engagement, and of which, from the knowledge they had obtained of it, they now conscientiously disapproved. The appointment of a bishop to India might affect, in some degree, the position of the Society; but it did not affect in any way the *rights* of missionaries sent out under a different state of things.

2. On the other hand, Mr Rhenius and other German ministers, who went out as missionaries under the Church Missionary Society, must, we apprehend, be held as engaging, if not formally, yet by implication, not to say or do any thing that might be considered as an act of hostility to the Church of England, with which the Society was so closely connected, and indeed almost identified, as any such act might prove injurious to its interests and usefulness, and that more especially in consequence of the relation in which they stood to it. If they could not consistently with their sense of duty maintain silence in regard to things of which they disapproved in the Church of England, they were bound to resign their connection with the Society, before making any *public* manifestation of their sentiments, that so its interests and its objects might not suffer through their relation to it.

Accordingly, though the Rev. Mr Harper was unquestionably to blame for challenging Mr Rhenius to review his work on the "Church," and promising to publish the article in the Madras Christian Observer, of which he was the editor, knowing as he did his sentiments on the subject; yet, on the other hand, Mr Rhenius should not have allowed himself to be tempted to accept the challenge which had been given to him, and to write a review impugning the constitution, government, ritual, formularies, and discipline of the Church of England; nor when Mr Harper did not publish the article, according to promises repeatedly made by him, was he warranted in publishing it himself, without, in the first instance, resigning his connection with the Society. Mr Rhenius himself afterwards expressed his sorrow for publishing the article in question, when he saw the consequences which resulted from the step he had taken. —*Mem.* p. 480, 500.

3. We do not see how the committee of the Church Missionary Society, representing

fact, much more liberal contributions than could have been expected; but whether they would have obtained permanent support in a state of separation from all missionary societies is exceedingly doubtful.[1]

In June 1838, Mr Rhenius died, in the forty-eighth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his labours as a missionary in

as they did a large body of the members of the Church of England, and consulting for the interests and usefulness of the Society, could do otherwise than dissolve their connection with Mr Rhenius, after he had published the article in question. We must grant to them the right of acting according to their own principles, and are not entitled to expect them to act on our views, even though we should consider their's as plainly wrong. It might be a hard case for Mr Rhenius; it might even be injurious to the particular mission with which he had been so long connected. But we must not take this limited view of the subject. We must consider what would have been the probable results of the committee continuing him as one of its missionaries in regard to the general interests and usefulness of the Society. Considering the views and feelings which prevailed very generally in the Church of England, and particularly of late years, in consequence of the questions which had now begun to agitate the public mind, if the attack he had made upon her had become extensively known, which it could scarcely fail to do, as the matter had excited great attention in India, this would in all likelihood have proved a severe, perhaps to some extent, a fatal blow to the Society, and thus the whole of its missionaries and the whole of its missions would have suffered, and its usefulness have been extensively and permanently injured, or perhaps even destroyed. Mr Groves himself expresses his conviction that the course pursued by the Society "arose not so much from a want of personal liberality, as from circumstances which they could not control, connected with the Church of England in India," (*Groves*, p. 12,) and we would be disposed to add, in England also.

4. We apprehend that Mr Rhenius and his brethren were wrong in returning to Tinnevelly, without the consent of, and in opposition to, the will of the committee of the Society. The mission field was, we think, to be held as belonging properly to the Society, by whose committee it had been originally adopted, at whose expense it had been cultivated for fifteen years past, and through whose agents it had been brought into what was considered its present flourishing condition. We do not mean to say, that nothing can be said on the opposite side of the question, but in weighing the claims of both parties, we apprehend the balance is clearly in favour of the Society.

It it plain that it was not expedient that both parties should occupy the mission field in Tinnevelly. This could scarcely fail to give rise to strife and contention; and, for the sake of avoiding these evils, Mr Rhenius and his brethren originally resolved to retire and to begin a mission in another part of the country. Of this, we think, every rightly constituted mind will approve. Now, if it was right in them, in the first instance, to retire from Tinnevelly, we apprehend it follows that it was wrong in them afterwards to return to it. There was no such change of circumstances as to warrant so opposite a course of conduct. This return was accordingly productive of all those evils which they originally anticipated, and probably in even a much greater degree than they had apprehended.

[1] Rhenius' Mem. p. 540, 543, 561, 572, 601, 609.

In 1836, their receipts amounted to 34,997 rupis: in 1837, they were only 19,552: there was a falling off in the contributions in nearly every quarter.

India.[1] After some time, his associates, Messrs Schafter and Muller, offered to join the Society again, provided they were allowed to carry on their labours on the same plan as had been followed before and after their separation. Schafter was received, but Muller could not agree to the terms which were proposed to him. However, he also was ultimately received. The division of the mission was thus healed, the congregations and catechists also resuming their connection with the Society; but in the mean while, the very imperfect Christianization of the people had been made manifest; and although it had formerly been supposed that a great work of conversion had been going on in this part of India, it was now plain that a much too exalted idea had been formed of it.[2] To say nothing of conversion, even the instruction given them was found to have been very imperfect. From the great numbers who professed to renounce their idols, and from their living scattered in so many different villages, their instruction could only be carried on through a subordinate agency. Hence arose the employment of numerous natives as catechists, readers, and schoolmasters. Under such a system, the influence of the European mind, and of clear and full views of divine truth, could be brought to bear only very partially on the natives. The character and qualifications of many of the agents were far from being satisfactory, and the work, it is plain, could not

[1] It deserves to be stated to the honour of the Committees of the Church Missionary Society, both in India and in England, that notwithstanding all that had happened, they, in a very handsome manner, granted the same allowance to the widow and children of Mr Rhenius as would have been made to them, if the connection between him and the Society had not been broken off.—*Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc.* 1839, p. 78.

[2] The Rev. J. Tucker, secretary of the Madras corresponding committee, wrote in 1839: "When I first visited the mission," says he, "in April 1835, I was greatly struck with all I saw; and, like most others that preceded me, saw all that seemed lovely, and hastily concluded that a wonderful work of conversion had been going on;" but having been for a short time on the spot, when the missionaries left the Society only two months afterwards, his eyes were opened to the true character of the mission.—*(Miss. Reg.* 1839, p. 508.*)* We may here remark, that we have little faith in the accounts given of missions by travellers or casual visitors. They, in general, see only the surface and outward appearance of things, and from these they often draw conclusions which are not warranted by the circumstances, and state the imaginings of their own minds as if they were positive observations. No man can form a correct estimate of a mission from a short and casual visit, especially of one which is considered as having had great success. To judge of the moral and religious condition of such a mission, requires a lengthened residence among the people, extensive and free intercourse with them, as well as great caution, penetration, discrimination, impartiality and honesty in the observer.

but be defective when the instrumentality was faulty, and in some cases even worse than useless.[1]

In 1841, when the mission was again considered as going on prosperously, there broke forth against it a bold and reckless persecution, which threatened not only to check its progress, but to destroy much that had already been accomplished. It was manifest on various occasions, that many influential heathens viewed with rancorous feelings the progress of the gospel, and though the Christians had been often maltreated on account of their religion, yet hitherto there had been no organized system of opposition to it. Reports of the design of the British government to break off its connection with, and its support of, the temples and worship of the Hindus, combined with the apparent rapid spread of Christianity, produced great excitement among the natives, and led to the formation of something quite new among them, an association called the *Ashes Society*, the members of which were required to swear by the sacred ashes, the badge of Siva's followers, that they would be true to the religion and customs of the country, and firm in their opposition to Christianity. They accordingly commenced a furious persecution of the native Christians, turning them out of their places of worship, pulling down their prayer-houses, robbing private houses, beating the catechists, and compelling many, particularly new inquirers, to return to the religion of their fathers. Petitions were also got up to the government against the converts, the catechists, the missionaries, and even against the European authorities, who had dismissed their false and malicious complaints, and, in some instances, punished both the complainants and the witnesses on account of them. As a specimen of their petitions, we may mention that the heading of one of them was against "the murders, plunders, highway robberies, demolition of the temples of Hindu deities, and other wicked injustice carried on by the missionaries who have recently been strolling about in this Zillah, teaching the Christian Veda, and by the ever wicked Maravers, spurious Shanars, Pariars, Pallars, and other low caste mobs, which they have got into their possession."[2]

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1839, p. 78; Ibid. 1840, p. 69; Ibid. 1841, p. xii.; Ibid. 1842, p. 69.

[2] Miss. Reg. 1842, p. 509, 516; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1843, p. 65.

After some months, these violent proceedings were stopped; but similar outrages were committed a few years afterwards in the Nulloor district, and though they were speedily checked, yet it was not until much property belonging to the Christians was destroyed, and many of them were reduced to beggary. The chief instigators and leaders of these acts of violence escaped to Madras, and for a time eluded the warrants which the magistrate had issued against them. It soon became evident that the persecutions in Tinnevelly had been abetted by parties at a distance, and that the culprits would obtain from the same quarter every assistance in their defence of which their cause was capable. The Christian witnesses were subjected to severe cross-examinations, and much evidence was brought forward in the hope of proving that the Christians were the first aggressors. The attempt, however, failed, and after sentence had been given against them by heathen officers in the local courts, and by the provincial judge, the proceedings were brought under the review of the supreme court in Madras. The cause of the culprits was espoused by some of the local newspapers, and by a large meeting of influential natives; but truth and justice at length prevailed; and though most of the criminals escaped, some were severely punished. During the progress of these events, the character of the native Christians in Tinnevelly, and the proceedings of the missionaries, were severely assailed both by natives and by some who bore the Christian name among the Europeans.[1]

Though the great body of the Christians stood firm to their religious professions, amidst the troubles which they were called to suffer, yet many, particularly of the new inquirers, as has been already hinted, were constrained by the violent proceedings of their countrymen to return to the religion of their fathers. The numbers indeed who had of late years come over to the missionaries were so great, that it is no way surprising that so many of them should have gone back to idolatry. It was not individuals merely who returned to heathenism; but in many cases large bodies of people. As whole villages came forward asking instruction, so whole villages also fell away. In 1841, for example, the number of inquirers or candidates for

[1] Miss. Reg. 1846, p. 156; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1847, p. 77.

baptism was 19,663; in the following year, it was 13,604, or 6059 fewer, and that notwithstanding there had been, as usual, a considerable accession of new inquirers, as they were called, in the course of the year. This was no doubt an extraordinary case; but yet in other instances, the numbers who returned to idolatry were very considerable.[1]

Caste and other heathenish practices still exercised considerable influence over many of the people. Some of the congregations shewed great unwillingness to be instructed by a catechist of a lower caste than their own. The question of marriage was also one of great difficulty and delicacy. Notwithstanding all the advice and reproof given them, they would still give their daughters in marriage to heathens, and take their daughters to wife in return. The ties and rights of relationship, and the customs of marriage established among the natives from time immemorial, bind so closely together even Christians and heathens, that it appears almost impossible to dissolve the former, or to prohibit the latter, and hence great decision of character and strong resolution are required to resist temptations of this sort, and to put away such practices. It is not easy for a European to form a just estimate of the difficulties which surround a native of this country in giving up ancient customs and conforming to Christian rules. A difficulty which to us looks as an atom, appears to him like a mountain. It is not always easy to know how to act in cases of this kind, whether and in what degree, to exercise strictness or forbearance. In judging of the natives, we are exceedingly apt not to make due allowance for their peculiar temptations and circumstances.[2]

[1] Miss. Reg. 1842, p. 516; Ibid. 1843, p. 365; Ibid. 1847, p. 108, 110; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1842, p. 70; Ibid. 1843, p. 64; Ibid. 1846, p. 81; Ibid. 1848, p. 106.

The above is an example of the *decrease* of the numbers connected with the mission: the following is an instance of the *increase*. "In January 1845, the number of persons under Christian instruction amounted to 23,868; and in January 1846, to 30,698; being," it is added, "a blessed increase of 6850 souls brought, in one year, out of the darkness of heathenism to the light of the Gospel."—(*Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc.* 1846, p. 79.) But unhappily for this remark, in January the next year, there was a decrease of 3213, (*Ibid.* 1847, p. 77); and in 1849 it was no less than 7325.—(*Ibid.* 1849, p. 128.) Even these statements, however, do not shew the total number of new inquirers, nor of the exclusions or relapses into heathenism: they exhibit merely the *balance* of the increase or decrease. The number of new inquirers in the one year, and the number of exclusions or relapses in the other, must both have been much greater than is stated in either case.

[2] Miss. Reg. 1839, p. 465; Ibid. 1842, p. 512.

In January 1853, the following were the numbers connected with this mission:—

| Under Instruction. | Unbaptized. | Baptized. | Communicants. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 27,175 | 11,236 | 15,936 | 3,357[1] |

We acknowledge we attach little importance to great numbers being baptized in any mission. With us this is commonly a ground not of satisfaction but of suspicion. We are glad, however, to find it stated that a decided improvement has taken place in the mission in this part of the country. It presented the aspect of an extensive district, where the darkness of heathenism has for many years been gradually retiring before the light of the gospel. It contained not a few villages, the inhabitants of which had all forsaken idolatry and embraced Christianity. Some years before, the whole appeared, so to speak, as a loose unformed mass, in which the gospel was at work like leaven. Now the various congregations were settling down, in different stages of progress, into consolidated Christian communities. Throughout the mission generally, the people were making every effort to erect good and substantial places of worship. Female education was much more thought of than it was formerly, and as the catechists had generally married girls educated in the female boarding schools, the influence of these educated women located in the several villages promised to be exceedingly salutary. The improvement of the people was visible in their more cleanly appearance, their more industrious habits, their increased wealth, and their greater independence of character. Heathenism appeared to be wasting away and losing its hold of the natives, if not in the large towns, yet in the villages. Christianity was making them ashamed of it; they were growing indifferent to it; the Pesachis were less feared, and devil-dances less sought after. So far as human instrumentality was concerned, the chief cause of the progress of the mission, and of the improvement which took place among the people, was the division of the country into districts, each of them hav-

[1] Miss. Reg. 1853, p. 366.

ing its own missionaries, catechists, and teachers, a principle which we have long been persuaded is of vast importance in carrying on missions among the heathen.[1]

But though there has been an extensive profession of Christianity in Tinnevelly, and a considerable outward improvement of the people, we have no idea that there has been much spiritual good effected in that country; it bears, we are persuaded, but a small proportion to the numbers who, from time to time, have professed to receive the gospel. The history of other missions in the south of India would naturally excite apprehensions of this kind; the history of this very mission in its early years, goes far to strengthen these suspicions, and though we are told that it has of late years been much improved, we cannot but fear that it still retains not a little of its old character. Indeed, we are expressly informed "that the number of conversions from darkness to light bore a very small proportion to the numbers who assumed a profession of Christianity."[2] "Probably," says the Rev. Mr Blackman, one of the missionaries, "there is more scriptural knowledge among them than among the same number of uneducated people in England. However, to abandon outward idolatry, and to learn something of Christianity, is comparatively easy. But to give up deceit, lying, covetousness, and other sins, is a far different matter. Idols of wood and stone may be utterly despised, while the idols of the heart are cherished and adored."[3] "An increase of knowledge," he says on another occasion, "is apparent in some of the congregations, but the Holy Spirit in his converting and sanctifying influences is not granted in an abundant measure. Throughout the whole body of professing Christians, there is a deadness of affection toward spiritual things, more desire for earthly than for things heavenly. Hence a low state of morality, jealousies, and ill-will one toward another are too prevalent."[4] These statements were made indeed some years ago, but we have no reason for supposing that they are not still substantially true of the great body of the people.[5]

[1] Miss. Reg. 1844, p. 287.
[2] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1839, p. 80.
[3] Miss. Reg. 1839, p. 469.
[4] Ibid. 1840, p. 459; Calcutta Christian Observer, vol. xiii. p. 6.
[5] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1848, p. 117.

## Art. 5.—Travancore.

In 1816, the Rev. Thomas Norton and Benjamin Bailey proceeded to Travancore with a special view to the revival of scriptural piety in the Syrian church, a branch of which had existed on the coast of Malabar from an early period of the Christian era.[1]

The Syrians had long been reduced to the lowest state of poverty and depression, through the unrelenting oppression of the Romish church, and the blighting influence of the despotic government of the princes of the country; but of late years, Colonel Munro, the English resident at the court of the Ranee of Travancore, had exerted himself in various ways for the amelioration of their condition, and through his influence a considerable number of them had been invited to fill important offices under the government as judges, collectors of the revenue, &c. Through his influence also a college was erected and endowed at a village named Cottayam, for the instruction of Catanars or priests, and of Syrian youths generally, with a view to their being qualified to fill offices under the government. It was in like manner with his concurrence, and with the promise of his support, that the present mission was undertaken.[2]

Though the Syrians kept up the profession and some of the outward forms of Christianity, yet religion was at a very low ebb among them. The churches were generally ancient

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. v. p. 454, 496; Ibid. 1819, p. 317; Miss. Reg. 1816, p. 37, 453; La Croze Histoire du Christianisme des Indes, tom. i. p. 57, 64, 70.

The Syrian Church, on the coast of Malabar, was, partly by artifice and intrigue, partly by force and oppression, brought into subjection to the see of Rome in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, after the settlement of the Portuguese in that part of India; but about the middle of the seventeenth century, part of them broke off from the Romish Church, and resumed their independence. The Syrian Christians, properly so called, in a letter addressed a few years ago to their brethren in Mesopotamia, stated, that they consisted of 11,972 families, and that they had forty-five churches and a half. They are found chiefly in the interior of Travancore, toward the foot of the Ghauts. In the government census of Travancore in 1836, they are stated to amount to 118,382 souls; while the Romano-Syrians are stated to be 56,184.—*La Croze, Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, tom. i. p. 275; tom. ii. p. 1, 95; *Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc.* 1819, p. 319; *Ibid.* 1820, p. 336; *Wilson's Lands of the Bible*, vol. ii. p. 506.

[2] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 168, 315, 325; Ibid. 1820, p. 337; Miss. Reg. 1820, p. 503.

buildings, many of them hundreds of years old; some were rather splendid edifices and of considerable extent, and were not unlike many of the old parish churches in England.[1] They had neither pews nor benches, but they were provided with altars and crosses, before which lights were kept continually burning. There were no pulpits; the priests adopted the ancient mode of sitting when they addressed the people. The whole services were in Syriac, which to the people is an unknown tongue; they were chaunted by the catanars, and accompanied by frequent genuflexions, prostrations, and crossings on the forehead and breast; there was also the burning of incense and the adoration of the host. Preaching there was none; the catanars were in general too ignorant themselves to teach the people. Some of them had not read the whole of the New Testament; they were even unacquainted with the most remarkable facts contained in the Holy Scriptures, as well as with the plainest and most important doctrines of the gospel. Celibacy was now general among them; though not positively enjoined great sanctity was ascribed to it; and the result was, as in other churches where the practice prevails, great licentiousness, the catanars being distinguished for the looseness of their lives. The consequence of all this was, that the people generally were sunk in ignorance, superstition, and vice. There was a total absence of every thing like devotion in their religious services, and it was rare to meet with any one who had so much as a rational thought about eternity. The Sabbath was entirely disregarded by them; they pursued on it their ordinary avocations as on other days. The profanation of the name of God, drunkenness, and the lusts of the flesh, were also very prevalent among them. Yet, notwithstanding all this, they are represented as several degrees above the heathen around them, as of a mild and simple character, as honest and truthful, though, at the same time, as extremely indolent.[2]

[1] Pictures of many of them may be seen in Dr Buchanan's Memoirs, vol. ii.

[2] Miss. Reg. 1818, p. 102, 110; Ibid. 1822, p. 426, 428; Ibid. 1829, p. 326; Ibid. 1831, p. 243; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 315, 325; Ibid. 1820, p. 337, 342, 344; Ibid. 1821, p. 162, 272.

It is remarkable how much all the ancient churches have in common with the Church of Rome; and how nearly they resemble each other, particularly in their ceremonial and superstitious practices. This would seem to indicate that many of the

Low as the Syrian church had fallen, it was not the object of the mission to lead the people to separate themselves from it, but to raise it from its present wretched condition, and to do this as much as possible through its own instrumentality, particularly its ecclesiastical authorities, the Metran[1] and catanars. Mr Norton settled at Allepie, where he laboured among both Christians and heathens. Mr Bailey was attached to the col-

evils which are found in the ancient churches have a common origin, and, by consequence, the early corruption of Christianity, before the church was even broken down into sects and parties. It may be easy for one who wishes to exhibit these churches under a favourable aspect, to allege this and the other point of difference between them and the Church of Rome; for example, that while she prohibits the reading of the Scriptures by the laity, they do not forbid the use of them. But truly, the difference between them is at least, practically, very immaterial; for, if the Scriptures were read at all, it was in a dead language, which the people, and in many cases the priests themselves, did not understand, as the ancient Greek, Armenian, Coptic, or Syriac, while there were no translations of them into their mother tongue, and if they had even had them, they would not generally have been able to read them. In fact, where such translations have of late years been made, they have commonly met with great opposition. The ancient churches which are still existing, are, in reality, little if at all better than the Romish Church. We question if there are even to be found in them those examples of piety which are occasionally to be found in the Church of Rome.—*Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc.* 1849, p. 76; *Ibid.* 1852, p. 70.

[1] Notwithstanding the poverty of the Syrian Church in India, the metran, who is at the head of it, keeps up an imposing style of dress. Major Mackworth, giving an account of a visit which he paid to him in the college at Cottayam, says, "We proceeded to the apartment of the metropolitan, whom we found in his usual robe of crimson silk, with an agate cross suspended from his neck by a golden chain, red shoes, gold or gilt buckles, and his head covered with a peculiarly shaped silk handkerchief, in which numerous small crosses were marked. The crimson robe resembled in shape an English clergyman's surplice, and the dress was certainly handsome."

This appears to be the metran's ordinary dress. The following is Major Mackworth's account of his official costume: "In the evening, the metropolitan came to us in state, which he had kindly consented to do in order to afford me the gratification of seeing him in his pontifical robes. He wears a mitre on these occasions; and the pastoral crook or crozier is carried before him. The latter is of a very ancient form, having the top ornamented with gold, and the staff made of polished black wood, with a stripe of silver descending spirally from the top to the bottom. After a short time, he took off most of his robes, and kept on only the usual one of crimson silk."

The metran lived in the college, but his apartments presented a somewhat striking contrast to his dress. Major Mackworth gives the following account of his farewell visit to him: "We again visited the metropolitan, and it was not without some emotion of sorrow that I finally quitted this venerable man. He received me as before in his little bedroom; the furniture of which consisted simply of a bed, three chairs, a very small table, a wooden chest, and a brass lamp. From the canopy of his bed some dresses of ceremony were hanging on a cord, and a very few books lay on the chest opposite the one small window. Besides this little room, he has one other, not much larger, which is nearly empty. Such I pictured to myself the abode of an archbishop in the primitive ages of the church, before the progress of society and civilization had effected a corresponding change."—*Miss. Reg.* 1823, p. 153, 154.

lege at Cottayam,[1] where he was afterwards joined by the Rev. Messrs Fenn and Baker, who with him were to devote themselves to the revival of pure religion in the Syrian church. With this view there were three objects which they primarily contemplated, an improved course of education in the college for candidates for the priesthood, the translation of the Holy Scriptures and other useful works into the Malayalim language, and the establishment of schools throughout the country for the education of the young. It was the design of the missionaries to attempt as little change as possible in the Syrian church, that so its character and individuality might be preserved; and it was their constant study to gain the confidence of the metran, to act in strict harmony with him, and to conciliate his co-operation and that of the priesthood, so as to make them as much as possible the instruments of its reformation. They appeared completely successful in winning the confidence of the metran, Mar Dionysius, who is represented as entitled to much respect, not only on account of his official rank, but of his character as a wise and humble man. He was deemed the head of the mission as well as of the Syrian church. Nothing was done without acquainting him with it, nor was any thing allowed to which he at all objected. His mind appeared to open to a view of the real state of the church over which he presided, and to enter cordially into the plans proposed for its improvement.[2]

The cataṇars and the people, it was more difficult to conciliate. Their ignorance, their political depression, their jealousy of foreign interference, their tenaciousness of their own habits and customs, and, above all, the licentious manners of the priests, concurred to render this a matter of peculiar difficulty and delicacy. Many raised every obstacle in their power to the adoption of measures calculated to restrain their vicious practices. The missionaries, however, appeared by their cautious and conciliatory conduct, to disarm their jealousy and opposition, and to win the favourable regards of both the priests and the people.[3]

[1] An engraving of the college may be found in the Missionary Register for 1824, p. 416.

[2] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. v. p. 454; Ibid. 1819, p. 167, 315, 326; Ibid. 1820, p. 178, 338; Ibid. 1822, p. 153.

[3] Miss. Reg. 1818, p. 98; Ibid. 1825, p. 543; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 167, 323; Ibid. 1820, p. 339.

Whether worldly motives might not have some influence in producing these results does not appear; but it is proper to mention, that a civil connection was established through Colonel Munro, between the Syrian people at large and the missionaries, by the latter being made the channel of access and appeal to the English resident, and through him to the Ranee's government. Thus the missionaries were constituted the medium through which the redress of grievances was to be obtained, and all the privileges of the Syrians were in some measure committed into their hands. All this might appear good policy, nor have we any evidence that it failed of its object; but to our view, it savours more of worldly wisdom than of Christian simplicity; and we cannot but deprecate the mingling up of missionaries with secular or political matters, with a view to some ulterior, and especially to a spiritual end. With respect to the metran, he was not only the head of the college and resided in it, but he was allowed a salary of fifty rupis monthly from its funds, and this was afterwards increased to seventy; his salary had previously been drawn from very objectionable sources.[1]

In December 1818, Mr Fenn, in an assembly of catanars and elders, over which the metran presided, delivered an address, in which he drew their attention to various things in the constitution and practice of their church which called for inquiry and consideration, such as the degrees or orders of their clergy, and the duties and privileges of each class; the rites and ceremonies, and particularly the objects, of their worship; the ends proposed by Christ in the institution of a priesthood, and the appointment of public worship, and whether these were secured in their church; and finally, the life and conversation of the clergy, including the practice of celibacy and its results. It was plain from Mr Fenn's address, that in regard to these various points he thought there was much in their church that was unwarranted by, and contrary to, the word of God; but with the view of bringing about a reformation of existing evils through their own instrumentality, it was proposed that the metran should appoint six of their ablest and most respected catanars, who, along with him and the Malpan, should define their present rites, ceremonies, and worship; and that the missionaries should

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 166, 168, 316, 326; Miss. Reg. 1830, p. 503.

with them discuss every point, and judge of it by the rule of Scripture, to the authority of which, it is said, the Syrians amidst all their declension and corruption were ever ready to submit, a statement the accuracy of which we greatly question, at least as regards their practice.[1]

Whether the address of Mr Fenn led to any inquiry into, or any discussion of, the various points referred to by him, does not appear; but there was one important matter, the celibacy of the clergy, to which the attention of the metran had been early drawn, and in regard to which a reformation was already begun. He was decidedly favourable to the change, but, as has been already mentioned, the Syrians attach great sanctity to a life of celibacy, and it was merely on account of the dissolute state of morals among the clergy that he acceded to it. It was urged in favour of the existing practice that the priests were too poor to maintain a wife and family. To obviate this objection, Colonel Munro had offered to give 400 rupis to the first catanar who should marry, and promised to make arrangements by which the priests generally might marry and support their families. The proposal of catanars marrying was, however, so novel, that the people hesitated to give their daughters to them in marriage; but after two or three years, a considerable number of them were married, though there were still a few who objected to the practice.[2]

Among the objects of the mission, no one was felt to be of more urgent necessity than the raising up of a body of well qualified priests for the Syrian Church; and with a view to this, the missionaries were anxious to introduce into the college at Cottayam a regular and efficient course of instruction for candidates for holy orders. When they first arrived in the country, there were in it thirty or forty sub-deacons, youths between the age of fourteen and twenty-two, designed for the priesthood; some of them could not read their own language, and few were desirous of any knowledge beyond what was absolutely necessary to give them admission into the priesthood. Under the missionaries, the number of students increased, until it at length exceeded a hundred; but many of them were little

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 326; Ibid. 1820, p. 341.

[2] Miss. Reg. 1818, p. 99; Ibid. 1822, p. 427; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1820, p. 178.

better than boys, and the education given them was necessarily of an elementary character, more like that of a school than of a college. Besides Syrian and Malayalim, they were taught English, Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, History, Geography, Arithmetic, Algebra, and Mathematics. Theology does not appear to have held that place in the course of education which one would have expected in a seminary for preparing candidates for the Christian ministry. This arose probably from a fear of alarming the prejudices of the Syrians, yet Scriptural instruction was not altogether overlooked. Many of the students made very respectable progress, though the success of the Institution was materially affected by the want of suitable teachers. Of the existence of true piety among the students, there was little or no evidence. They appeared in general to have no idea of the necessity of a change of heart, but rested satisfied with the performance of outward rites and superstitious ceremonies.[1]

With the view of preparing pupils for the college, the missionaries established a grammar-school at Cottayam, in which the more elementary branches of education were taught. It was one of the difficulties and disadvantages under which the college originally laboured, that the students who entered it were unacquainted with even the first principles of knowledge. Dr Watt's First and Second Catechisms for Children were among the books which they learned; and though simple in themselves, they contained what the students had hitherto been very ignorant of. To remedy this state of things, the grammar-school was established; the more promising boys were selected for it, and were initiated in the English, Malayalim, and Sanskrit languages, and in other elementary branches of knowledge, preparatory to their entering the college.[2]

With a view to the education of the Syrian children generally, it was the wish of the missionaries to attach a school to every church, the expense of such schools to be provided for by the churches themselves; and as the salary of the teachers was only five rupis monthly, they did not doubt the practicability of the plan. The metran accordingly gave orders to the catanars and

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 316; Ibid. 1821, p. 162; Miss. Reg. 1822, p. 426; Ibid. 1827, p. 90, 600; Ibid. 1830, p. 503; Ibid. 1831, p. 505; Ibid. 1832, p 482.

[2] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1821, p. 162, 165; Ibid. 1823, p. 149; Miss. Reg. 1827, p. 90; Ibid. 1830, p. 333.

elders of the different churches to which teachers were sent, to pay them out of the funds of the church; but the Syrians were not at all willing to meet this expense, unless compelled to do so by the metran. Few of them were able to read; and they were even more indifferent about the education of their children than the heathen around them. The missionaries, notwithstanding this, established a considerable number of schools throughout the country, but they were not numerously attended, and some, after a time, had to be given up.[1]

There was only one school for girls. Among the Syrians the females were in a peculiarly degraded condition. Christianity seemed to have done nothing for them. When the school was first established, the parents were very unwilling to send their daughters to it; but afterwards, when they saw the advantages which were to be derived from it, they were anxious for them to attend it. Besides reading and writing their own language, the girls were taught knitting, spinning, and plain needlework.[2]

The translation of the Holy Scriptures into Malayalim, was also an object to which the missionaries early directed their attention. A version was accordingly made by several of the catanars under the superintendence of Mr Bailey. It was made from the Syriac; but it was so ill executed, that it was found of little use. Mr Bailey therefore proceeded to make a new translation, which of course proved the work of years, as every good version of the Scriptures must of necessity do. The printing of it was also attended with some difficulties. A fount of Malayalim types was procured from the foundry of the college of Fort St George; but it was so defective in point of form, construction, and number, that it proved nearly useless. Hopeless of obtaining any thing better, at least for a long time, Mr Bailey, though he had never seen a type-foundry, nor any part of its apparatus, resolved to attempt forming his own types, with such aid as he could get from books and from common workmen. He had recourse chiefly to the Encyclopædia Britannica, and with the instructions which he derived from that and one or two small works, and with the help of a carpenter

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1821, p. 163; Ibid. 1823, p. 149; Miss. Reg. 1831, p. 243, 245.

[2] Miss. Reg. 1830, p. 504.

and two silversmiths, he succeeded in producing a fount of types, at once correct and beautiful, and much smaller in size than the one received from Madras, so as to reduce materially the expense of printing.[1]

In May 1825, the metran Dionysius died of cholera after an illness of a few hours. The malpan Philip was chosen his successor by lot, and Philoxenus, who was formerly elected to the office, but who finding himself unequal to its duties had since lived in retirement, now resumed his episcopal cares. Previous, however, to these events, a bishop named Athanasius was deputed by the patriarch of Antioch to be the metran of the Syrian church on the coast of Malabar. On his arrival at Travancore, the people were overjoyed at having a foreign metran who had been sent to them by the patriarch of the mother church of Antioch, and shewed him every possible respect; but he quickly proceeded to exercise his authority with a high hand, and to act in the most rash and violent manner. In an interview with the resident, Colonel Newall, he demanded the immediate recognition of himself by the government of the country, as the metran of the Syrian church in Malabar, and the suspension of the local metrans. He suspended catanars for acts done in obedience to the late metran Dionysius, demolished a tomb erected in the church to his memory, denied the validity of the title of the present metrans, gave orders for omitting their names in the prayers, and declared that they must be stripped of their robes, resign their cross and pastoral staff, and return to the office of priests; that every priest and deacon ordained by them must be re-ordained, and also every ecclesiastic ordained by the last four metrans, as he did not acknowledge their title to the office, thus annulling the acts of the last nineteen years. He alarmed Philoxenus by threatening to come himself and strip him of his robes, and take by force his cross and staff, and break them in pieces. He actually did re-ordain some of the catanars, and changed their dress from white to black, and shaved off all their hair, placing a little cap on the top of their heads. The two metrans he continually called the children of Satan; and one evening in one of the churches, he

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1818, p. 121; Ibid. 1819, p. 321, 324; Ibid. 1824, p. 151; Ibid. 1825, p. 133.

and the Ramban who accompanied him pronounced them over the gospels, *Accursed*. Philoxenus was originally willing to admit of his counsels as a friendly visitor, but he resisted his arbitrary and domineering exercise of authority. The catanars and people so far supported the local metrans, that they were averse to their being superseded; but yet they were desirous of submitting to Athanasius, under the idea of his being clothed with the authority of the Church of Antioch. His measures, however, soon awakened general dissatisfaction. It became evident that it was a main object with him to exact from them as much money as possible, as he taxed marriages with heavy fees, and made bargains with the richer Syrians for their daughters being married to catanars. His resolute destruction of images might have been a substantial service to the Church; but it was feared that the disgust which his violent proceedings produced might lead the people to cherish this evil the more pertinaciously. In his attempts to obtain possession of the college, he was resisted by the missionaries, under the authority of the resident, Colonel Newall; and the government of Travancore judged it necessary for the maintenance of its own authority, to send him out of the country, when he had been scarcely six months in it. After some time, the disturbances which he had raised subsided in a great degree, though not until strong measures were taken with some of the catanars who had attached themselves to him.[1]

In 1829, the New Testament in Malayalim, translated by Mr Bailey, issued from the press at Cottayam; and it was followed some years afterwards by the Old Testament. He also translated into that language the Book of Common Prayer,[2] and

[1] Miss. Reg. 1825, p. 544; Ibid. 1826, p. 115, 478; Ibid. 1827, p. 600.

[2] The missionaries soon after their arrival in the country, translated the Morning and Evening Services, and some other portions of the English Liturgy, into Malayalim, and made use of them in public worship, not only without giving offence, but the metrans, catanars, and others expressed themselves much pleased with them. The metran even requested Mr Bailey to procure more copies, that they might be sent to all the churches. Some of the catanars read them in their churches. The missionaries had no design to impose on the Syrians any of the ceremonies of the Church of England; but yet the committee thought fit to convey to them their decided judgment, that the Syrians should be brought back to their own ancient and primitive worship and discipline, rather than be induced to adopt the liturgy and discipline of the English Church; and that should any considerations incline them to such a measure, it would be highly expedient to dissuade them from it, both for the preservation of

various smaller pieces. Besides these works, he compiled a dictionary of high and colloquial Malayalim and English, which was printed in a quarto volume. A grammar of the Malayalim language was also published by the Rev. J. Peet, another of the missionaries.[1] The philological labours of the missionaries were thus considerable.

The missionaries preached frequently in the Syrian churches, and to this no objection appears to have been made; but they did not, for a number of years, establish any regular system of preaching in a place set apart for the service of the Church of England. They at length, however, judged it advisable to have stated and regular worship according to the English forms, in the grammar school. The service in the forenoon was in English; in the afternoon, in Malayalim. The attendants consisted chiefly of the students in the college, and the boys in the grammar school, the girls in the female school, and a few other individuals connected with the mission. One object which the missionaries had in view, was to exhibit to the Syrians the forms of worship in the Church of England, that they might compare them with those used in their own church.[2]

The most sanguine expectations were entertained for many years, both by the missionaries and by others, of the success of this mission. The reformation of the Syrian Church was looked forward to by them with confidence; and it was also hoped that it would become a powerful instrument of spreading the light of divine truth in the neighbouring countries. But these expectations were doomed, at least for the present, to disappointment. There was no reformation of the Syrian Church; no revival of religion among the people. Among the catanars there was little improvement; among the laity generally no material change. Many had attained some degree of knowledge; but it appeared to be unsanctified. The rites and ceremonies of the church remained as before; as did also the errors and superstitions of the people.[3]

their individuality and entireness, and for preventing those jealousies and heart-burnings to which it would in all likelihood give birth.—*Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc.* 1819, p. 321, 324; *Ibid.* 1820, p. 179, 345.

[1] Miss. Reg. 1831, p. 285; Ibid. 1847, p. 443; Rep. Brit. and For. Bible Soc. 1832, p. 111; Ibid. 1842, p. 64; Ibid. 1843, p. 77; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1847, p. xx.

[2] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1820, p. 345; Miss. Reg. 1829, p. 328; Ibid. 1831, p. 242.

[3] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 316; Ibid. 1820, p. 343, 345; Ibid. 1825, p. 130;

In 1835, Dr Wilson, the bishop of Calcutta, in the course of the visitation of his extensive diocese, paid a visit to the Syrian Christians and to the missionaries in Travancore. On this occasion, he conferred with the metran[1] on various matters both in private and in the presence of his clergy, and recommended various points in regard to doctrine and worship to their consideration. It was hoped that this visit would be followed by important results; but these expectations were entirely disappointed. Various circumstances arose to impede and embarrass the operations of the missionaries, though what these were is not stated. It would seem that the metran renounced connection with them, and rejected their further help.[2]

The connection of the missionaries with the metran and the Syrian Church being now broken up, they adopted a new and independent course of operation. In consequence of the disruption, a question arose as to the property of the college; but it was at length settled by three commissioners, who were appointed for this purpose, and who awarded a proportion of its value to the mission. With this a new college was erected, which was entirely under their care; and in it was given a sound classical education, combined with full scriptural instruction, with the view of training up a native ministry in connection with the Church of England.[3] But though the number of students was considerable, and though their progress in their studies was respectable, few of them manifested the piety and other moral qualifications which are essential to a Christian ministry, a result naturally to be expected when persons who give no evidence of a change of heart, are set on a course of study for the ministry, in the hope that during their studies

Ibid. 1826, p. 102; Miss. Reg. 1825, p. 543; Ibid. 1831, p. 505; Ibid. 1835, p. 460; Ibid. 1836, p. 547; Ibid. 1838, p. 248, 321.

[1] This was not the metran Philoxenus: he died in 1829.—*Miss. Reg.* 1830, p. 422.

[2] Miss. Reg. 1836, p. 256; Ibid. 1838, p. 321; Ibid. 1843, p. 508; Ibid. 1844, p. 329; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1836 p. 38; Ibid, 1839, p. 80.

The Rev. Mr Corrie, afterwards Bishop of Madras, gives the following account:—"After the Bishop of Calcutta had been there, and had plainly spoken out what reforms were considered necessary for the clergy, the two metrans collected a hasty synod of their church, and voted in a violent manner, that they would have no reform, nor any thing further to do with the missionaries."—*Bishop Corrie's Memoirs*, p. 594.

[3] Miss. Reg. 1840, p. 461; Ibid. 1843, p. 368; Ibid. 1844, p. 328; Ibid. 1847, p. 443.

that change will be produced, instead of looking to personal piety, as an essential pre-requisite to entrance on a course of preparation for such a sacred work. Even in our own country, such an experiment will commonly be found to fail: how much more may it be expected to fail in such a country as India?

The missionaries now called on the Syrians to come out of their own church, in the same way as they would call on members of the Romish Church to leave her communion, and such as did so, they were ready to receive into the Church of England. Places of worship were built at Cottayam, Pallam, Mavelicare,[1] and also at several out-stations in which the liturgy of the English Church was used. The congregations consisted chiefly of Syrians, numbers of whom, it is stated, were beginning to see the corruptions of their own church. It may naturally be supposed that these new measures would call forth strong opposition on the part of the Syrian Church; but though there was opposition, it was only temporary; their stoutest opponents, who were generally catanars, ceased, after a time, to give them any trouble. Indeed, the Syrian Church was torn by internal dissensions. There were at one time three metrans, and a fourth had arrived at Bombay. The only one possessing authority was daily engaged in ordaining children, some of them only five years old, for a stipulated fee![2]

In January 1853, the number of persons under instruction in connection with this mission, amounted to 4683, all of whom were baptized, with the exception of 255. The communicants amounted to 1216.[3] Many of them were from the Syrian Church; a few were Romanists; others were Hindus. Of their character, we are not able to speak.

We have thus given a somewhat detailed account of this mission to the Syrian Church, because it involved an important experiment; and we trust the result of that experiment will not

[1] The station at Allepie was partly among Syrians and Romanists, but chiefly among Hindus. A station was begun at Cochin in 1817, which, though not in Travancore, was partly among Syrians, partly among Romanists, Jews, Mahomedans, and heathens. It was removed in 1842 to Trichoor, a town about fifty miles to the north-east of that place.

[2] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1842, p. 75; Miss. Reg. 1840, p. 461, 463; Ibid. 1847, p. 443, 445.

[3] Miss. Reg. 1853, p. 440.

be lost as regards similar attempts for the revival of scriptural Christianity among the ancient churches of the East. Hitherto the system pursued by the missionaries of various Societies who have been sent among these churches, has been to infuse scriptural truth and spiritual life into them, in the hope of thereby effecting their reformation, but not to draw any converts who may be made out of them, nor to form them into separate churches. A distinction has been made between the Church of Rome, and the Greek, the Armenian, the Syrian, the Coptic, and other Eastern churches, though on what grounds we are not able to see. They have all wofully departed from the truth and simplicity of the gospel. The ignorance which prevails in most of them is even greater than what is found in the Romish Church, and the examples of true piety are probably still more rare; while the corruptions are as gross, and in fact are in many cases so similar as to indicate a common cause or origin, and to produce the same pernicious results.[1] If therefore it be vain to think of reviving scriptural Christianity in the Church of Rome, it is equally vain to think of reviving it in these churches. If it be right to call on members of the Romish Church to "come out of her," it is equally right to call on members of these churches to separate themselves from them. In short, whatever rule is applied to the one, is, we apprehend, equally applicable to the other.

It is not unworthy of notice, that this experiment in regard to the Syrian Church was made under more favourable circumstances than similar experiments can ordinarily be expected to be made. To say nothing of its being made by members of an

[1] In confirmation of the opinion which we have here expressed, we may quote the testimony of the Rev. Mr Wolters, one of the Church missionaries at Smyrna: "Many Protestant Christians, both clergy and laity, seem to think that there is a considerable difference between the Church of Rome and the Churches in the East; but a sojourn of sixteen years in different countries of the East, during which time I have had uninterrupted occasion to observe the life and conduct of Eastern Christians, of all classes of society, has brought me to form quite a different opinion. I do not hesitate to assert that there is no essential difference between these churches and the Church of Rome. They are (I speak of the Greek and Armenian Churches) as deeply corrupted, both in doctrine and in practice, as the Church of Rome is, and perhaps more degraded in certain respects. 'The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot even to the head, there is no soundness in it; but wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores; they have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with ointment.'"—*Miss. Rey.* 1849, p. 240.

Episcopal church, whose orders of clergy and whose modes of worship bore some general resemblance to those of the Syrian Church, it was made with the *prestige* of the name of England, whose Resident exercised a powerful influence at the court of Travancore, and who used that influence for the special benefit of the Syrians. Under his patronage the missionaries appeared in the country, and through his means they were made, in the first instance, the channel through which the people might obtain certain temporal advantages. Even the metran of the Syrian Church enjoyed a salary in connection with the college. All these circumstances were calculated to smooth the path of the missionaries, to give them favour in the eyes of the Syrians, to incline them to pay some regard to their instructions, and to fall in with their measures. But notwithstanding these advantages, the missionaries, after nearly twenty years' labour, found themselves as distant as ever from the great object which they had in view, the reformation of the Syrian Church through the instrumentality of its own members.

The plan of undermining the corruptions of a church by the indirect and silent diffusion of evangelical truth may appear to possess many advantages, particularly in the way of disarming opposition, but though it may be tolerated for a time, dissatisfaction and alarm are likely to be the result whenever the true character of the attempt comes to be seen, and it will be seen as the scheme developes itself, and especially if it begin to tell upon the people. The distrust and opposition may not improbably be then all the greater, in consequence of the main object in view having been previously kept out of sight.

Besides, such a system of operation is attended with material disadvantages. The missionaries must be greatly shackled in their proceedings. They must not, lest they should give offence, expose the corruptions of the church, at least not with plainness and fidelity; they must not make a clear and full exhibition of divine truth, particularly as regards the more essential doctrines of the gospel, such as the character and office of Christ as the only mediator between God and man, the nature and necessity of regeneration, the method of justification by grace through faith without the deeds of the law, the work of the Holy Spirit in the sanctification of the heart and life, principles

which lie at the root of all true religion, and without the public and faithful exhibition of which no reformation or revival of religion need be expected in any church or community. They must not, in short, address men's consciences and hearts, "beseeching them in Christ's stead to be reconciled unto God, warning every man and teaching every man in all wisdom, that they may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus."

Besides, should even individuals, notwithstanding a very imperfect exhibition of divine truth, become the subjects of a saving change, yet if they remain the members of a church sunk in ignorance and error, in superstition and corruption, they can scarcely fail to be essentially affected by the evils with which they are surrounded, and which form, as it were, the moral atmosphere which they daily breathe. Such converts are likely to prove Christians of a very dwarfish order; they are in circumstances very unfavourable to growth in knowledge and in piety, and they are consequently little likely to be instrumental in the reformation of the church to which they belong. If any thing like spiritual light and life should happen to be kindled, it is likely to be soon extinguished, and to produce little or no permanent results. We know of no example of churches so thoroughly corrupted as they are, being reformed by means of converts who remained in their communion. The reformation which was effected in so many countries of Europe in the sixteenth century, was in every instance effected through the instrumentality of persons who separated from the Romish Church, and thenceforth acted independently of her authority, and unrestrained by her bulls and her laws. Even that reformation was in most countries very imperfect, but how much more imperfect would it have been, had the reformers remained in communion with the Church of Rome!

The reference which is sometimes made to the way in which the Reformation proceeded is, we think, singularly unhappy, whether we regard what it did effect, or what it left uneffected. By what we have said, we do not mean that we would make it our primary object to attack error; our main object would be to make known the great truths of the gospel; but yet we would not stand back from exposing the errors which are opposed to them and which stand in the way of their reception. We would

avoid controversy as much as possible; we would not introduce such topics unnecessarily; but still, when occasion required it, we would not pass them in silence, we would not treat them as if they had no existence, or as if they were of a trifling or immaterial nature. Truths will generally fall perfectly pointless unless the opposite errors are exposed, affording as they commonly do a refuge of lies to which the convinced understanding and the awakened conscience are but too ready to betake themselves. Even if the great truths of religion are received and believed, it is a grievous mistake to conclude that they will necessarily lead converts to renounce the errors and the superstitious rites and ceremonies of their churches. The present condition of many of the churches of the Reformation are a sad proof of the contrary, and shew that gross errors and abuses, if not corrected originally, may be handed down from generation to generation, tarnishing the glory and marring the usefulness of the churches themselves, and may become at length so established that there is no rooting them out.

The ancient churches in the East ought, we apprehend, to be treated in the same way as Protestants generally are disposed to treat the Church of Rome. There should be no symbolizing or compromise with them; their errors and corruptions should be fully and faithfully exposed; the doctrines of the gospel should be proclaimed in all their scriptural simplicity and purity; converts in them should be called on to separate from them and to form churches on the principles of the New Testament. Such, we apprehend, is the scriptural mode of procedure in regard to churches so corrupt as are those of the East. "Come out from among them, and be ye separate; and touch not the unclean thing," is a general principle, and is not to be confined to heathen worshippers and idol worship. We may dignify the plan of reforming a corrupt church by the indirect and silent diffusion of evangelical truth with the name of wisdom and prudence; but in the end it will be found, that "the foolishness of God is wiser than man, and the weakness of God stronger than man." Where great and long-established evils are to be remedied, a timid, feeble, pliant policy will commonly prove utterly vain; it is only by bold, energetic, resolute measures that any reformation is to be effected. We are quite aware that such a course

of procedure will be attended with many and great difficulties; that it is likely to call forth violent opposition, and even persecution of both the missionaries and the converts, provided the church has the power to persecute; but still we are satisfied that this is the scriptural and the rational mode of procedure, the only one, in fact, that is likely to be crowned with success; and if this opinion be well founded, no difficulties, no opposition, no persecution should deter us from acting upon it.

## Art. 6.—Ceylon.

In June 1818, the Rev. Messrs Lambrick, Knight, Ward, and Mayor, landed in Ceylon with the view of commencing a mission on that island. Soon after their arrival, they established three different stations, one at Kandy, the capital of the interior; another at Nellore, near Jaffnapatam; and a third at Baddagame, a village about twelve miles from Galle; others were afterwards established at Cotta in the neighbourhood of Colombo, at Chundicully, and at Copay, the last two in the district of Jaffna.[1]

The mission in Ceylon resembled in its general features most of the missions established in India; its results were, however, of even a less favourable nature. Few fields, indeed, proved more discouraging, or yielded less fruit. With the exception of such of the natives as were dependent on the missionaries, or who were influenced by the hope of some worldly advantage, comparatively few attended statedly on the preaching of the gospel, and the greater part of those who had done so for years together, were as insensible to its power and excellence, as the mats on which they sat, or the walls within which they met. The missionaries were not, indeed, without hope that some good was done among the adult portion of their hearers, yet little impression was made on the mass of the population around them, and even in the few cases in which there might be somewhat of real piety, examples of a vigorous and lively faith were unknown.[2]

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 186; Ibid. 1820, p. 189, 198; Ibid. 1824, p. 162; Ibid. 1851, p 189.

[2] Miss. Reg. 1830, p. 363, 366; Ibid. 1831, p. 294; Ibid. 1832, p. 262; Ibid. 1833,

In the schools, thousands of boys and girls were educated, and much religious and other useful knowledge was communicated to them; but the results were by no means such as might have been expected from youths who had attained so much information as many of the scholars possessed. By far the greater part of the children educated in them appeared to live quite as regardless of religion as those who had not been favoured with a religious education. Few of them ever attended public worship, or read the books which they used to learn while at school; they shewed little desire to keep up the knowledge which they had acquired; and hence, though for a few years while at school they were elevated above others, and might have continued to maintain that position by rightly using and employing the learning they had acquired, they fell back again among the mass of their countrymen, and, it was feared, learned and followed their ways.[1]

Besides the day-schools, the missionaries established at Cotta an Institution for giving a higher education to a number of the more promising youths who were selected from the other schools for this purpose, and were boarded and educated with a view to their becoming schoolmasters, catechists, and assistant-missionaries. The course of study pursued in it, included Cingalese, English, Latin, Greek, History and Geography, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, and Theology. There were also seminaries at Nellore and Baddagame for giving a higher education than was given in the day-schools; and the more promising pupils were afterwards sent to the Cotta Institution. The progress of the students was, on the whole, very satisfactory. After completing their education, a number of them were employed in the mission as schoolmasters and catechists, and several were admitted to priest's orders. But the proportion of these to the numbers educated in the institution was small, so small indeed, as to shew plainly that the state of Christianity in Ceylon is not yet sufficiently advanced to furnish an adequate supply of students to an exclusively theological institution, a remark

p. 544; Ibid. 1840, p. 474; Ibid. 1846, p. 327; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1845, p. 87; Ibid. 1851, p. 191.

[1] Miss. Reg. 1831, p. 288; Ibid. 1833, p. 543; Ibid. 1843, p. 167; Ibid. 1848, p. 357; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1845, p. 87.

which will apply to many other missions besides those in that island.[1]

Though a translation of the Holy Scriptures into Cingalese had been made and printed some years before, under the authority of the Colombo Bible Society, Messrs Lambrick and Selkirk undertook and completed a new version of the Old and New Testament in that language, as they did not think the other adapted for ordinary use, owing to its high style, words from the Pali and Sanskrit languages being employed instead of those in common use, and a pompous phraseology in reference to the Deity, which they considered as highly objectionable. In their translation, they adopted a more colloquial style, with the view of rendering it generally intelligible. Messrs Lambrick and Selkirk also translated into the Cingalese language the Book of Common Prayer. Many elementary school-books and a large number of religious tracts were likewise printed by the missionaries, and circulated among the natives, but they were often received with great indifference; sometimes they were burned, or even torn in pieces before the eyes of those who gave them away.[2]

This mission has now been carried on for between thirty and forty years with much fewer trials and hindrances, through the death or ill health of the missionaries, or through other causes, than most of the Society's missions, yet its progress has been small as regards its great and primary object, the conversion of souls to Christ. The cares of the world and the pursuit of its riches were the all-engrossing affairs, so far as the heathen were concerned, while the inconsistencies of the nominal Christians manifested not unfrequently the powerlessness of their faith. Some sad cases of apostasy and hypocrisy occurred among them. Perhaps, however, an utter indifference to all spiritual religion rather than hypocrisy describes the state of heart of most of the nominal converts. From the circumstance of the heathen system, with which they were acquainted, making no demand on the understanding or the heart, but ensuring

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1843, p. 77; Ibid. 1844, p. 82; Ibid. 1845, p. 85; Ibid. 1847, p. 93; Ibid. 1851, p. 186; Miss. Reg. 1840, p. 473.

[2] Miss. Reg. 1834, p. 539; Ibid. 1835, p. 373; Ibid. 1838, p. 371; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1845, p. 86; Selkirk's Recollections of Ceylon, p. 419, 450, 527.

them an all-sufficiency of merit on the performance of a few outward prescribed acts, it is scarcely to be wondered at that the nominal converts should abound in inconsistencies. As heathens they had no zeal for their own creed, for there was nothing in it to work upon their affections, and when their profession was changed, there was no foundation of feeling upon which to work.[1]

In 1852, the number of communicants connected with this mission, amounted to 367.[2]

Besides the stations of which we have given an account, the Church Missionary Society established a number of others in various parts of India; but they furnish few details of an interesting nature materially different from those which we have already had occasion to give in our account of other missions. We shall therefore simply subjoin a table of the other stations which are occupied by it.

| Begun. | Stations. | Begun. | Stations. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Bengal Presidency. | | Madras Presidency. |
| 1817 | Burdwan. | 1841 | Masulipatam. |
| 1850 | Bhagulpur. | | |
| | | | Bombay Presidency. |
| | Agra Presidency. | 1820 | Bombay. |
| 1817 | Benares. | 1832 | Nasik. |
| 1823 | Gorruckpur. | 1846 | Junir. |
| 1813 | Agra. | 1850 | Malligaum. |
| 1815 | Mirut. | 1850 | Sinde. |
| 1844 | Kotghur. | | |
| 1851 | Amritsir. | | |

## SECT. VII.—NEW SOUTH WALES.

In August 1832, the Rev. W. Watson and the Rev. John C. S. Handt proceeded to Wellington Valley, about 250 miles north-east of Sydney, with the view of commencing a mission among the aborigines of the country. The British government had agreed

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1844. p. 81. [2] Ibid. 1853, p. 142.

to appropriate from the revenues of New South Wales, an annual sum not exceeding £500 for the support of the mission. One of the first objects to which the missionaries directed their attention, was the establishment of a school. It was attended by from twenty to thirty children; and though the natives of New Holland are commonly reckoned among the lowest and most degraded of the human family, yet these wild children of the bush, did not appear to be in any degree inferior in intellect or ability to children in Europe. They learned their lessons, hymns, and prayers, as readily as boys and girls in an English school; and it is not unworthy of notice, that after a time, they became much attached to books, and deemed it a severe punishment to be deprived of them. While learning the alphabet and the spelling of words, they felt no interest in it, and the work of instruction was tiresome enough to both the teacher and the scholars; but when they got over these preliminary steps, and were able to read so as to understand what they read, their attention was excited, and they began to feel a pleasure in the employment, and never appeared to be weary of it. They, however, wanted steadiness, and were very irregular and uncertain in their attendance. The girls, it was remarked, were more steady and tractable than the boys.[1]

It was with some difficulty that the missionaries brought a number of the natives to settle in their neighbourhood and to attend on religious instruction; but after some years, their general behaviour at public worship was good, and presented a pleasing and interesting spectacle, especially as contrasted with their early, wild, and heathen habits. Some of their customs, however, rendered it almost impossible to form a congregation of males and females. The young men are prohibited from going near a female for several years; and even those men who have wives have an objection to come to church, if many females are present.[2]

As to civilization, though they at all times manifested something of their savage disposition and habits, yet on the whole, the conduct of a considerable number of them, shewed a change

[1] Miss. Reg. 1831, p. 118; Ibid. 1833, p. 455; Ibid. 1834, p. 503; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1837, p. 85; Ibid. 1839, p. 94.

[2] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1837, p. 85; Ibid. 1839, p. 93.

for the better. Some were employed by the missionaries in various kinds of labour: some were becoming more steady, less addicted to wandering, and more cleanly in their habits.[1]

The missionaries compiled a grammar and vocabulary of the dialect spoken at Wellington by the natives. They also translated into it the gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John, and some other parts of Scripture, a portion of the English Liturgy, and Dr Watt's Small Catechism.[2]

In 1837, Mr Handt was appointed by the government of New South Wales, to the ministerial charge of the penal settlement at Moreton Bay, about 400 miles to the north of Sydney. Here his labours were directed partly to the European population, including the convicts at the settlement, and partly to the aborigines in the neighbourhood. The natives, however, were not numerous; and it is worthy of notice, that their language was very different from the Wellington dialect; there was no more affinity between the two than was enough to shew that they had a common origin. Mr Handt had here so little prospect of success, in consequence of the savage character and wandering habits of the natives, that after some time he was again removed to Wellington.[3]

Indeed, the difficulties with which the mission to New South Wales had to contend were exceedingly great, arising not more out of the deeply degraded condition of the aborigines, than of the demoralizing influence upon them of the convict population on the outskirts of the colony. In consequence of the difficulties arising from various sources, and there being no prospect of surmounting them, the station at Wellington Valley was also given up in 1841 or 1842.[4]

## SECT. VIII.—NEW ZEALAND.

In August 1809, William Hall and John King sailed for Port Jackson, with the view of forming a settlement on New Zealand,

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1839, p. 94; Ibid. 1840, p. 83.
[2] Ibid. 1837, p. 87; Ibid. 1838, p. 90; Ibid. 1839, p. 94; Miss. Reg. 1839, p. 386.
[3] Miss. Reg. 1839, p. 389; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1839, p. 95; Ibid. 1840, p. 84.
[4] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1839, p. 93; Ibid. 1842, p. 85.

for the purpose of introducing the arts of civilization and the light of Christianity among the inhabitants. The proposal originated with the Rev. Mr Marsden, the chaplain of New South Wales; and as his plan was to employ the arts of civilized life as a step to their evangelization, the persons employed were artizans, the one having acquired a knowledge of shipbuilding and navigation, the other of flax-dressing, twine-spinning, and rope-making, occupations which it was thought might be turned to good account in New Zealand, in reference to the objects in view. Several years, however, elapsed before a settlement in the country was carried into effect.[1]

In November 1814, Mr Marsden, under whose superintendence the undertaking was placed, sailed from Port Jackson for New Zealand with Messrs Hall, King, and Kendall, for the purpose of seeing them safely and comfortably settled in the country. On their arrival, they visited various parts of the northern island, and were everywhere received, by both the chiefs and the people, in the most friendly manner. Having selected a piece of ground for a settlement at Rangi-houa in the Bay of Islands, Mr Marsden purchased it from the chiefs to whom it belonged, and had the grant written on parchment, in all the technical form of an English deed, which Ahoodee O Gunna, the chief, ratified, by adding as his signature a minute copy of the lines tattooed on his face. The land consisted of about two hundred acres; the price was only twelve axes.[2]

Among other things which Mr Marsden brought with him, were a few horses, cattle, and sheep, and several kinds of poultry, thinking that the introduction of these useful animals into the island might be of essential service to the inhabitants. On the landing of the cattle, the New Zealanders were perfectly amazed and bewildered, not knowing what to think of such extraordinary-looking animals. Their astonishment, however, was soon turned into alarm. One of the cows, impatient of the restraint it had so long suffered on board the ship, rushed in among them, and so terrified them, that, imagining some monster had been let loose on them, they all took to flight. On their return, Mr Marsden mounted a horse and rode up and

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. iii. p. 73.
[2] Miss. Reg. vol. iv. p. 327, 461, 500.

down the beach, exciting their wonder in a still higher degree. To see a man seated on the back of so strange an animal, they thought the most extraordinary thing in nature, and following him with gazing eyes, believed him at the moment more than a mortal. Duaterra, a young New Zealander who had been in England, had previously described to his countrymen the nature and use of the horse, but his account appeared so absurd in their eyes that it only excited their ridicule. Having no name in their language for such an animal, he thought that *corradee*, their term for a dog, would be the best designation he could adopt; but not being able to raise their ideas to the height of his description, they did not believe a syllable he said. On telling them that he had seen large corradees carry about men and women in land canoes, meaning carriages, they would put their fingers in their ears and desire him very indignantly not to tell such lies to them. A few, however, more curious than the rest, to prove his veracity mounted on the backs of their hogs, saying they must be much more fit for the purpose of riding than dogs, and, endeavouring to gallop about upon them, they quickly tumbled into the mire. This was, therefore, a day of triumph to Duaterra, as it afforded his countrymen ocular proof of the truth of his statements.[1]

Having taken up their residence at Rangi-houa, the settlers endeavoured to teach the New Zealanders some of the more useful arts of life, but though quick and active in their dispositions, the fondness of the savages for a rambling life proved a great obstacle to their improvement. Parties of them were ready to assist in felling trees, making fences, cultivating the ground, or doing any other work which required little time to learn. Like all savages, however, they had not patience to wait for distant benefits; immediate gratification was the object they always sought. After some time, however, some of the New Zealanders made considerable improvement in some of the more necessary arts of life; their progress in fact was greater than could have been anticipated, and the quantity of land cultivated by the natives in the neighbourhood of the settlement was greatly increased, chiefly in consequence of the agricultural tools with

[1] Miss. Reg. vol. iv. p. 461; Nicholas' Voyage to New Zealand, vol. i. p. 171.

which they were furnished by the settlers. Mr Kendall, at the same time, opened a school, which was attended by a number of the children; and with a view to their instruction, he prepared a spelling-book in their language, which was printed in New South Wales. He also collected materials for a grammar and vocabulary of the language, which were afterwards arranged, with the assistance of Professor Lee of Cambridge, and printed in England.[1]

In January 1819, the Rev. John Butler, and Messrs Francis Hall and James Kemp, the one a schoolmaster, the other a smith, sailed from England for New Zealand. Mr Marsden accompanied them from New South Wales, and immediately after their arrival he purchased land from Hongi, one of the principal chiefs at Keri-Keri, a place about twelve miles from Rangihoua. It consisted of about thirteen thousand acres, and cost only forty-eight axes. On this occasion, some of the chiefs, who had now begun to appreciate the temporal advantages resulting from the mission, manifested extreme disappointment that none of the settlers took up their residence with them. They were even displeased that so few arrived, and were very impatient till others should come from England. One chief told Mr Marsden that he was very angry he had not brought a blacksmith for him, and that when he heard there was no blacksmith for him, he and his wives sat down and wept. Mr Marsden assured him that one would be sent to him as soon as possible; but the chief replied, it would be of no use to send a blacksmith to him when he was dead, and that he was at present in the greatest distress; his wooden spades were all broken, and he had not an axe to make any more; his canoes were going to wreck, and he had not a nail or a gimlet with which to mend them; his potato grounds were uncultivated, as he had not a hoe, and for want of cultivation he and his people would have nothing to eat.[2] But while the prospects of the mission were gradually brightening, circumstances occurred which for the present threw a cloud over it.

In July 1821, the chiefs, Hongi and Whykato, who had ac-

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. vi. p. 127; vol. ix. p. 344, 346; Miss. Reg. vol. v. p. 349, 524; vol. viii. p. 307, 500; vol. ix. p. 308; vol. x. p. 198.

[2] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. vii. p. 66; vol. ix. p. 200, 208, 284, 286, 298.

companied Mr Kendall on a visit to England, arrived again in New Zealand; but the result of this voyage strikingly illustrates the inexpediency of taking the natives of heathen countries, whether converted or unconverted, to Europe. Every attention had been paid by the Committee of the Society to the two chiefs when in England, yet Hongi returned with a mind much exasperated against them, chiefly, it would appear, because they had not supplied him with muskets and gunpowder. On these his whole heart appears to have been set, and during his stay at Port Jackson he exchanged the valuable presents which he had received in this country for arms and ammunition. Hearing, on his arrival at New Zealand, that the barter in muskets and powder on the part of the settlers had been relinquished; and attributing his not having received in England the full gratification of his wishes, to letters not having been written to the Society in his favour, he kept at a distance from the settlement of Keri-Keri for several days, and when he did visit it, nothing was heard from him but loud complaints of the treatment he had received in England. The native sawyers, who had previously worked quietly and diligently, caught his spirit and struck work, insisting on being paid either in the favourite articles of muskets and powder, or in money with which they might purchase them from the whalers. It is painful to state, that Mr Kendall pleaded for the sale of arms and ammunition to the natives, alleging that he would sell a musket as he would sell a dollar, without any reference to the use which might be made of it, a circumstance which contributed still further to exasperate the mind of Hongi against Mr Butler and the other settlers, who refused to act on this most iniquitous principle.[1]

Hitherto the New Zealanders had treated the missionary settlers, on the whole, better than could have been expected, especially when it is considered that they themselves continued to experience many wanton acts of cruelty from European sailors who visited the island. Some, indeed, endeavoured to steal from them whatever they could lay hold of, and others were very troublesome and turbulent if they did not get what they wanted, yet, in general, they shewed no disposition to do them

[1] Miss. Reg. vol. x. p. 247; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1822, p. 199, 356, 361.

any personal injury. But now the natives treated them with an insolence and a contempt which they had not before manifested; they came into their houses whenever they pleased, demanded food from them, broke down their garden fences, entered the workshop of the smith, demanded his tools to repair their muskets, or to cast balls, and took away whatever they thought proper. The settlers found that it was in vain to resist them, and were obliged to submit with patience to their numerous insults.[1]

Hostilities of the most formidable nature were now commenced, and the missionaries at Keri-keri, in particular, were called to witness the most revolting scenes of ferocity and blood. Hongi had not been two months in the country, when he proceeded, at the head of a large armament, to attack his countrymen on the river Thames. The battle was dreadful, and many fell on both sides; but Hongi's party proved victorious. They slew, it is said, about a thousand of their countrymen, three hundred of whom they roasted and ate before they left the field of battle. The settlers beheld them return loaded with the relics of their cruelty, and witnessed the murder in cold blood, and the devouring of their prisoners. At such times, the mildest disposition seemed to be brutalized, and even little children took a savage delight in murdering other children who were prisoners of war. The spirit of revenge, however, was not yet satiated. Hongi again set out on another expedition to sweep the country with the besom of destruction, when similar scenes of bloodshed and cruelty were again enacted.[2]

In August 1823, the Rev. Henry Williams and Mr W. Fairburn, an artizan, commenced a third station at a place called Paihia, about sixteen miles from Keri-keri.[3] Numerous other stations were, in the course of years, established in various parts of the northern island; but considerable changes afterwards took place in regard to them, some of them being given

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. v. p. 465; vol. viii. p. 210; vol. ix. p. 200, 208, 347, 348; vol. x. p. 354, 356, 363; Miss. Reg. vol. v. p. 347, 520, 525.

[2] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. ix. p. 204, 284, 295, 300, 356; vol. x. p. 201, 358; Miss. Reg. vol. viii. p. 308; vol. x. p. 247; vol. xi. p. 67, 504, 506; Meth. Miss. Notices, vol. iii. p. 325.

[3] Miss. Reg. 1824, p. 409.

up or removed to other places. To shew the extent of the mission, we shall here give a table of the present stations:—

| | |
|---|---|
| NORTHERN DISTRICT. | WESTERN DISTRICT. |
| Kaitaia. | Wanganui. |
| Kaikohi. | Pipiriki. |
| Waimate. | Kapiti. |
| | Otaki. |
| MIDDLE DISTRICT. | |
| Auckland. | EASTERN DISTRICT. |
| Hauraki. | East Cape. |
| Kaitotehe. | Uawa. |
| Otawhao. | Turanga. |
| Waikato. | Wairoa. |
| Tauranga. | Heretaunga. |
| Rotorua. | |
| Opotiki. | |
| Ahikereru. | |

It appears that the missionaries and the settlers were much engaged in secular employments, particularly when new stations were to be formed, as in building houses, clearing and cultivating land, planting gardens, raising fences, and sometimes in making roads and erecting bridges. In these operations, they also employed the natives who were, in this way, taught somewhat of the arts of civilized life, which was originally one main object of the mission.[1] Through their united labours, some of the stations wore an air of so much neatness, order, and comfort, as at once to transport the imagination from New Zealand to Old England.[2]

The mission to New Zealand sustained very severe trials from the misconduct of some of the persons engaged in it, several of whom it was found necessary to separate from the Society on account of acts dishonouring to their Christian profession. We are not informed as to particular cases, but it appears that much evil arose from private barter and traffic between some of the Society's agents and the shipping which visited the island. Besides other mischiefs, this was found to encourage a spirit of idleness, to cherish the love of money, to turn the attention of

[1] Miss. Reg. 1830, p. 115.

[2] Marshall's Narrative of Two Visits to New Zealand in 1834, p. 103, 105.

the missionaries from their proper work, to wound their consciences, and to hurt the minds of those who desired to "be found faithful." So impressed was Mr Marsden with the evils arising out of this practice, that he established strict rules for the prevention or regulation of traffic with ships visiting the island; but though these might be useful, we fear they were not effectual in checking a worldly spirit among the missionaries.[1]

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1823, p. 186; Ibid. 1824, p. 182; Lang's New Zealand in 1839, p. 29.

Mr Marsden, referring to the improper conduct of certain of the Society's agents, says: "When I reflect upon the evils which have crept in among the missionaries, I am astonished that the mission has not been completely annihilated." "Of those who have hitherto laboured in the mission, some have erred greatly from the right way; and all have had their trials and their fears. Some allowance must be made for their peculiar situation, in the want of Christian society, and of the public ordinances of religion, such as are enjoyed by the church of God in England.

"There is a lofty tree on my land in New South Wales. It stands on the summit of a high hill. When I first got possession of the land, this tree was surrounded by many more. It appeared by its strength and stateliness, as if it would stand uninjured for ages. I removed all the others, and left it to stand alone, as a conspicuous ornament, when it soon withered and died. It still remains in the same situation, a dead and leafless object; and has furnished me with many reflections. Remove a Christian from England, who is bearing the fair fruits of righteousness, like a tree planted by the water-side, to the barren deserts of New Zealand; and, I apprehend, he would in a short time, without special support and grace, put on a faded appearance, and his leaves droop and wither. If missionaries in heathen lands lose their spiritual strength, which they are very liable to do, it would be happy for them if they could be removed for a time into Christian society again, until their strength is recruited, and they are reinvigorated for their work."—*Miss. Reg.* 1824, p. 518.

These are important observations, and well deserve the serious consideration, both of missionaries who go abroad and of the friends of missions at home. Removed, as missionaries often are, from the public ordinances of religion, at least in their former life and power, and from the salutary influences of Christian, perhaps even of civilized, society; or if associated with Europeans in their neighbourhood, these are not unfrequently men of no religion; living among heathens, perhaps among savages, and witnessing from day to day their gross idolatry, their debasing superstitions, their want of the moralities and common decencies of life, their vices and their crimes, often of the most disgusting, yet corrupting kind; engaged, as they often of necessity are, in secular employments, in journeys and voyages, which have so dissipating an effect on the mind, even though undertaken with a view to the furtherance of their great work, it is no wonder though they should decline in piety and in zeal, or if some should become worldly-minded, fall into gross sin, or apostatize from the faith of the gospel. The whole moral atmosphere in which they live and breathe is so corrupted, that it can scarcely fail to have a most injurious influence upon them, especially when to this we add, the depressing effect of climate on both body and mind, and of the difficulties, disappointments, and trials of various kinds, which are incident to the life of a missionary, unless they receive a more than ordinary measure of grace and strength from on high to support and sustain them.

In confirmation of these views, we might adduce the testimony of some who have

For many years little impression was made on the New Zealanders. They shewed great indifference to the gospel. Probably they understood little of it; and what they did not understand, they could not be expected to value or regard. The women, it was remarked, were invariably less attentive than the men. "We can command the attention of the men," says Mr Yates, "but the women scarcely ever listen, and generally walk away to their cooking. They are busy and cumbered and careful about many things." This, we suspect, will not unfrequently be found to be the case with females, particularly among uncivilized tribes. Except where Christianity has exerted its benign influence in elevating the character and constitution of women, they are generally found in a low and degraded state, with faculties less cultivated than the men, and scarcely able, or at least not inclined, to make the mental effort necessary for understanding the truths of the gospel. They seem to think that it scarcely belongs to them to attend to any thing except providing, perhaps by toilsome labour, for the daily wants of their husbands and children, while they are, at the same time, generally more superstitious than the men.[1]

The New Zealanders, while indisposed to attend to the instructions of the missionaries, were ready enough to take up prejudices against them. All their actions, it might almost be said their very thoughts, were watched by them. They were shrewd observers, and never failed to tell them of any, even the least inconsistency which they detected in their conduct. In New Zealand, as in other of the South Sea Islands, the people ascribed the prevalence of disease among them to the missionaries. "We are often told," says Mr Kemp, "that before we came to the country, they lived to a great age, but now the

had experience of what it is to live in heathen lands, as the Rev. Mr Corrie, afterwards Bishop of Madras, *Miss. Reg.* 1819, p. 273; Mr G. Parsons, one of the Baptist missionaries in India, *Memoir of the Rev. George Parsons*, p. 195; Mr Sutton, one of the General Baptist missionaries in India, *Sutton's Narrative of the Mission in Orissa*, p. 111; Mr Weitbrecht, one of the Church missionaries in India, *Miss. Reg.* 1840, p. 305; Mr Cokran, one of the Church missionaries in the Hudson's Bay Company's territory, *Miss. Reg.* 1839, p. 64. See also an article in the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, vol. x. p. 402, 404, 408, written by a missionary, entitled, "Missionary Piety." The danger in which missionaries are of religious declension is probably little thought of by the friends of missions.

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1826, p. 129; Miss. Reg. 1830, p. 114.

young as well as the old die. They say that our God is a cruel god, for it is he that kills them." It was also astonishing with what industry some captains of ships and others sought to poison the minds of the natives. They told them that the object of the missionaries was to get possession of their land; that when they are made Christians, they will make slaves of them, and send them out of the country. It was very industriously circulated that it was their intention to seize the chiefs, and have them conveyed to England, and that for those who received instruction, they were to receive a certain number of dollars according to the rank of the individual.[1]

But after some years, the darkness which had long hung over the mission appeared to be giving way, and its prospects began to brighten. A number of the natives manifested a considerable desire for instruction. The means of grace were pretty well attended, and their deportment during divine service was orderly, which was far from being the case formerly. Some appeared to be inquiring the way to heaven; and others, though not influenced by religious feelings, were yet altered in their outward conduct. These favourable appearances were for the present confined to those natives who were living in the different missionary settlements, and who were employed in various kinds of labour by the missionaries, a circumstance which was considered as shewing the utility of taking the natives from among their countrymen, and bringing them under the rules of Christian discipline; but while the fact is not unworthy of notice, it is evident that this could be done on a very limited scale only, and can never be made to embrace a tribe or a nation. The work, however, once begun, continued to extend from year to year. A great and general outward change took place among the natives, who were under the instruction and influence of the missionaries; and in some, it was hoped, an inward change also.[2]

It was encouraging to see so many inquiring the way to heaven; but the greater part of them were exceedingly ignorant, even of the first principles of religion, although the gospel had been so long sounding in their ears. The number of those who

[1] Miss. Reg. 1830, p. 114; Ibid. 1834, p. 514.
[2] Ibid. 1831, p. 60, 63, 65, 411; Ibid. 1834, p. 456.

professed Christianity might almost be said to be increasing daily; but there was not that increase in real piety which it was desirable to see. They cast away some of their old superstitions, attended pretty regularly on public worship, and paid considerable respect to the Sabbath; but here they seemed to take their stand. The rock on which many split was self-righteousness; they trusted in the mere outward forms of religion. In truth, the progress of the New Zealanders in all that was good was exceedingly slow. Though they were outwardly civil, yet the savage heart lay hidden under the civilized face. Their moral character in the sight of God; their endless superstitions; their old and confirmed habits of polygamy, adultery, theft, lying, suicide, all remained in as great force as though no missionary had ever been among them.[1]

It is common in this country to suppose that the progress of Christianity and of civilization among heathen and barbarous tribes, is much greater and more rapid than it really is. Such ideas have been far too much cherished by the accounts which have often been given of missions; yet a little reflection might lead any reasonable man to stand in doubt of all such representations. To raise a barbarous nation to a state of civilization is not the work of ten or twenty years, particularly with the slender and imperfect means usually employed; but to bring them to the knowledge and under the influence of Christianity is a work of greater difficulty still. If a New Zealander begin to think about his soul and to seek after salvation, he finds himself ignorant of every thing, and knows not how to proceed or what to do. He is ignorant of God, of Christ, of himself, of sin, of holiness; he is scarcely capable of forming spiritual or abstract ideas on any subject. Even the ordinary duties of morality, as truth, honesty, industry, are imperfectly understood by him, so blunted and so low are his moral perceptions.[2]

The increasing visits of vessels from what are called Christian countries, chiefly England and America, had a very baneful influence on the New Zealanders. The South Sea Whale Fishery, and the establishment of British Colonies in New Holland and Van Diemen's Land, led to a frequent and unrestrained intercourse between our colonial and other seamen,

[1] Miss. Reg. 1836, p. 336, 341.

[2] Ibid. 1838, p. 256.

and the natives. This gave rise to many evils, particularly to a vast amount of prostitution among the females, under the sanction of the masters of ships belonging to England and her colonies, and to the spread among them to a fearful degree of the most frightful diseases. Intemperance, too, was greatly promoted by these unprincipled visitors. Not only might the drunken sailor be seen staggering about to the amusement of the natives, but rum was imported in large quantities, and was producing its usual baneful effects among the people. Grog shops were becoming general, in which both Europeans and natives had full opportunity to gratify their depraved appetites.[1]

In 1836, the stations in the southern division of the mission were for many months in a state of constant anxiety and alarm; one station was destroyed and another was plundered by the natives. This dreadful state of things originated in the treacherous and cold-blooded murder at Roturoa of a chief called Hunga, by another chief of the name of Huka. Waharoa, a celebrated warrior, chief of Matamata, and a near relative of the murdered chief, resolved to revenge his death. War once begun quickly spread on all sides, and furnished horrible manifestations of the ferocity of the native character. In the fights between the contending parties, it was calculated that some hundreds were killed, men, women, and children, many of whom were eaten by their enemies, and all this in consequence of one murder. The sights indeed were often perfectly harrowing. "Dead to all feeling," says the Rev. Mr Maunsell, "the victors holding by the hair shook in our view the heads of their vanquished foes, directed our eyes to the bones and hands which they were carrying in bundles on their backs, and offered us for food the flesh, the presence of which the abominable stench from their backs disclosed. Worn out with disgust, I returned to the settlement. But there similar scenes presented themselves, and a boy not sixteen years of age stuck up, within two yards of our fencing, a shrivelled human heart!" The consciences of the natives were so seared that they appeared not to entertain a thought of any thing like guilt attaching to their conduct, however bloody it might be. Waharoa having come, after some

[1] Marshall's Narrative of Two Visits to New Zealand in 1834, p. 143; Miss. Reg. 1834, p. 549.

months, to the neighbourhood of Rotorua, a battle was there fought which led to the destruction of the missionary station. "Scarcely had the fight commenced," says Mr Knight, "before the allies of Rotorua were routed, and unfortunately fled through our station, thereby drawing the great body of the enemy upon us. A few of the foremost were civil and behaved respectfully toward us, but we soon saw that we were to share in the calamities of the day. I was standing outside of the pathway gate leading to the house, when two of the enemy came up and demanded admittance, alleging as their reason a desire to search whether any of their enemies were secreted there. I refused to admit them, assuring them that no native was in the house. They would not, however, believe me, and seeing that they were determined to force an entrance by another way, I offered to walk with them. When I got to the house, the crash of doors, glass, &c. within, convinced me that all was over, that the property of the station was devoted to the enemy. I opened the door and let in the two anxious beings behind me, who from their appearance seemed afraid that they would not be in time to obtain a portion of the plunder. I walked into my bed-room, which had not been broken into. My two companions followed, and in a moment every thing moveable disappeared. I knew that remonstrance was vain, and therefore said but little. My room being cleared, I walked through the house amidst such a scene as beggars description. Every room was filled with naked armed savages, their countenances lighted up with an infernal expression of rage and exultation, and most of them sprinkled with blood warm from the bodies of their enemies. With difficulty I got through them and stood in the front of of the house, watching the distressing scene.

"Mr Pilley joined me, but we were not long permitted to be observers. We were separated; five men seized him, and three myself. I remonstrated and reasoned with them, but all in vain. The natives, heedless of my remonstrances, after they had lugged and pulled me about, each wishing to get all, took from me my coat, waistcoat, hat, watch, &c., leaving me only my shirt and trousers. A man was threatening me with a blow from his battle-axe if I did not give him my remaining garment, which I felt not disposed to do, but at this moment God sent

me a deliverer in a young chief of Waikato, who taking my part, rescued me out of the enemy's hand. He said that if I would walk with him he would be my protector, an offer which I thankfully accepted, knowing that if I remained, it would only be to fall into the hands of perhaps a worse party than the one which had already stripped me. During this time Mr Pilley was contending with a party in another part of the garden. The natives finding, in consequence of the resistance he made to them, that they could not get his clothes from him, threw him down and stamped upon them. One struck him with the butt end of his musket and threatened to shoot him, another struck him under the ear with his fist. Though he would now have freely given them his clothes to let him alone, they would not accept his terms, but continued to pull him about, none wishing to lose his share in the prize, nor did they release him until the Rotorua tribe, rallying again, drove them from the station. He therefore escaped those horrid sights to which I was exposed for about two hours in the enemy's camp. Having consented to walk with my deliverer, we left the station. We had not proceeded far through the farm when I suddenly stepped by the side of a man just killed; he lay weltering in his gore. I walked on almost petrified, and passed bodies which here and there strewed the ground, until I came to a place where a number of bodies were laid out previously to their being cut up for the oven. I turned away in disgust and sick at heart, but whichever way I looked some sight of horror met my eye. Walking to a short distance, I had not been there long, when the body of a man, apparently that moment killed, was dragged into the camp before me; his head was off almost before I could look round; this did not satisfy the wretches, his breast was opened, and his heart steaming with warmth was pulled out and carried off. I did not see such another scene as this, though during the whole time of my being in the camp I was exposed to the most revolting scenes. Halves of bodies, quarters, heads, legs, &c. were being carried away, some of which were thrust purposely in my face.

"When the fighting ceased, by order of Waharoa, I was allowed to return to my station. He accompanied me part of the way. I did not remain long at the place. Alas! it was now a scene of ruin. About sunset, on looking toward our now de-

serted station, we saw smoke ascending from the roof of the dwelling-house, and had scarcely noticed it when the flames burst out from every part of it, and I may say that in twenty minutes it was reduced to ashes. Every building in the place shared the same fate, not excepting even the fencing round the garden. It was a melancholy sight to see our beautiful station in flames. The tribes of Rotorua burnt it down, in order, they say, to prevent Waharoa from occupying it as a Pa, or fortress, as he had threatened to do."

This was the only station that was destroyed, but the property of the missionaries at Matamata was plundered by a party of armed natives, who disguised themselves by blackening their faces with charcoal. Every package was broken open. Books, shirts, and other articles of wearing apparel, were scattered about in all directions, and the thieves carried off whatever they chose.[1]

In January 1838, Dr Pompallier, a Roman Catholic bishop from France, landed in New Zealand, accompanied by two priests. He settled at a place called Kororariki, in the Bay of Islands. Numerous other priests and catechists afterwards came to New Zealand. They appeared to labour with great assiduity and zeal, and won over numbers of the natives to the profession of the Romish faith. Their manner of worship, its ceremony and show, were too agreeable to the native character and habits not to be received by many. Considerable apprehensions were at first entertained of the Roman Catholic mission, but it does not appear to have affected in any material degree the Protestant missions in New Zealand.[2]

Just about the time that the first Roman Catholic missionaries arrived in the island, the New Testament translated by the missionaries into the New Zealand language was completed at press, thus furnishing a most seasonable antidote to the errors of the Romish Church. The impression consisted of 5000 copies, but such was the eagerness of the people to obtain copies that it was soon exhausted. The British and Foreign Bible Society

[1] Miss. Reg. 1838, p. 287, 291, 295; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1839, p. 107.

[2] Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, vol. v. p. 289, 295; vol. viii. p. 362; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1839, p. 106; Ibid. 1846, p. 109; Ibid. 1852, p. 168; Miss. Reg. 1839, p. 553; Rep. Meth. Miss. Soc. 1851, p. 33; Ibid. 1852, p. 37.

having been applied to, printed in England a new edition of no fewer than 20,000 copies, which were equally divided between the Church and the Methodist missionaries; but even this large supply proved quite unequal to the demands of the natives; and in the course of a few years, other two editions of 20,000 each were printed, and sent out to New Zealand. The desire for copies was not confined to such of the natives as were able to read. Many who could not read were no less anxious to obtain them, either that they might have them read to them, or that they themselves might learn to read. Many copies were distributed gratuitously; others were paid for by the natives, who, in many cases, brought contributions of food and other produce in return for them.[1] A translation of the Old Testament into the language of New Zealand was also carrying on by the Rev. R. Maunsell, and part of it was printed.[2]

Besides the Holy Scriptures, the missionaries translated into the New Zealand language the Book of Common Prayer. The demand for it was also very great, and large editions of it were printed in New Zealand. School-books, catechisms, hymn-books, and various other works, were also printed for the use of the natives. A grammar of the New Zealand language was published by the Rev. R. Maunsell; and a grammar and dictionary by Archdeacon Williams, another of the missionaries.[3]

One of the most remarkable features of this mission was the extent to which, in the course of a few years, a knowledge of reading and a profession of Christianity spread among the natives. They manifested the greatest eagerness to learn to read and write. Besides the children and others taught in the schools, there were many who never had an opportunity of attending them who yet learned to read. The people in all parts of the country taught one another, and some by great assiduity, and under great disadvantages, taught themselves. It was also astonishing to witness the eagerness of all classes, both young and

[1] By the Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for 1845, it appears that no less than £431 : 8 : 9, had been paid to the Society for copies thus sold.

[2] Miss. Reg. 1839, p. 391; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1839, p. 99; Ibid. 1851, p. 215; Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1841, p. 79; Ibid. 1842, p. 78; Ibid. 1843, p. 110; Ibid. 1844, p. 114, 117; Ibid. 1845, p. 128.

[3] Miss. Reg. 1842, p. 475; Rep. Brit. and For. Bib. Soc. 1841, p. 79; Yates' Account of New Zealand, p. 230; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1852, p. xx.

old, both males and females, for religious instruction. Much of what was effected was through native agency. The New Zealanders were fond of teaching each other, and in moving about from place to place, they spread the knowledge of the gospel, communicating to their countrymen what of it they themselves had learned. In many places which had never been visited by any missionary or European, the New Testament was read, and divine service regularly performed in houses erected by the natives, and set apart for religious worship. At first, indeed, they bestowed little thought on these prayer-houses, as they were called; most of them were indifferently built and kept in a very filthy state; but latterly they took greater pains in the erection of them, and, not satisfied with their own efforts, they in some instances sought to have them floored and finished by Europeans.[1]

But while all this might contribute to the extension of a knowledge of the gospel among the natives, there can be little question as to the imperfection of the knowledge thus communicated. Those who acted as teachers were probably themselves often but imperfectly taught; and even what they did know, they could scarcely be expected to be well-qualified to communicate to others. Encouraged, however, by the results which they witnessed, the missionaries employed, in connection with the various stations, numerous native teachers, and though, it is admitted, that many of them were very deficient in Scripture knowledge, they are said to have been extensively useful.[2]

The missionaries also sought to promote the arts of civilized life among the New Zealanders, so far as their other duties would permit them; but they were often made to feel that though Christianity is a powerful instrument of civilization, it will commonly take a considerable time before converts from barbarous tribes form those habits which constitute the character of civilized man. Too much, we apprehend, has generally been expected from the civilizing influence of Christian missions, or at least a too immediate effect has been expected from

[1] Miss. Reg. 1840, p. 540; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1839, p. 110; Ibid. 1844, p. 91; Ibid. 1845, p. 107, 110.

[2] Miss. Reg. 1842, p. 62; Ibid. 1847, p. 322.

In 1851 the native teachers were about 400 in number.—*Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc.* 1852, p, xi.

them. Though many of the New Zealanders, who were under Christian instruction, were in various respects considerably improved; though some of them were industrious in their habits, and several possessed horses and cows; yet, generally speaking, they retained much of their old idle, indolent, dirty habits. Most of them were satisfied with houses little better than a stable, containing generally but one apartment. Though their land was very capable of cultivation, and the climate was favourable for the production of wheat, yet few even of the Christian natives would accept of seed, when it was from time to time offered to them. In personal cleanliness they were also very defective.[1]

In August 1839, the British government sent out Captain Hobson, R.N., to New Zealand, in order, if circumstances should render this expedient, to acquire the sovereignty of the country by treaty with the chiefs, with a view to the establishment of proper legal authority for the protection of the natives, and the maintenance of good order in the island. A considerable body of British subjects had of late years settled in New Zealand; and Companies had been formed in England which had for their object the acquisition of land and the sending out of emigrants to that country. Considerable tracts of land had been acquired by them by purchase from the natives, or were claimed by them; but the British government, which appears to have been actuated in the whole matter by the most honourable motives, did not consider itself bound to recognise such claims, until they were investigated and found to be neither fraudulent nor excessive.[2]

Having arrived in the Bay of Islands, Captain Hobson en-

[1] Miss. Reg. 1836, p. 336; Ibid. 1847, p. 354; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1840, p. 157; Ibid. 1843, p. 85, 87.

[2] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1840, p. 86; Miss. Reg. 1839, p. 392; Ibid. 1840, p. 226. In the history of European colonies, nothing is more common than to meet with acts of the grossest injustice and cruelty to the natives; and it is with peculiar pleasure that we have to record the honourable principles on which the British Government acted in seeking to establish the sovereignty of England in New Zealand, principles which stand out in striking contrast to the conduct of our government and our countrymen in former times, and which shew the great and salutary change which had taken place in its policy and administration as regards barbarous nations, and set a fine example to other nations in their attempts at colonization, and in their treatment of the aboriginal tribes.—*See the Marquis of Normanby's Instructions to Captain Hobson, Miss. Reg.* 1840, p. 227.

tered into a treaty with many of the principal chiefs, by which they ceded the powers and rights of sovereignty of their respective districts to the Queen of England. Her Majesty, at the same time, guaranteed to them the possession of their lands and other property, so long as they wished to retain them; while they yielded to Her Majesty the exclusive right of pre-emption of such lands as they may be disposed to sell. Some of the chiefs, however, were strongly opposed to the measure; but yet such was the success of Captain Hobson's negociations, that the whole of both the islands of New Zealand were declared to be British territory, and under the full sovereignty of Queen Victoria and her successors. The utmost efforts, however, were used by designing men, chiefly foreigners, to render the natives dissatisfied, and to persuade them that the English would ultimately take away their lands, and make those whom they did not kill, their slaves. Such representations might probably be made from interested or political motives; but assuredly, considering the past treatment by Europeans of the aboriginal tribes in various parts of the world, there was too much ground for them, and for the fears and jealousies of the natives. These feelings, though kept down for some years, at length broke forth in open hostility to the British authority.[1]

In March 1845, a collision took place between the English troops and the natives in the Bay of Islands, led on by John Heke, a chief in that neighbourhood, who had always been adverse to the cession of the sovereignty of the island to the Queen of England, and who, in manifestation of that hostility, had cut down four several times the English flag-staff erected at Kororarika. The British force was withdrawn after a severe conflict with the natives, in which twelve Europeans were killed and twenty wounded. In the afternoon, the town of Kororarika was evacuated, the inhabitants being received on board the ships in the bay; and it was plundered and burnt by the natives, being thus left at their mercy. In two subsequent attacks which the British made on Heke, they were again repulsed with a loss of one hundred and twenty men killed and wounded; but in a third attack, that chief was compelled to evacuate the

[1] Miss. Reg. 1840, p. 352, 392, 431, 509; Ibid. 1841, p. 516.

Pa or fortress in which he had hitherto successfully defended himself, and to retire further inland. "On the Lord's day," writes Archdeacon Henry Williams, "the troops were engaged as on other days, firing at the Pa the whole day. Of course they had no service. The natives in the Pa held their service, and did not return a shot during the whole day. These are striking facts!"[1] Where, we would ask, was British Christianity on this occasion? Where were British honour and magnanimity in attacking the natives, when they, on religious grounds, and these drawn from the Bible, made no resistance? Truly the savages of New Zealand administer a severe yet well-merited rebuke to the soldiers of England.

Active operations for the suppression of the insurrection were now suspended till the arrival of reinforcements; but after some months, Heke's Pa was invested by upwards of a thousand soldiers, besides the auxiliary natives, and a formidable battery was erected against it. It was bombarded for several hours on a Saturday; on the Sabbath all was quiet, it being intended to renew the cannonading on the Monday morning; but at an early hour of the Sabbath, some natives and sailors found their way into the Pa and were surprised to find it empty, the warriors being on the outside getting their breakfast. Firing immediately commenced and continued for three hours. The British remained in possession of the Pa, which was destroyed on the following day. Upon this Heke sued for peace, and his fighting men were dispersed. His submission was accepted, and the British troops were withdrawn. A large proportion of the disaffected natives afterwards submitted to the British authority; but a few parties still remained in arms, and went about endeavouring to excite their countrymen to insurrection. For the present, no further acts of hostility took place in the northern part of the island; but there were formidable collisions between the natives and the British troops in the south. It appears, indeed, that there was a strong and extensive feeling of hostility among the New Zealanders to the British sovereignty, notwithstanding the formal manner in which it had been conceded; but they were prevented from manifesting it by the conviction,

[1] Miss. Reg. 1845, p. 335, 533.

that resistance was vain, and that any opposition would ultimately be crushed by British power.[1]

Among others who had purchased lands from the natives were many of the missionaries and catechists; and as these pur-

[1] Miss. Reg. 1846, p. 336; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1846, p. 101; Ibid. 1847, p. 104. In the conduct of the natives in the insurrection, we have an interesting proof of the salutary influence of Christianity in New Zealand, and that in the case of a chief who had sadly declined from his Christian principles, and of natives who were still in a heathen state. One correspondent of the Church Missionary Society writes: "The triumph of the natives was unaccompanied by any of those fearful acts of cannibalism, which would doubtless have marked their course in past years, nor can they be accused of cruelty to the living, or insult to the dead." Another writer remarks, "Heke's conduct during the battle and afterwards was noble. All declared that no civilized power would have used their triumph with so much humanity. He has commanded respect from two of the greatest nations in the world. [The writer refers to England and the United States.] No barbarism was seen; but a chivalrous conduct not exceeded in the history of our own country. Two officers of the *Hazard* were made prisoners, their swords and pistols returned, and they themselves sent back to their camp unhurt. A flag of truce was sent by each party, and respected, to bury their dead. The Europeans were given up to be buried, and the natives were carried off for the same purpose." Captain Fitzroy, the governor, writing to Sir G. Phipps says: "No vindictiveness was shewn. Many of the settlers ventured back among the houses, and recovered property even from the natives, whose conduct has elicited praise from their opponents." In writing to Lord Stanley, the Secretary for the Colonies, he in like manner says: "Justice to the natives requires me to state, that European troops would not have behaved better, nor shewn less vindictiveness. Acts of a chivalrous nature were performed by them, and their forbearance toward the settlers, especially the missionaries, after the conflict was remarkable. No missionary, no mission property, known to be such, was injured intentionally."—*Miss. Reg.* 1845, p. 336.

We may here mention another instance of the salutary influence of Christianity on the New Zealanders, which occurred about two years before. The Rev. Mr Davis, one of the missionaries, on visiting the Pa of two Christian chiefs, named Perika and Noa, who were brothers, found they were expecting an attack from Ripa, a chief of Hokianga. The latter had made an unjust demand upon them, and on their refusing to comply with it, he marched to attack them. It was at this crisis that Mr Davies entered the Pa, and there he found them surrounded by their armed followers, engaged in solemn prayer, praying especially for the pardon of their enemies, with a white flag hoisted above their heads as a token of their desire of peace.

Mr Davies then went out to meet Ripa and his party: but how striking was the contrast! The savages with naked bodies, and their faces painted red, were listening to speeches urging them on to vengeance and slaughter. The addresses being ended, they rushed forward toward the Pa, yelling frightfully, and dancing their war dance, bidding bold defiance to the Christians. These were assembled on the other side of the fence, while one of the chiefs walked quietly up and down between the parties, telling the enemy they were acting contrary to the word of God; and that his party, though not afraid of them, were restrained by the fear of God from attacking them. They were in fact much more numerous than their opponents, Ripa and his party amounting only to twenty, while they were one hundred strong. After many speeches had been made on both sides, one of Ripa's party, in striking at the fence with his hatchet, cut Noa on the head. The chief tried to conceal the wound from his tribe,

chases were to a large amount, a great outcry, as might naturally be expected, was raised against them both in the colony and in England when the fact came to be known. It is therefore necessary that we should enter into some details in regard to the origin and extent of the practice. Among the difficulties connected with the life of a missionary, there are few greater or more perplexing than what regards the education of his children, and providing for them as they get up in life; and these difficulties are not a little increased if his field of labour is in a distant land and among a savage people. The Committee of the Church Missionary Society, though not blind to the danger of the measure, proposed to the missionaries some years before, the purchase of land from the natives to a moderate extent, as a provision for their children after they were fifteen years of age; and the missionaries themselves shewed the interpretation which they put on this proposal, by recommending that an allotment of 200 acres should be made to each child on arriving at that age. This recommendation of making a grant of a particular quantity of land to each child, the Committee did not deem it expedient to adopt, because the value of land might vary essentially from time to time; but they agreed, according to a general regulation which they had made in regard to children, to grant £50 to each son and £40 to each daughter of a missionary on attaining the age of fifteen, after which he should cease to have any claim on the Society on their account. But the principle of purchasing land from the natives as a provision for their children, having once been admitted, many of the missionaries and catechists did not, in practice, confine their purchases, as was originally contemplated by the Committee, within a moderate extent. The purchases of some of them were to a large amount, and the whole taken together was enormous.[1]

but some of them saw, by the blood trickling down, that he was wounded, and instantly there was a simultaneous rush from the Pa, and every man's musket was levelled. In another moment, Ripa and his whole party would have fallen, but Noa, the wounded chief, sprang forward, and exclaimed, "If you kill Ripa, I will die with him," and then throwing his own body as a shield over him, saved him from destruction. Peace was then made between the two parties, and there was great rejoicing. "Some years ago," adds Mr Davies, "the very sight of blood would have been a signal for a dreadful slaughter."—*Miss. Reg* 1845, p. 366.

[1] The following statement was made in a petition to the House of Commons by the New Zealand Company: "We find by the evidence of official documents, that of

Much obloquy was thrown on the whole body of the missionaries on this account; but it is proper to state, that they had not all been engaged in transactions of this kind, and those who were, had been so in very various degrees. It was also

thirty-five missionaries employed by the Church Society in 1838, twenty-three have preferred claims on account of such purchases, the aggregate of which, including 3900 acres for Church missionary families, and 11,600 acres for the Church Society itself, amounts to at least 196,840 acres."

The committee of the Society refers to a return of claims to land in New Zealand laid before Parliament, dated June 1. 1845, which included fourteen of the missionaries and catechists, by which it appeared that these claims amounted to 142,222½ acres.

Of these, 50,000 acres were on account of the Rev. Richard Taylor, and 40,000 on account of the Mr William Fairburn, one of the catechists, leaving for the other twelve missionaries or catechists 52,227½.

Of these 52,227½ acres, the Rev. Archdeacon Henry Williams claimed 11,004½ acres, and Mr James Kemp, another of the catechists, 9206. In the other ten cases, the highest amount claimed was considerably less than in these two.

The consideration which appears to have been given for these 52,227½ acres was £8145 : 9 : 2.—*Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc.* 1845, p. 126, 128. If a price, any way corresponding to this was paid for the other land purchased by the missionaries, the whole must have amounted to a very large sum.

The claims of the missionaries were, in common with those of other settlers, submitted to the Court of Land Claims, appointed by the government, and the higher ones were vastly reduced, which does not speak well for them. The total amount of the smaller claims was reduced only about one-third.—*Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc.* 1845, p. 128.

The Rev. Henry Williams, and two of the catechists, it is stated, had early formed farming establishments on their land; had sheep, cattle, and horses, and employed a number of natives as servants; and others had the view of forming similar establishments.—*Latest Official Documents relating to New Zealand, with Introductory Observations by Samuel Hind, D.D.*, 1838, p. 9.

From all this, it is but too probable that the following statements by Dieffenbach, who went out as naturalist to the New Zealand Company, were not without foundation. "Many of the older missionaries have become landed proprietors; and many by other pursuits, such as trading with the produce of their garden or stock, have become wealthy men." "Some of these persons are now retiring on their property, and their sons have become so independent as to refuse lucrative situations under government."—*Dieffenbach's New Zealand*, vol. ii. p. 165.

Such proceedings as these could not fail to have a very injurious influence on the character of the missionaries, and on the progress of the mission. The missionaries were much the object of attack by the colonists and writers on the subject of New Zealand; but how far many of the charges brought against them were well or ill founded, we have not the means of judging. We may, however, remark that while it would ill become missionary committees to listen to every evil report which may reach them regarding their missions, it is, on the other hand, not wise in them to turn a deaf ear to all such representations, under the idea that they must come from persons indifferent or hostile to the cause of missions, and that the testimony of such persons is unworthy of any regard. Missions may suffer grievously from such incredulity, and evils may grow up and go on increasing for years, which, had the report not been discredited, might have been nipped while yet in the bud. It is not always an enemy who brings unwelcome tidings to our ears; and even the statements of an enemy may contain important truth.

alleged, that while, in some instances, the number of acres sounded large, a comparatively small portion of them was adapted for cultivation, the greater part being fit only for feeding cattle. Other circumstances were stated in apology for the missionaries; but even though they should be admitted, to a certain extent, as an excuse for them, particularly as explaining the circumstances under which particular purchases were made, still we are not satisfied that they were blameless in this matter; nor do the committee, who had much better means of judging in the case than we can possibly have, appear to have been satisfied. As an English colony was now rising up in New Zealand, and as the missionaries might by this means be enabled to provide for their children, they early resolved to limit, and ultimately to discontinue altogether, purchases of land with the Society's allowance on account of children, and to prohibit henceforward all purchases of land by members of the mission with their private means, as, while they admitted their abstract right to do so, they considered it as not compatible with the nature of their undertaking, and as endangering the due performance of their duties to the Society and to the natives. But after a few years, they found it necessary to adopt a new and more stringent resolution on the subject. Her Majesty's Secretary of State having communicated to them certain despatches from Governor Grey, by which it appeared that the missionaries and other parties could not be put in possession by government of large grants of land, legally assigned to them, without the risk of collision with the natives, bloodshed, and other evils, and that it was of much importance, in the governor's opinion, that the influence of the Society should not appear to be on the side of enforcing claims against the natives for these large tracts of land at so fearful a risk, the committee were led to review the whole question, and in the view of the many evils which had already arisen, and which might yet arise from the missionaries of the Society being possessed of large tracts of land, they adopted a resolution, that no missionary or catechist shall be allowed to continue his connection with the Society who shall retain for his own use and benefit a larger tract of land, than shall appear suitable, in the judgment of the bishop and governor, or of such other parties as they may appoint to deter-

mine this question. Three or four members of the missionary body, however, made an appeal to the courts of law, on the plea of vindicating their own character, and what they considered the just claims of their families. This perplexing contest led to the separation of two individuals from the Society, Archdeacon Henry Williams, and Mr George Clarke.[1]

Previous to this there had been a great and rapid increase in the number of the natives who professed Christianity. Within four or five years[2] the attendants on public worship are stated to have increased from 2,300 to 35,000. Thousands were admitted into the church by baptism, but the qualifications required of them for that ordinance were very slender. A lamentable ignorance was to be found in multitudes of the baptized. Many possessed great knowledge of the Scriptures, who yet appeared to be strangers to secret prayer. Numbers regularly assembled for divine worship, of whom it might be said, they worshipped they knew not what. In New Zealand, as in others of the South Sea Islands, the authority, or at least the example, of the chiefs, had no small influence in leading the people generally to embrace Christianity. When it was received by the chiefs, the multitude soon followed, not from any knowledge which they had of its doctrines, or any conviction of their truth or importance, but because they saw it was becoming the religion of the country, and they perhaps looked for some temporal advantages from it, as the quiet possession of their property, and freedom from the hostile incursions of their neighbours.[3]

As might be expected from such a state of things, there was afterwards a great falling away among the baptized New Zealanders. Many who once appeared eager for religious instruction, became after a time careless and indifferent about it. Some brought disgrace on their Christian profession by the inconsistency of their conduct, who formerly appeared to run well. Numbers returned to many of their old sinful practices, and

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1840, p. 160, 175; Ibid. 1845, p. 127; Ibid. 1847, p. 118; Ibid. 1849, p. 175; Ibid. 1850, p. 176.

[2] From about 1836 to 1841.

[3] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1837, p. 63; Ibid. 1840, p. 88; Ibid. 1842, p. 97; Ibid. 1843, p. 91; Ibid. 1844, p. 98; Ibid. 1847, p. 105, 109; Miss. Reg. 1844, p. 493; Ibid. 1845, p. 364; Ibid. 1846, p. 329; Ibid. 1847, p. 322.

some relapsed into heathenism. The colonization of the islands contributed not a little to these and other evils. At Auckland, the chief town of the colony, many of the natives took up their residence, and still greater numbers resorted thither from various parts of the country for the sake of employment or traffic. Its spirit stores, its barracks, its port, its theatre, presented to them many and strong temptations. Multitudes were infected with the spirit of gambling, and even professed Christians neglected the means of grace and learned to profane the Sabbath. Sterling piety was a rare quality among them. "We may often hear a New Zealander," says the Rev. R. Burrows, "speak of the plague of his heart, and of the warfare he has between what he would call his old and new heart, who is at the same time living in open sin. By long association with their missionaries and their teachers, they have become familiar with many terms relating to some of the leading doctrines of Christianity, such as the wickedness of the heart and the necessity of the new birth, while alas! comparatively few evidence in their life and conversation that they are experimentally acquainted with either." [1]

Notwithstanding the extent to which the natives had been taught to read in former years, yet the prospects as regards the rising generation were exceedingly discouraging. The parents, just emerging from ignorance and barbarism themselves, saw not the value of early training and instruction, and nothing was done on their part to procure Christian education for their offspring. Hundreds, nay thousands, of baptized children were growing up in ignorance, and, with few exceptions, in no way differing except in name from the heathen around them. Infant schools were indeed kept in many villages, but the difficulty of collecting the children together, and the want of European clothing to be worn by them during school hours, and of proper native teachers, combined to render them in a great measure useless.[2]

We fear indeed that the success of the Church mission in New Zealand is much less than was for some years imagined. Far too much importance was attached to the professed or im-

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1847, p. 109; Miss. Reg. 1845, p. 364; Ibid. 1846, p. 329; Ibid. 1850, p. 177, 179; Ibid. 1851, p. 207; Ibid. 1852, p. 175.

[2] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1847, p. 117; Miss. Reg. 1847, p. 404.

plied renunciation by such numbers of the natives of their own religion, to their attendance on Christian worship and going through its forms in an orderly and outwardly devout manner, to their observance of the Sabbath, or at least abstaining from work on that day, to their learning to read, to their eagerness for copies of the Holy Scriptures, the Prayer-book, and other printed works, to their giving up in many cases the manners and practices of their countrymen and adopting the dress and customs of Europeans, and to their improvement in some of the more ordinary arts of life, and to other circumstances of an external kind. But it should be recollected, that it is a comparatively easy thing to bring men to the profession of Christianity, and to the observance of its outward forms, and that this may be effected in thousands of cases where there is no change of heart. Conclusions of a much too favourable nature were also often drawn from merely temporary circumstances and appearances. This is a very common source of error in judging of the success of missions. There is among mankind generally, and particularly among half civilized and barbarous tribes, much of deception; there is also great changeableness of character and disposition. That only can be reckoned success which is lasting; and if we apply this test intelligently, honestly, and faithfully, we fear that large deductions will require to be made from the estimated success of this and of many other missions.

But while the success of the mission as regards the conversion of the natives was small as compared with the large numbers who nominally embraced Christianity, still we trust it was not without spiritual fruit. There were a number who, it was hoped, were persons of sincere piety, who remained stedfast to their Christian profession, and appeared to grow in knowledge and in grace; while there were some, both old and young, who died giving utterance to sentiments which inspire the hope that they are now before the throne of God in heaven.

It is also a gratifying fact, that wars were now less frequent, and when they did break out, were generally attended with fewer atrocities than formerly. The missionaries often acted as mediators between the contending parties, and were successful in restoring peace. When conflicts did take place, they served to exhibit at once the natural ferocity of the natives, the

salutary power of the missionaries, and the softening influence of Christianity.[1]

There is, however, no small danger, now especially that Europeans are colonizing the islands, that the numbers of the natives will dwindle away, and that they will perhaps at no distant period become extinct altogether, or at least be merged in the Anglo-Saxon race. The missionaries refer to some parts of the country where the number of the inhabitants is less by one-third, or even one-half, than it was when the first establishment of Europeans was formed. The Bishop of Australia was struck with the fact, that wherever he went there were so few children compared with the number of adults. Mr W. B. Marshall, surgeon of the Alligator, who visited New Zealand some years before, states that, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands, where whaling and other vessels chiefly resorted, the sight of young children was far from common, and that the sterility of the women was undeniable. It is exceedingly difficult to account for the course of depopulation which is going on in New Zealand, and in some other islands of the Pacific Ocean. Previous causes of the decrease of the inhabitants, as war, infanticide, and cannibalism, are now in less active operation than they were in former times. But on the other hand, new diseases and new causes of disease, particularly intemperance and prostitution, have been introduced or extended among them to a fearful extent by the ships of England and her colonies. It is rare, the missionaries tell us, to find a New Zealander free from disease. The manifold calamities, and more particularly the decrease and ultimate extinction of the indigenous races which has often followed the colonization of new countries by Europeans, is a well known and melancholy fact. It would seem as if they were, in most instances, destined to future and not distant annihilation before the tide of White men setting in upon their country.[2]

In June 1852, the number of communicants connected with the New Zealand mission amounted to 7,027.[3]

[1] Miss. Reg. 1830, p. 374; Ibid. 1831, p. 415; Ibid. 1832, p. 189, 409; Ibid. 1833, p. 283, 503; Ibid. 1834, p. 369; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1847, p. 110; Ibid. 1851, p. 213.

[2] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1840, p. 157; Miss. Reg. 1838, p. 223; Marshall's Narrative of Two Visits to New Zealand in 1834, p. 143.

[3] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1853, p. 169.

## SECT. IX.—HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S TERRITORY.

In May 1820, the Rev. John West sailed from England, having been appointed by the Hudson's Bay Company chaplain to the settlement which had been formed some years before on the banks of the Red River, to the south of Lake Winnipeg. Being desirous of availing himself of any opportunities which this might afford him of benefiting the Indians in that quarter, he had, before leaving England, submitted to the committee of the Church Missionary Society, his views of the most promising means of promoting the instruction of the Indians, and had offered his services in carrying out some of his suggestions, by establishing schools for them in the neighbourhood of the Red River. The committee accordingly placed £100 at his disposal to enable him to make trial of his plan.[1]

On Mr West's arrival at the Red River settlement, a temporary log-house, conveniently situated near the dwellings of the White settlers, was repaired and opened as a school under the care of Mr G. Harbidge, who had accompanied him from England with this view. Encouraged by the favourable reports of Mr West, the committee resolved on establishing a regular mission under his superintendence in that part of the world.[2]

In June 1823, the Rev. D. T. Jones sailed from England for the purpose of carrying out this design, and he was followed by the Rev. W. Cockran, two years afterwards. For several years, the labours of the missionaries were directed chiefly to the European settlers, and to their descendants of mixed blood. With the exception of the Indian school, no systematic efforts were made in behalf of the aborigines. Indeed, it was the settled conviction of the missionaries, that nothing of a decided and permanent character could be effected with them in the way of religious instruction, so long as they continued to wander about in search of a precarious subsistence, and were thus

[1] West's Journal during a Residence at the Red River Colony, p. 1; Journal of the Bishop of Montreal during a visit to the Church Missionary Society's North-West American Mission, p. 184.

[2] Bishop of Montreal's Journal, p. 187.

prevented from enjoying for a sufficient length of time opportunities of instruction. To many who were acquainted with the Indian character, the very idea of inducing them to give up their wandering habits and their heathen customs, appeared altogether visionary. But formidable as were the difficulties of the undertaking, it was resolved to make the attempt.[1]

In 1833, Mr Cockran began to form a settlement of the Indians on the Red River, about twelve miles from the Grand Rapids. He sent to the Indians, who belonged to different tribes, a plough and a pair of oxen, and some other implements of husbandry, and a supply of seed-corn, and potatoes. Each Indian who built a house was supplied with clothing, tools, and a man of some experience to direct and assist him. A school-house was also erected, and lest the children should be dispersed by the necessity of searching for food during the winter, it was arranged that they should be provided with one good meal each day. With this view, twenty acres of land at the Rapids were sown with wheat, and a fishing party was sent to Lake Winnipeg to obtain a stock of fish for winter consumption. It was also found absolutely necessary to supply the children with some articles of clothing.

When all these arrangements were made, the school was opened with thirty-two children; but as they had never been accustomed to any control, it was exceedingly difficult at first to maintain any thing like order or discipline among them. They were wild and intractable, and would run out and come in just as they pleased. Some of the Indians manifested considerable dislike to the education of their children; and Indian parents in general think it cruel to correct or restrain their children. The missionaries, as they knew that the Indians were watching to see how they would treat their children, with the desire of finding ground of complaint against them, were resolved to bear the wild and disorderly movements of the children for the present with patience, till they got a majority of the parents on their side, when they hoped to be enabled to enforce order in the school. The unmanageableness of the

[1] Bishop of Montreal's Journal, p. 202.

children was afterwards, to some extent, got the better of; their attendance at school was very regular, and they were in all respects much improved.[1]

Divine worship was also commenced at the Indian settlement for the benefit of the adults; a church was at length erected, and a missionary settled at it. Each succeeding year exhibited a marked improvement, both in the temporal and the spiritual condition of the Indians. Their numbers were constantly increasing; cottage after cottage rose in rapid succession, and were soon surrounded by cultivated fields, while the cattle of the inhabitants might be seen grazing on the hitherto solitary banks of the river. With some exceptions, the moral and religious character of those who made a profession of Christianity was, generally speaking, satisfactory, though, at the same time, they were still only "babes in Christ," and needed due allowance to be made for their weakness and infirmities.[2] But

[1] Bishop of Montreal's Journal, p. 208; Miss. Reg. 1835, p. 64; Ibid. 1847, p. 58. Mr Coekran, however, after referring in his Journal, November 27. 1837, to the interment of two children at the Indian settlement, makes the following somewhat curious statement: "I often lament that it should please God to chastise our brethren here with the loss of so many of their children. This, according to outward appearance, has been the greatest impediment that has come in the way of Christianity. The enemies of truth always urge this argument: 'If you allow your children to be educated, they are sure to die.' Thus many of the timorous are deterred from sending their children to school. It is certain that, from the wandering habits of the people, and *the delicacy of their constitutions, they cannot endure the same confinement and close application as Europeans.* They are frequently seized with *a peculiar malady,* which they call 'thinking long.' When under the influence of this, if you cannot amuse them, and make them take exercise, they sicken and die. At the Indian settlement our discipline is very loose. We allow the children to hunt or fish whenever they are disposed; and I think we have greatly diminished the fatal cases by it."—*Miss. Reg.* 1839, p. 119.

In our attempts to propagate Christianity and civilization, we suspect that due account is not taken of the physical and psychological constitution of different nations, and of the different races of mankind. We are inclined to think that considerations of this kind should be allowed more weight than they have hitherto had in the selection of fields of missionary labour, and perhaps also in modifying in some countries the modes of operation. Were points of this kind more nicely and more accurately observed, they might help to account for the failure or the success of missions in particular countries. We would strongly recommend to missionaries the study, not only of human nature generally, and of the religion, habits, and customs, of the people among whom they labour, but of their physical and psychological constitution, the knowledge of which may be of great utility in preserving them from error, and in enabling them to act skilfully in dealing with them.

[2] Bishop of Montreal's Journal, p. 211, 214, 225, 228; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1841, p. 118.

in estimating the progress of religion among them, we fear that much too great importance is attached to their observance of the mere outward forms of religion, and to the manner in which they go through them.

In June 1840, a new station was begun in the neighbourhood of Cumberland House, about six hundred miles from the Red River settlement. Others were afterwards formed at Manitoba, at Lac la Rouge, and at Moose Fort, on the southern shore of Hudson's Bay.

In 1852, the number of communicants connected with this mission was 507.[1] How many of these were Indians does not appear.

Besides the missions of which we have given an account, the Church Missionary Society established others in British Guiana among the Indians, in the West Indies, particularly in Jamaica and Trinidad, in South Africa among the Zulus, and in China. The missionaries sent to Jamaica and Trinidad were after some years transferred to the ecclesiastical establishment of these islands, or they were provided for in some other way; those to South Africa were after a short time withdrawn; those to China formed stations at Shanghai, Ningpo and Fuh-chau-fu. In Hongkong, a college, named St Paul's College, was erected through the zeal and liberality of the Rev. Vincent Staunton, the chaplain, with a special view to the training up of a native agency for the evangelization of China.

Before closing our account of the Church Missionary Society, we have to make one or two general statements.

In July 1841, an important modification was made of the regulations of the Society, affecting materially its relations with the ecclesiastical authorities of the Church of England. A change, indeed, in this respect had been going on for a number of years, and this was only the consummation of it. The Society was from its commencement composed solely of members of the Church of England; but it had originally no other connection with it than that of its members, and it was in no re-

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1853, p. 183.

spect subject to its ecclesiastical authorities. Even its first missionaries, and numbers whom it sent out during many years, did not belong to the Church of England, but to the Lutheran or other churches on the continent. But the appointment of bishops for India and for the British Colonies in various parts of the world, led at length to an important change in the relations of the Society and its missionaries with the ecclesiastical authorities. Even this, however, was not immediate. Twenty years elapsed after the appointment of Dr Middleton, the first bishop in India, before the missionaries of the Society were placed under episcopal superintendence and jurisdiction. Dr Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta, was the first to whom this power was granted; but it was afterwards extended, as a matter of course, to the bishops of Madras and Bombay, and to the bishops in the colonies where the Society had missionaries. But now another and most important step was taken in the way of establishing the system of episcopal authority over the Society and its missionaries. Dr Blomfield, the Bishop of London, having at a public meeting for another object expressed his hope that a plan might be devised by which the Church Missionary Society, and another to which he alluded,[1] might both be induced to carry on their operations under the superintendence and control of the heads of the United Church of England and Ireland, communications subsequently took place between him and the Earl of Chichester, the President of the Society, with the sanction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, which issued in the proposal by the bishop, and the adoption by the Society of the following Regulation :—

"That all questions relating to matters of ecclesiastical order and discipline, respecting which a difference shall arise between any colonial bishop and any committee of the Society, shall be referred to the archbishops and bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland, whose decision thereupon shall be final."

To prevent any misunderstanding of the general terms in which the Bishop of London's proposition was couched, the committee

[1] We presume the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

considered it necessary that it should be accompanied by an explanation of the sense in which it was agreed to by them, and after communicating with him on the subject, the following additional regulation was adopted:

"That the object of the preceding law being only to provide a mode of settling questions relating to ecclesiastical order and discipline, as to which no provision has yet been made by the Society, it is not to be so construed as, in any other respect, to alter the principles and practice of the Society, as they are contained in its laws and regulations, and explained in Appendix II. to the Thirty-ninth Report.

"The proposed reference shall be made through his Grace the Primate, by the committee, accompanied by such explanations and statements as the committee may deem advisable; and the committee will be bound so to refer all questions falling within the scope of the rule so understood as aforesaid, which the colonial bishop shall require them to refer.

"While all decisions of the bench of bishops on questions so referred, will be considered by the committee as binding on them and their agents or representatives, the colonial bishops or other ecclesiastical authorities, unless concurring in the reference, cannot properly be considered as so bound."[1]

We have no right to find fault with our brethren of the Church of England for carrying out the principles of their own church; yet we cannot help questioning the expediency of the whole of these arrangements, by which the Society, its missions, and its missionaries, were to a great extent placed under the control of the bishops at home and abroad, while at the same time they had no security for the wisdom, the justice, the impartiality, the moderation, nor even for the piety or Christian character, of these bishops. Taking the bishops of the Church of England for the last two centuries, what a small proportion of them do we find whom it would have been desirable to invest with such powers in reference to the propagation of the gospel among the heathen![2]

[1] Miss. Reg. 1814, p. 41; Ibid. 1841, p. 321: Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1839, p. 136.

[2] In the views which we have expressed, we are not singular. Some of the best

Here we cannot but also notice another very painful point in the history of the Church Missionary Society, the re-ordination by the bishops of a number of the missionaries who had been ordained according to the forms of the Lutheran or

friends of the Society appear to have looked on these proceedings with doubt and jealousy. At the annual meeting of the Society in 1841, reference having been made in the Reports, by the Earl of Chichester, the chairman, and by several of the speakers, to the contemplated arrangements as to the ecclesiastical relations of the Society, the the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, spoke as follows:—

"However much I may be prepared to agree with the Noble Lord in the Chair, respecting the value of the high patronage to which his Lordship has referred, I rejoice to observe that his Lordship, the committee in their report, and the Right Rev. prelate who followed him, have all agreed in stating, THAT IT MUST BE BOUGHT BY NO COMPROMISE OF OUR PRINCIPLES. For forty years, the blessing of God has rested on these principles; and we must not change them now. Although grateful for the offer of the superintendence in question, we must recollect that we *are invited to enter into certain relations, not with any living individuals merely, but with a succession of official persons.* It is to be an official relation, not a relation determined by the worth of individuals. This step must be taken with the utmost caution, because, once taking it, we cannot recede. Whatever honour we may wish to bestow on those to whom honour is due, the power must rest with his Lordship and with the committee. Nothing must be done which might have the effect of fettering our missionaries in preaching the gospel. The movements of this great Society must be conducted by men who are themselves imbued with the spirit of the gospel. We must secure that no missionaries shall be sent but those who believe and love the truth; and then we need never fear the loss of his blessing who has said, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the GOSPEL to every creature; and lo I am with you alway, even to the end of the world.'"

To allay the apprehensions of the members of the Society, they were in the mean while informed that "they might be fully confident that no sacrifice of principle or of independence is required, or would be yielded," and that the constitution and practice of the Society, as this had hitherto existed, would "remain untouched."—*Miss. Reg.* 1841, p. 281.

But we doubt if the views here expressed were realized. It appears to us that, according to the arrangements which were entered into, the balance of power was, from first to last, greatly in favour of the bishops, both at home and abroad, and that the independence of the Society was essentially sacrificed by them. Bishops are but too apt to interpret, and even to stretch laws in favour of their own power; and if a colonial bishop require the committee to refer any question falling within the above-mentioned regulation, the bishops at home are likely to stand by their own order, and to be predisposed to adopt the views, and to confirm the decisions of their brethren abroad. They will be unwilling to mortify them, and to cast blame upon them by nullifying their judgments, if it be at all possible to stand by them. In a contest between such parties, and with such judges, committees will have a poor chance of obtaining a decision in their favour, even though they should have reason and justice on their side. It is also worthy of notice, that while the committee bind themselves to submit to all decisions of the bench of bishops, the colonial bishops are under no obligation to do so, unless they concur in the reference, which is another marked inequality in the position of the two parties. We have not the means of knowing how the system has worked; but we suspect it will come to this, that the committee of the

other churches on the continent, and after they had exercised for years all the functions of the Christian ministry.[1] We have already stated that many of the Society's missionaries did not belong to the Church of England, but came from the continent of Europe; and they were usually ordained in their respective churches before coming to this country. It does not appear that the committee *required* any of them to submit to re-ordination; it was, in some instances at least, the voluntary act of the individual missionaries who thus chose to degrade themselves, their churches, and their own past ministry, by submitting to be re-ordained by a bishop. It is very extraordinary that the Church of England should be ready to receive into her communion, priests of the Church of Rome, of the Greek, Armenian, Coptic, and other ancient churches, however corrupt they may be, without re-ordination, and yet should virtually deny the validity of the ordination of nearly all the Protestant Churches, by requiring their ministers to be re-ordained before they can be numbered among her ministers. In this respect the Church of England treats the churches of the Reformation, in the same presumptuous and contumelious manner in which she herself is treated by the proud and arrogant Church of Rome, an example which she might well be slow to imitate. It was not in this way that the fathers of the English Church treated other Protestant churches. We doubt not that many good men in the Church of England feel pained and ashamed at the course pursued by her toward the other Reformed

Society, finding that the judgments of the bench of bishops are commonly in favour of the views and decisions of their brethren abroad, will seek to avoid such references, and will yield submission to the dictates of the foreign bishops, even though opposed to their own convictions, rather than enter into a vain contest with them; and that when the bishops are men who are disposed to interfere with, and to regulate every thing, the power of the Committee will be virtually nullified, and the missions substantially governed by them. This is the manifest tendency of the whole system; but the evil now mentioned may perhaps be modified by few of the bishops being disposed to take on themselves so much trouble. In India, it appears that "no adult baptism can be performed without the sanction of the bishop," and that he, "either by personal or indirect inspection, superintends and directs all;"—(*Miss. Reg.* 1834, p. 180; Ibid. 1839, p. 332;) —a power the due and faithful exercise of which, in addition to his other multifarious duties, would require a degree of knowledge, wisdom, prudence, penetration, and piety, such as never yet fell to the lot of mortal man.

[1] Miss. Reg. 1826, p. 333; Ibid. 1829, p. 285; Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1844, p. 45.

churches, in thus virtually denying the validity of their ordination and of their ministry.[1]

[1] It will perhaps be alleged by some, that when the Church of England re-ordains the ministers of other churches, she does not mean to deny the validity of their previous ordination, but that this is done merely in order to admit or constitute them ministers in connection with her; but this allegation is altogether untenable, for (to say nothing of the doctrine of apostolical succession, and of its bearings, of which the world has heard so much of late years,) she does not re-ordain priests of the Church of Rome who join her communion; yet if what is alleged was all that was meant, it would be as necessary to re-ordain them, as to re-ordain a Lutheran or a Presbyterian minister. We regret to find that it was Bishop Heber who was the first in India to re-ordain missionaries who had previously received Lutheran ordination."—*Orient. Christ. Spect.* vol. vi. p. 222; *Miss. Reg.* 1826, p. 333.

# CHAPTER XI.

## PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE SOCIETY FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.[1]

### INDIA.

In December 1820, Dr Middleton, the first bishop of Calcutta, laid the foundation-stone of a college on the banks of the Hugli, about three miles below Calcutta, the primary object of which was the education of missionaries, catechists, and schoolmasters, European or native, to be employed in propagating the gospel among the Hindu and Mahomedan population of India. It was called Bishop's College, and was in immediate connection with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Dr Middleton's successor, Bishop Heber, desirous that it should not be a mere ecclesiastical institution, but that, like Oxford and Cambridge, it should impart a general education, induced the Society to extend its privileges to lay students. Great expectations were entertained of the college as an instrument for propagating Christianity and diffusing useful knowledge in the East, but after a large expenditure of money in buildings, principals, professors, and books, it has as yet greatly disappointed its friends and patrons. Hitherto the number of students has been small. Some of those educated in it were admitted to holy orders, several of whom were natives and were employed as ministers or missionaries in different parts of the country; others were employed as catechists or schoolmasters. Of lay students desirous of general education few attended it. We ap-

[1] This Society was incorporated in 1701. Of its early missions some account will be found in the APPENDIX, No. I. Of the stations which it adopted some years ago in the south of India, we have already given an account in connection with the Danish mission at Tranquebar.

prehend, indeed, that institutions on so large a scale are as yet not called for as regards the heathen world; but independently of this, there were other causes which combined to render Bishop's College to a great extent a failure.[1]

The Society also adopted measures for carrying on missionary operations in the East, and it placed its agents in immediate connection with the college. Its first missionaries, the Rev. Messrs Christian, Morton, and Tweddle, commenced their labours by superintending circles of Bengali schools in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. After some time, stations were formed amidst the agricultural and fishing villages on the rivulets which intersect the southern districts lying between Calcutta and Diamond Harbour. The chief stations were Haura, Tallygunge, Barripur, Danghatta, and Tamluk, but with these were connected numerous villages which were regularly visited by the missionaries and catechists. Considerable numbers of the natives were baptized, but most of them, while they might go through the outward forms of religion, were, it is to be feared, Christians only in name. The account given by Dr Wilson, bishop of Calcutta, of the process of their conversion could scarcely lead us to expect any other result. As an instance of the slender hold which Christianity had of them, it may be mentioned that in one village forty catechumens fell away and attempted to regain their lost caste among the Hindus, offence having been taken by one or two persons in the village, because some little secular advantage in their petty law-suits was not granted to them. Others were won over by the emissaries of the Church of Rome.[2]

In 1851, the following were the numbers connected with the stations in the neighbourhood of Calcutta,—baptized natives, 1,822; communicants, 914; catechumens, 819. They lived in seventy-eight different villages, scattered over a considerable extent of country.[3]

Great complaints were made by missionaries of different de-

[1] Miss. Reg. 1821, p. 48, 301, 353, 375, 457; Ibid. 1845, p. 137, 139; Ibid. 1847, p. 133; Long's Bengal Missions, p. 454; Calcutta Review, vol. iii. p. 310; vol. viii. p. 441, 448.

[2] Miss. Reg. 1825, p. 53, 590; Ibid. 1827, p. 64; Ibid. 1828, p. 78; Ibid. 1833, p. 79; Ibid. 1839, p. 264; Ibid. 1847, p. 134.

[3] Sum. Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. iii. p. 14.

nominations of some of the missionaries of the Propagation Society, who having imbibed Puseyite or High Church notions, exerted a baneful influence on the missions of other societies in and around Calcutta. These men set up their unscriptural and presumptuous claims to exclusive apostolical succession, taught that none but episcopally ordained persons were lawful ministers of Christ, and that the ministrations of all others were invalid, thus endeavouring to seduce the infant native churches from the simplicity of the gospel. Nor were their efforts without effect. The minds of the members of these churches were unsettled, and a number of them forsook their own pastors and were re-baptized. Hitherto the converts in the south of Calcutta, though not all of the same church, had lived together in the same villages, engaged in the same occupations, and interchanged mutual social relations, among others that of marriage; but now the missionaries of the Propagation Society forbade all marriages between their proselytes and those of other Christian churches, and even marriages which had been sanctioned by the parents of both parties, were broken off at the dictation of a lordly superstitious priest. Nor was this all. Like their Puseyite brethren in England, they appear to have trenched on the great fundamental truths of Christianity. Dr Wilson, the bishop of Calcutta, was sorely grieved and troubled by them, and though he interposed his episcopal authority it was of little avail. The evil went on, and what the ultimate results may be, no man can tell.[2]

[1] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1842, p. 11; Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1842, p. 13; Ibid. 1843, p. 7; Ibid. 1845, p. 5; Sum. Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. ii. 341; Miss. Record Free Church, vol. ii. p. 354, 502; Cal. Christ. Observer, vol. x. p. 450.

Were it worth while we might notice a controversy which arose between a priest of the Church of England and a Romish priest, relative to the baptism by the latter of a young girl, who had previously been baptized by the former. The minister of the English Church in stating his case, called himself a priest of the Anglo-Catholic Church of England, alleged that his ordination and offices as such were valid, and inquired whether the priest of Rome deemed it necessary under such circumstances to re-baptize the girl. The Romish priest frankly replied, that he knew no such church, nor did he recognise any such ordination, and that he did not re-baptize, but really and truly baptized (conditionally) the girl, *i. e.*, he did not consider her as previously baptized at all.—*Cal. Christ. Observer*, vol. xi. p. 436.

We can look down with equal contempt (and we may add, with equal pity) on the unscriptural and presumptuous claims of Puseyite and Romish priests; but the Puseyite who is so full of respect and love for Rome cannot afford to smile at her high and exclusive pretensions, even though she declare his ordination and all the offices performed by him, not excepting the celebration of marriage and the administration of the sacraments, as null and void!

Besides the stations in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, the Society established others at Chinsurah, Boglipur, Cawnpur, Delhi, Bombay and Ahmedabad, in Assam, in Ceylon at Calpentyn, Matura, Neura Ellia, and Kandy, at Sarawak in the island of Borneo, and among the Arawack Indians in British Guiana; but we have no details regarding them of sufficient importance to require particular notice. The stations at Chinsurah and Boglipur have long been given up.

# CHAPTER XII.

## PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE GENERAL BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.[1]

### INDIA.

In May 1821, the Rev. W. Bampton and J. Peggs, the first missionaries of this Society, sailed for India, and after their arrival, they commenced a station at Cuttack, the chief town in Orissa. Other missionaries afterwards followed them, and settled in some of the principal towns of the province; but in the course of years, considerable changes took place in regard to the stations, some of them being given up, and others undertaken.[2]

At Puri, which was for some time occupied as a station by the missionaries, and which afterwards continued to be frequently visited by them, is the temple of Jaganath, one of the most celebrated places of pilgrimage in India, and to which large numbers repair annually from all parts of the country. These pilgrimages gave rise, especially in some seasons, to a vast amount of misery, disease, and death; and the worship itself is characterized by the greatest obscenity, circumstances which could scarcely fail to impart a particular character to the inhabitants of that part of India, and to throw peculiar obstacles in the way of any attempt to convert them to Christianity.[3]

The British government, for many years, levied a tax on the pilgrims visiting this and other places of sacred resort in India,

[1] This Society was instituted in 1816.

[2] Sutton's Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Mission in Orissa, p. 26; Sterling's Orissa; its Geography, Statistics, &c., to which is added, A History of the General Baptist Mission in that Province, p. 153, 194, 258, 270, 274, 282, 286.

[3] Sutton's Nar. p. 53, 142, 148; Sterling's Orissa, p. 14, 127, 178; Report General Baptist Missionary Society, 1826, p. 9.

and made provision out of the tax for the support of the temples, the idols, and the priests, the balance being appropriated to its ordinary revenue. It thus gave a kind of sanction to the whole system, which the natives were not slow to employ as an argument with the missionaries. "If," said they, "Jaganath be nothing, why do so many people come so far to see him?" "If Jaganath be nothing, why does the Company take so much money from the pilgrims at the entrance of the town?" "If the government does not forsake Jaganath, how can you expect that we should do it?" "These arguments," says Mr Bampton, "discompose me more than any others; and they are brought forward every day, and perhaps several times in a day."[1]

Besides establishing schools for boys, the missionaries succeeded in collecting several schools of girls; but they at length discovered that the poor creatures were all the daughters, or the adopted children of prostitutes, who were training them up for a life of prostitution, and who availed themselves of the schools to have them taught to read the licentious songs with which the Hindu books abound, and so to fit them better for carrying on their vicious designs. Hence the missionaries found it necessary to break up several of these schools.[2]

Besides the day-schools, the missionaries established male and female asylums, chiefly for orphans or outcast children, who were made over to them by their parents in times of famine, or who not unfrequently were picked up in a state of starvation, after being abandoned by pilgrims to Jaganath. Among the children received into them, were also numbers of boys and girls who had been destined to be offered up in sacrifice by the Khunds, who inhabit the hills in that vicinity, to the protecting

[1] Pegg's Indian Cries to British Humanity, p. 80, 120.

Mr Bowen, one of the American missionaries, Bombay, makes the following curious statement relative to the pilgrimages and penances of the Hindus: "It must be borne in mind that the austerities and penances of the Hindus are the road to honour and reputation. In different countries the avenues of fame are different. In England or America, an ambitious man will seek to be a popular orator, or poet, or historian, or painter, or representative, or judge. But in this country, he will go on pilgrimages, fast, hang on hooks, &c. Before coming to India, I thought it was a sense of sin that urged men to these works of righteousness. But such a sense of sin as has any influence on the conduct is rare."—*(Amer.) Miss. Her.* vol. xlv. p. 164. If this statement be correct, it places superstition under a new aspect.—See also notes vol. ii. p. 30, 431.

[2] Sutton's Nar. p. 81, 267.

goddess of their fields, but who were rescued from this horrible death through the humane exertions of the British government for the suppression of human sacrifices.[1]

Mr Bampton adopted, to a considerable extent, the native dress, partly for the facility which it afforded in travelling, and partly in the hope of conciliating the people. In the frequent journeys which he made among them, he underwent great privations and hardships, such as are not generally known to missionaries in India. On one occasion he writes, "I was walking, chiefly barefoot, and preaching nine hours and three quarters, stopping only a few minutes to eat some biscuits which I had with me. I am almost always barefoot; partly because it makes me more like the majority of the people, partly because it adds to my hardihood, and partly because it is more convenient. One is stopped by no sort of roads; and if I am at any time up to the ancles in mud, I am probably soon after up to the knees in water, out of which I come clean and comfortable, while in an English dress all this would be very miserable." On another occasion he says, "I have had to-day what some would call a roughish day. I have passed through rivers and other waters several times: that indeed is an everyday work. Once or twice I was almost up to the calves of my legs in thick mire; and once I had to cross a river breast-high, the deepest which I ever crossed on foot." We may give Mr Bampton credit for his zeal and self-denial; but no constitution could long sustain such usage; and it probably contributed to his comparatively early death.[2]

The sacrifices which a Hindu has to make in embracing Christianity, are so many and so great, that it is not wonderful so few receive the gospel. Mr Lacey, one of the missionaries, gives the following view of some of these sacrifices:—

1. In becoming a Christian, a Hindu renounces all further connection with his relations. Were they to hold any communication with him, they would be exposed to the loss of caste and all its consequences. Hence he is avoided by them as an infected person: no one will have any thing to do with him.

[1] Report General Baptist Missionary Society, 1838, p. 27; Ibid. 1847, p. 44; Ibid. 1852, p. 22, 64; Ibid. 1853, p. 13, 32.

[2] Sterling's Orissa, p. 264; Miss. Reg. 1830, p. 538.

He is renounced for ever by his nearest and dearest friends. He must never eat with them again, nor enter into their house any more. Parents must bid adieu to their children, and children to their parents; brothers to their sisters, and sisters to their brothers, and so on through all the relations of life. This separation, moreover, on the part of the heathen relatives, is accompanied with the bitterest hatred and curses of the wretch who has involved them and their families in so much disgrace and misery.

2. Hindus, in embracing Christianity, lose the prospect of support for themselves and their families. No one, whether of their own or of other castes, will employ them, sell them any thing, or purchase any thing from them. Nor have converts any other community to which to look for assistance or support; for the number of Christian natives is yet small, and in general they can afford little or no aid to their fellow-sufferers.

3. Christian converts have great difficulties in getting employment for their children. If they wish them to learn any trade, who will teach them? The parents, perhaps also the children, have lost caste, and so are excluded from all intercourse with others, unless it be with outcasts like themselves.

4. The prospect of marrying their children is, to a great extent, destroyed. They cannot marry them into their own caste, nor indeed into any other caste, for no one will marry with them, and the converts to Christianity are not perhaps sufficiently numerous to furnish suitable husbands or wives for them. This is a great and serious evil, particularly as regards daughters; for in India, it is scarcely possible to save a grown-up unmarried female from ruin. Some delay baptism, until they have married their children, and then they leave them with their heathen partners.

5. They are subjected to serious inconveniences, from their countrymen refusing to perform the most common offices for them, as shaving them, washing their clothes, thatching their houses, and other such necessary things. It is not the custom of the natives of India to do these things for themselves; they are distinct trades, and so they have not learned to exercise them; and it is a material evil to be refused even these common services.

6. They are held in the utmost disgrace by their countrymen. Caste is an essential badge of honour; and this being gone, they are counted the refuse and "offscouring of all things." The most opprobrious epithets are applied to them; every possible indignity is cast upon them; it is thought meritorious to persecute and distress them. In the midst of these trials, they have none perhaps but the missionaries to encourage and to comfort them; but they are so few in number, and their habits are so different, that they scarcely form society suitable for them.[1]

Such were some of the sacrifices and trials which were before a Hindu, if he thought of renouncing the religion of his fathers. Yet, notwithstanding these obstacles, there was a number of the natives who did make a profession of the faith of Christ. The missionaries were encouraged from time to time by seeing some fruit of their labours among Europeans; but near six years elapsed before the first Hindu was baptized. Afterwards converts were made from among the natives, year after year; churches were formed at the chief stations; some of the converts were employed as preachers, and some were ordained to the ministry, and are said to have proved very valuable assistants. Altogether, the mission appeared to be attended with a good measure of success. It was peculiarly pleasing to find the converts giving so much evidence of piety.[2]

To alleviate in some degree the trials of the converts, and to render them mutual helpers of each other, and also for the sake of the heathen around them, particularly of inquirers, the missionaries collected them into Christian villages. There were several of these villages, and there was commonly some land connected with them which the people cultivated for their own support. They were not confined entirely to converts. There was also a class, partly the families or relations of converts, who, having lost caste, renounced idolatry, though they were not baptized. The renunciation of caste, with all its customs and usages, prepared them, in some degree, for receiving benefit from the ordinary means of religious instruction; and from

[1] Sutton's Nar. p. 444.

[2] Sutton's Nar. p. 333; Sterling's Orissa, p. 247, 249, 257, 351; Reports General Baptist Missionary Society, *passim*.

among them, there were accordingly some who, from time to time, became converts to the faith of Christ.[1]

Besides school-books, tracts, and various other works, Mr Sutton, one of the missionaries, prepared, in the Oriya language, a version of the Old and New Testament. He likewise compiled a grammar and dictionary of that language in three volumes.[2]

In 1853, the number of church members connected with the several stations of the General Baptist Missionary Society, was 295.[3]

[1] Sterling's Orissa, p. 296, 304; Rep. Gen. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1847, p. 16; Ibid. 1848, p. 18; Ibid. 1850, p. 16, 40, 44; Ibid. 1851, p. 15; Ibid. 1852, p. 27; Ibid. 1853, p. 15.

[2] Rep. Gen. Bap. Miss. Soc. 1841, p. 32; Ibid. 1842, p. 36; Ibid. 1845, p. 42, 44.

It is not clear whether this was a new translation or a revision of Dr Carey's Orissa version. It was, perhaps, somewhat between the two, being founded on Dr Carey's version, yet often departing from it.—*Rep. Gen. Bapt. Miss. Soc.* 1837, p. 18.

[3] Rep. Gen. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1853, p. 5, 20, 33, 37.

Mr Sutton, having visited the United States of America, was instrumental in leading the Free-Will Baptist Churches in that country to engage in missionary operations. In September 1835, he again embarked for India, accompanied by Messrs Noyes and Phillips, their first missionaries. The American missionaries ultimately occupied stations in the northern part of Orissa, while the English brethren laboured in the south. In 1852, the stations of the American missionaries were Balasore and Jellasore; and the number of their church members, 38.—*Sterling's Orissa*, p. 324, 331, 334; *Rep. Gen. Bapt. Miss. Soc.* 1852, p. 87; Ibid. 1853, p. 56.

In 1845, the Society in England sent missionaries to China, who settled at Ningpo. —*Rep. Gen. Bapt. Miss. Soc.* 1845, p. 48; Ibid. 1846, p. 42.

# CHAPTER XIII.

## PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE SCOTTISH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

### SECT I.—SUSOO COUNTRY.

In February 1796, the Edinburgh, or as it was afterwards called, the Scottish Missionary Society, consisting of members of the Church of Scotland, and of other denominations of Christians, was instituted in that city. Soon after its formation, the Directors resolved to commence their operations by a mission to the Foulah country, in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, in conjunction with the London and Glasgow Missionary Societies, each of them undertaking to furnish two missionaries for that purpose.

In September 1797, Messrs Henry Brunton and Peter Greig, the two missionaries from Edinburgh, set off from that city, with Peter Ferguson and Robert Graham from Glasgow, and on their arrival in London they were joined by Alexander Russel and George Cappe. Scarcely, however, had they met, when several of them manifested a disposition to differ, particularly with Mr Brunton. Before they had even left England, violent disputes arose among them on a variety of theological points, and in the course of the voyage such a scene of wrangling, bitterness, and malignity, was exhibited by them as surpasses description. Though Mr Brunton was unquestionably to blame for the objectionable manner in which he expressed his sentiments, and for the unhallowed temper he manifested in the course of these unhappy disputes, yet he soon became sensible of his error, offered to make every reasonable concession, and was anxious for a reconciliation. But as those who are most culpable are generally the least placable, the missionaries

from the other Societies rejected all his overtures of peace, and insisted on terms which no man could grant in consistency with honesty and truth. They even proceeded formally to expel him from their society, and would not for some time allow him to engage with them in the most ordinary religious exercises. Though we cannot entirely exculpate Mr Brunton, yet the cruel treatment he received from his brethren must be admitted as a strong apology for him: the numerous indignities which were cast upon him from day to day irritated his temper to a degree he had never experienced before; they were such, indeed, as human nature in its present imperfect and corrupted state could scarcely be expected to bear with meekness, patience, and humility. In the midst of these unhappy disputes, Mr Greig was the only one of the missionaries who manifested any thing of the Christian temper; he took no share in differences where both parties were manifestly wrong, but what was unquestionably better, he took the side of peace. If he was to blame at all, it was in not standing more firmly and boldly by Mr Brunton, convinced as he was of the cruelty and injustice with which he was treated by the other missionaries.[1] Such circumstances as these furnish Christian missionaries with a striking lesson of the necessity of cultivating toward each other a spirit of charity, forbearance, meekness, and love. Few things tend more to blast their usefulness among the heathen, to injure their own spiritual interests, and to destroy their individual happiness, than dissensions with one another.

In consequence of these quarrels of the missionaries, and of the path to the Foulah country being shut owing to a war between that people and some of their neighbours, it was judged expedient on their arrival at Sierra Leone that they should separate and occupy three distinct stations. Agreeably to this arrangement, Messrs Brunton and Greig were appointed to proceed to the Susoo country as the scene of their future labours.

In January 1798, Messrs Brunton and Greig proceeded to Freeport, a factory on the Rio Pongas belonging to the Sierra Leone Company, upwards of a hundred miles up the country. Here they remained about ten weeks, spending most of their

[1] Miss. Mag. vol. ii. p. 473; vol. iii. p. 137; Letters in the possession of the Scottish Missionary Society, MS.

time among the Susoos in the neighbouring town; but though many of the inhabitants were much attached to them, the chief would not allow them to settle in that place. They, therefore, removed to Kondia, a town about twenty miles further up the country, where Fantimanee granted them a settlement after it had been refused by every other chief to whom they had made application. The head men were jealous, it seems, that the White people wished to take their country; that a few would settle among them at first under fair pretences, and make way for others to join them, until they at last completed their design.[1]

About the beginning of the rainy season both the missionaries fell sick. Mr Brunton, after bathing one morning in the river, fainted in the woods, and felt strong symptoms of fever about him, but by means of some medicines which he used, the disorder abated in a few days, and he hoped it had taken a favourable turn. Mr Greig, who was much fatigued with sitting up with him in the night, now began to complain, and as he had a custom of lying down in any place which struck his fancy when any thing was the matter with him, Mr Brunton was afraid he might lie down in this manner and not be able to rise again. One night the event justified his fears. Having inquired for his colleague as diligently as he could about the dusk of the evening, he could hear nothing of him, and therefore he asked Mr Welch, a slave trader, to send his people in search of him. They found him lying on a bank of the river unable to rise, and he would undoubtedly have perished in this situation, had not assistance been sent to him. This was the beginning of a fever which lasted about three weeks, and during the greater part of that time he was speechless, or if he did happen to speak a little, what he said was no more than sufficient to shew that he was delirious. During Mr Greig's illness Mr Brunton's fever became evidently intermittent. Between the paroxysms he was for the most part able to crawl from his own apartment to his colleague's, but as the ague returned regularly every night, it was not in his power to sit up with him. He offered to pay any of the negro women whatever they might choose to demand as soon as he was able to procure goods; but

[1] Letters in the possession of the Scottish Missionary Society, MS.; Account of the Mission to the Susoo country, by Mr Brunton, in the Author's possession, p. 1. MS.

they always asked whether he would die, and shuddering at the thought of this, declined the proposal. Mr Brunton had then no choice but to sit up with him every evening as long as he was able, and to rise in the middle of the night in a burning fever, and crawl into his apartment to see how he was. Sometimes he found him in a very melancholy condition. Often the rain was pouring in upon him while he knew nothing of it, for the house admitted a deluge of water, both above and below. Once Mr Brunton found him fallen out of bed and lying apparently motionless among the water, which had come in beneath the walls and overflowed the floor. It required all the exertion he could make to put him into bed again, but how to secure him there was beyond his invention. He could do nothing but rise as usual and see how he was doing. At other times, when he was unable to rise, the natives found him out of bed, and trying to get out of the house. At length, however, he became so weak as to be unable to move.[1]

Mr Brunton now began to be much alarmed about him. The boys who lodged with him seemed afraid of his dying, and were averse to sleeping in the same apartment with him. Indeed, though it was the best in the house, it was too bad even for the meanest animal. So long as the weather was dry, they had no idea that it would admit the water in the way it did. They had begun, indeed, to get it repaired; but they were taken ill at that very time. It had no windows, but only two holes, without either glass or boards. The tornadoes were often dreadful beyond description. Trees sufficient to crush their old crazy habitation were blown down close to it. The whole heavens seemed sometimes in a blaze of lightning, while the terrific peals of thunder added to the awfulness of the scene. Several, if not all of the boys, went and sought more comfortable lodgings; but poor Greig could not leave the house for the most fearful storm. One night when Mr Brunton rose to see how he was, he could discern no sign of life in him; and though he could not say positively that he was dead, yet he was rather inclined to think this was the case. At that time, he could call no one to his assistance; and he was obliged to lie down, and leave him alone; his own fever distracted his brain. "Few

[1] MS. Account by Mr Brunton, p. 8.

circumstances in my life," says he, "have left a stronger impression on my mind, than those now related. A bird, which ushered in the day with its melodious notes, is fresh in my memory. Indeed, it fixed itself in such a happy situation every morning, that I was sometimes almost led to think it was a kind of messenger from heaven, sent to cheer me in my dreary abode."[1]

From this dangerous illness, Mr Greig recovered; but he was now deprived of his colleague Mr Brunton, who settled for the present at Freetown, as chaplain to the colony, and was able to visit the Susoo country only occasionally. Solitary, however, as he was, he prosecuted his labours among the natives with great diligence and zeal. He used to deal very plainly with them, and to reprove them for their sins in the most pointed manner. The Susoos heard him with great attention, and it even became fashionable to attend to religion; but there was no ground to think that any of them were really convinced of the evil of sin, or that they received the truth in the love of it. Their attention to the Sabbath, and their laying aside several things of which the missionaries disapproved, proceeded, it was to be feared, chiefly from their respect for them, and not from the influence of religion on their heart. On the whole, however, the mission was beginning to assume a promising appearance, when a period was unexpectedly put to it by the murder of Mr Greig.[2]

In January 1800, seven men of the Foulah nation, who were travelling through the country, came to pay him a visit. Mr Greig treated them with the greatest kindness; and with the view, probably, of recommending the gospel to them, he amused them by shewing them a number of European articles which he had in his possession. In this way, they spent the evening very cheerfully together; and as a further expression of friendship, he allowed three of them to sleep in his house. This act of kindness, however, proved fatal to himself. To the chief man among them, Mr Greig had given a razor, and when he was sound asleep, the ungrateful wretch arose, and attempted to cut

[1] MS. Account by Mr Brunton, p. 14.

[2] Letters in the possession of the Scot. Miss. Soc. MS.; MS. Account by Mr Brunton, p. 18.

his throat. His friendly host struggled so hard, that he was unable to effect his purpose, upon which he seized an axe, and struck him on the temples. After knocking him down, he stabbed him with a cutlass, and then cut his throat from ear to ear. Having accomplished his bloody purpose, he and his companions carried off whatever parts of his property they deemed valuable. The whole seems to have been effected with little noise, for though some of the boys under Mr Greig's care, were in the house, none of them appear to have been awake except one, on whose testimony the preceding account chiefly rests, and who was so frightened that he endeavoured to conceal himself as quietly as possible. Fantimanee, who had taken Mr Greig under his protection, was extremely sorry at his death, and he, together with some others of the Susoo chiefs, endeavoured to apprehend the murderers, and it was reported that they had taken two of them in the Foulah country. Several persons of that nation were detected carrying away his property about the time he was murdered. They were put in irons, and carried to Freeport; the Susoos were so enraged at them, that it was with difficulty they were prevented from falling upon them, and putting them to death.[1]

After the death of his pious colleague, Mr Brunton was obliged to leave the coast of Africa, as his constitution was already materially injured, and threatened soon to sink under the wasting effects of the climate. On his return to Scotland, he published several works in the Susoo language;[2] and on the restoration of his health, he set off on a new mission to the countries in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea.

## SECT. II.—TARTARY.

In April 1802, the Rev. Henry Brunton and Mr A. Paterson sailed from Leith on an exploratory mission to the countries lying between the Black and the Caspian Seas. Having ob-

[1] Letter from Mr Brunton, March 1800, in the possession of the Scot. Miss. Soc.; MS. Account by Mr Brunton, p. 27.

[2] Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, vol. i. p. 82, 141.

tained permission from the Russian government to settle in Tartary, they, after visiting different parts of the country, resolved to take up their residence in a village called Karass, containing upwards of five hundred inhabitants, all of whom were Mahomedans. It was situated at about an equal distance from the Caspian and the Black Seas. Here they obtained a grant of land from the Russian government, by whom they appear to have been viewed in the character of colonists as much as that of missionaries, and they were afterwards joined by a number of other individuals from Scotland, who were sent to assist them in their labours.[1]

In the summer of 1804, the plague made its appearance in the neighbourhood of Karass; but as the Mahomedans, from their abuse of the doctrine of predestination, seldom think of going out of the way of that dreadful disease, or using any precautions against it, so they were at great pains to conceal its approach both from the missionaries and the Russians. Besides, war now broke out between the Russians and the Kabardians. Many of the former were murdered by the latter; and though they repeatedly came to an agreement, yet the barbarians were so regardless of their engagements, that they broke them the first opportunity. These disastrous events could not fail to occasion the missionaries much anxiety and distress. Every day brought them new and alarming reports. The whole family, men, women, and children, sometimes slept with their clothes on, ready to fly in case of danger, and more than once, the dread of an immediate attack drove them to the woods. On one occasion, a plundering party of Kabardians carried off three of their horses; and, it was said, they expressed a strong desire to get the native children into their possession. In consequence of these circumstances, the missionaries judged it expedient to leave Karass for the present, and to retire to Georghievsk, a Russian fort, about thirty-two versts distant.[2]

Agreeably to a favourite plan of Mr Brunton's, the missionaries began, at an early period, to ransom some of the Tartars, who were in a state of slavery, particularly some young persons, with the view of training them up from their early years

[1] Religious Monitor, vol. i. p. 35, 155; vol. iii. p. 189.
[2] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 467.

in the principles of religion, and teaching them the useful arts of life, by which means, they hoped, the gospel would be most effectually propagated in the country. Several of the ransomed after some time made a profession of Christianity, and were baptized.[1]

In May 1806, Mr Mitchell, one of the missionaries, proceeded from Karass to Petersburg, with the view of obtaining from the Russian government certain privileges which were considered as of essential importance to the prosperity of the settlement. Soon after their arrival, the missionaries had obtained a grant of land from government, and, at their desire, a person had been lately sent to Karass to measure off the ground which they had chosen, amounting in all to six thousand dessatines, or about 16,200 acres. Of this, a topographical description was transmitted to the minister of the interior at St Petersburg, and in connection with this grant of land, various immunities were now conferred upon them. By one article, it was declared that they should be exempted from all personal and landed taxes and charges whatever, for the space of thirty years; that, at the expiration of that period, they should pay yearly fifteen copecks for each dessatine of land fit for cultivation; that, in future, they should be subject to no other public charges and imposts whatever; and that they should be for ever exempted from civil and military service, and also from military quarters. By another article it was provided, that the internal affairs of the settlers respecting religion, the management of their land, their property, and their police, should always be subject to their own direction, or that of a committee chosen by them; and that this committee should have the power of granting passports to all members of the settlement, who wished either to travel into the interior of the empire, or to leave the country. This last was a privilege which had never been granted to any foreign colonists but themselves.[2] It may, however, be

[1] Relig. Mon. vol. ii. p. 115; vol. iii. p. 470; vol. iv. p. 116, 151; vol. v. p. 89, 273; vol. vi. p. 43.

The plan of ransoming slaves was afterwards relinquished by the Society. It was considered by them as affording encouragement to the slave trade, and while it proved a source of endless trouble, it was not attended with the favourable results which had been expected from it.

[2] Relig. Mon. vol. iv. p. 153, 311, 349.

remarked, that the grant of land to the missionaries gave great offence to the Tartars, who very naturally considered themselves as the rightful proprietors.

In April 1809, the missionaries received a message from a Sonna prince, requesting them to send some persons to instruct his people in the principles of the Christian religion. The Sonna country lies about seven days' journey from Karass, and was said to contain upwards of fifty villages or towns, and about two hundred thousand inhabitants, who are professed Christians. They believe, we are told, in one God, and in Jesus Christ, as their only king and Saviour. They pray that God would bless them for Christ's sake, and continue to them the privileges which their forefathers enjoyed. They baptize their children four or five days after their birth, by washing them all over the body. They devote the Sabbath to the exercises of religion; and when they swear, they wish that they may be turned to the left hand of Christ at the day of judgment, should their oath be false. In their churches they have images, some of which, they say, were formed by the power of God. In one of them, there is the image of a young horse, which, according to them, was produced in this miraculous manner. They have likewise, in their places of worship, a number of large books, which their priests read, but do not pretend to explain, their religious services consisting chiefly of singing and praying. Their priests are allowed to marry; and when they officiate in public, they are arrayed in long garments, richly ornamented with silver and gold. They inoculate their children with the small-pox, on the crown of the head. From these circumstances, the missionaries concluded that the Sonnas were Greek Christians, and that, probably, they had once belonged to the Georgian Church, though now they find fault with it. They had long been anxious to visit them, with the view of learning more particularly the state of religion among them, and in the hope of being useful to them. Mr Paterson had already made an attempt to penetrate into that part of the country, but was obliged to return without accomplishing his design; and, from the distracted state of the neighbouring tribes, it was at present deemed unadvisable to renew the attempt.[1]

[1] Relig. Mon. vol. iv. p. 269, 271; vol. vi. p. 138, 187; vol. vii. p. 405, 568.

Besides the Sonnas, there were various other tribes in the neighbouring mountains who made a profession of Christianity; but during the last century their numbers have greatly diminished, many of them having been compelled at the point of the sword to embrace Mahomedanism; and those who had so lately been proselyted themselves, were now endeavouring with a blind impetuous zeal, to convert their neighbours to the faith of the False Prophet. The religion of others of the mountain tribes, appeared to consist of a mixture of Christianity and heathenism. In many parts of the country, there are ruins of churches and sepulchral monuments built of stone, which indicate not only the former prevalence of Christianity, but a higher degree of civilization than at present exists in this quarter of the world.[1]

In 1813, the New Testament in the Turkish language, or rather into what has been called the Tartar-Turkish, translated by Mr Brunton, was completed at press. In executing this work, he derived essential assistance from the translation of the New Testament into Turkish, by Dr Lazarus Seaman, which was published in England about the middle of the seventeenth century. Large editions of the Tartar-Turkish New Testament were afterwards printed, and also part of the Old Testament.[2]

Though the missionaries were, in general, received in a friendly manner by the Tartars, both in their own immediate neighbourhood and at a distance, yet sometimes they were desired to go away, and not to trouble them with their religion; their ears were often assailed with blasphemous expressions regarding the sonship of Christ, his mediation, intercession, and sufferings. There appeared among them an extreme indifference to the things which belonged to their everlasting peace; yet it is worthy of notice, that they manifested a similar indifference in regard to their own religion, a state of mind which is probably far more common in heathen and Mahomedan countries than is generally imagined. Very few of the people at-

[1] Relig. Mon. vol. ii. p. 115, 117, 350; vol. iv. p. 269; vol. vii. p. 569; vol. viii. p. 268; vol. xv. p. 307.

[2] Ibid. vol. i. p. 278; vol. iii. p. 30; vol. xi. p. 308; Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 10; Ibid. 1821, p. 13; Ibid. 1822, p. 5; Ibid. 1823, p. 18; Ibid. 1824, p. 15.

tended public prayers; some did not keep the appointed fasts; and others doubted whether prayers for the dead were of any avail, and grudged to pay the fees which were required for them. The power of the sword could not now be exercised, and little attention was paid to exhortation.[1]

In 1815, two new stations were begun, the one at Astrachan, on the river Wolga, the other at Orenburg, a town to the north of the Caspian Sea. In the neighbourhood of Astrachan, there were a number of Tartar villages which were visited by some of the missionaries; but the reception they met with was far from encouraging. In that city, there were also resident a number of Persians; and at first they appeared to give them a much more favourable reception than the Tartars; but when the novelty was over, they were no longer disposed to enter into conversation on the subject of religion, and wished to avoid all intercourse with them. But there was one young man named Mahomed Ali, who appeared to be a promising convert to Christianity. This young Persian was the only surviving son of Haji Kazem Beg, a venerable old man, who was descended from one of the principal families in Derbend, and who, until within these few years, held the office of chief kazi or judge in that city. Having, on grounds which are not well understood, been accused and convicted of treason, the old man had all his property confiscated by order of the governor-general of Georgia, and was sent along with some others a prisoner to Astrachan. Feeling himself lonely in his present situation, he wrote to his son Mahomed Ali at Derbend, to come and be the companion of his exile, a request with which the young man immediately complied. As the Haji had been previously acquainted with the missionaries, the son, after his arrival, frequently visited them, and was employed in giving some of them lessons in Turkish and Arabic. Frequent discussions took place between him and his pupils on the subject of religion; but he at first firmly opposed every thing that was said concerning the gospel. He even became at times quite angry, and gave vent to his feelings in blasphemous expressions regarding the Redeemer; yet still there appeared a marked difference between him and most

[1] Glen's Journal of a Tour from Astrachan to Karass, p. 218; Rep Scot. Miss. Soc. 1822, p. 3; Ibid. 1823, p. 10; Ibid. 1825, p. 20.

other Mahomedans; and within a few days after such ebullitions of passion, he would again renew his inquiries, and endeavour to provoke discussion. He at length appeared to become a serious inquirer after truth, and seemed to be deeply impressed with a sense of his sinfulness and misery; he could not even sleep at night, so keenly did he feel the convictions of a wounded spirit; but after some time he obtained peace to his conscience, through the application, it was hoped, of the peace-speaking blood of Jesus. His father, as may naturally be supposed, was deeply grieved at his apostasy: sometimes his bowels appeared to yearn over him with all the tenderness of a parent's heart; at other times, he treated him with the utmost harshness. One day, having assembled a number of Persians, he required him, in the presence of them all, to renounce the new opinions he had imbibed; and when Mahomed Ali refused to do so, the old man, in a great passion, sent for the Persian consul, and told his son that unless he recanted, he would get him bound hand and foot, and given up to the police. "Father," replied Mahomed, "I cannot recant; my flesh would willingly become a Mahomedan, but my conscience will not allow me." Here his father reminded him, that all their controversies about matters of faith were determined by the sword. "A sure proof," replied Mahomed, "that your religion is not of God; for he does not need such carnal weapons to decide matters of faith." His father, full of rage, ordered the servant not to give him any food; and Mahomed Ali had accordingly to go to bed fasting; but about eleven o'clock, his father, who had been out on business, returned, and coming to his bed-side, gently awoke him. "My son," said he, "you see I am an old man; have compassion on my white beard: do not grieve me by becoming an infidel." "Father," replied the young man, "you are my parent, and it is my duty to obey you in every thing; but why should you demand of me that obedience which I owe to God only? In this one thing, I cannot obey you."

Mahomed Ali continued to visit the missionaries daily; but as for two successive days, he did not make his appearance as usual, they became anxious for his personal safety. It afterwards appeared that he was confined as a prisoner by his father; that he had been severely beaten, and was left in a great mea-

sure without food. Conceiving it to be their duty to adopt some means for his protection, they called on the Haji, and after some conversation stated to him that they would have applied immediately to the governor to protect his son, but that in order to save him trouble they had come first to him. The father in a rage declared that neither the governor nor the emperor could interfere in a case like the present, that he had power not only to imprison his son, to beat, and to starve him, but even, according to the Mahomedan law, to put him to death. They, therefore, applied to the governor to protect Mahomed Ali from the rage of his enemies, and in consequence of this he was brought the same evening by the police-master to the mission-house. On being asked as to the state of his mind during the time he was confined by his father, he said that notwithstanding all the wrangling and abuse to which he was exposed, he felt quite peaceful and happy. The meekness with which he bore the ill-usage of the Persians who came to argue with him, was also a pleasing proof of the influence of divine truth on his heart, and was calculated to make a strong impression on the minds of his countrymen.

Mahomed Ali having been thus safely lodged in the mission-house by the civil authorities, the anxiety of the missionaries regarding him was for the present relieved, but now there arose a new cause of apprehension and alarm. By the laws of Russia, heathens and Mahomedans subject to the imperial government can be instructed and baptized only by priests of the Greek Church; and proceeding on this law the Archbishop of Astrachan required that he should be placed under a Russian priest with a view to his being baptized in the Greek Church. The missionaries represented to the archbishop the privileges which had been conferred by his imperial majesty on the Scottish colony at Karass, of which they were members, and it was finally settled that their right to baptize him should be referred to the emperor, and that in the mean while he should be allowed to remain under their care. Mahomed Ali accordingly addressed a petition to the Emperor Alexander, begging that he might be allowed to receive baptism from the missionaries who had been the instruments of his conversion to the Christian faith, and the Archbishop of Astrachan also made a communi-

cation to the government on the subject. Prince Galitzin, the minister of religion, through whom these representations were made to the emperor, and who was a special friend of missions, informed the missionaries in reply, that the Karass privileges "contained a sufficient decision, authorizing them to receive by holy baptism all who were converted to the Lord through their instrumentality."[1] Mahomed Ali was accordingly baptized by the missionaries, and on this occasion the mission chapel was crowded by the natives of at least seven different countries, Persians, Tartars, Russians, Armenians, English, French, and Germans.[2]

We have seen how distinctly the right of the missionaries to baptize their converts was acknowledged by the government, notwithstanding the general law of the empire in regard to proselytes from heathen and Mahomedan tribes; but in such a country as Russia special privileges are of small avail, if it be the interest or wish of the priesthood, or of the nobility, to evade and nullify them. Mahomed Ali, though he had been allowed to be baptized by the missionaries, was after some time informed by the governor of Astrachan, agreeably to instructions received from General Yarmeloff, the commander-in-chief of the province, that in consequence of his having become a Christian he was expected to enter the Russian service, and that he might have his choice either of the civil, the military, or the commercial service; he was required to sign an obligation that he would not at any time go out of the city without the knowledge of the police, and it was further stated that he must

[1] In reply to a similar petition from a professed convert from Mahomedanism, in the Crimea, Prince Galitzin was even still more explicit. "I do not find it necessary to enter into this affair, because the imperial ordinance of 25th December 1806, most graciously presented to the colony of Scotsmen in the Caucasian government, authorises you to introduce him into the faith preached by you *without requiring any decision on the subject.*" "On a subject, then, *settled by law*, it is unnecessary, on every occasion to require a particular determination."—*Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc.* 1824, p. 22. It may here be mentioned, that, in 1821, two new stations were commenced, one in the Crimea, the other at Nazran, among the Inguish, one of the Caucasian mountain tribes; but Mr Blyth, the missionary, after being only about seven months at the latter place, received orders from the governor of the province to leave it, and he accordingly retired to Astrachan.—*Ibid.* 1822, p. 14, 16.

[2] Rep. Edin. Miss. Soc. 1816, p. 7, 11; Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1822, p. 8; Ibid. 1823, p. 14; Ibid. 1824, p. 10; Scottish Missionary Register, vol. ii. p. 164, 204, 207; vol. iv. p. 293.

refrain from interfering or co-operating in any kind of missionary work. In consequence of these proceedings, Mahomed Ali drew up a petition to the emperor, soliciting permission to remain at Astrachan and to engage in making known the glad tidings of salvation to his countrymen. This petition the missionaries transmitted to Prince Galitzin, with a request that he would present it to his imperial majesty, but this the prince judged it prudent to decline. The Princess Mertchersky, a pious and excellent lady, was then applied to, and she kept the petition by her, waiting for a fit opportunity of submitting it to the emperor, but observed that at present this would not be advisable. As there was thus little or no hope of his obtaining permission to remain at Astrachan in the service of the mission, Mahomed Ali begged that he might be admitted into the College of Foreign Affairs at St Petersburg, rather than be obliged to enter into the military or commercial service. Had this petition been granted, he would have enjoyed in that metropolis the privileges of Christian society and of Christian ordinances. Instead, however, of being admitted into the college at St Petersburg, he was appointed to a college at Omsk in Siberia, a place about 3735 versts from the capital, where there was no Christian worship, unless we are to call by that name the superstitious and idolatrous worship of the Greek Church; but on his arrival at Kazan on his way thither, some of the members of that university were so taken with his accomplishments as a scholar, a gentleman, and a Christian, that they made application to the Russian government to appoint him to a professorship in that city, and he was accordingly allowed to remain there.[1]

Besides communicating oral instruction to the Mahomedans, the missionaries circulated among them numerous copies of the New Testament, and of particular books of the Sacred Volume, and also tracts in the Tartar-Turkish, Arabic, and Persic languages. These were not only extensively distributed at the several stations, but they were sent to Kazan, to Teflis, to Derbend, to Shirvan, to Bagdad, to Persia, and to many other parts of Asia. The reception of the New Testament by the Tartars and other Mahomedans, was, as might be expected, very various. Some would not accept of a copy at all, and many who at first

[1] Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1825, p. 13; Ibid. 1826, p. 19.

took it, afterwards returned it on finding what kind of a book it was, whilst others were compelled to do so by their Effendis and Mollahs, who threatened to kill them if they persisted in reading such works. This, however, was not the only nor even the greatest evil. Free of suspicions, the missionaries had for a considerable time been in the habit of giving the New Testament to every person who could read, and was willing to receive it; and thought that in so doing they were instrumental in putting the word of God into the hands of their fellow-mortals, whose curiosity, in the absence of higher principles, might lead them to glance at its contents, and whose hearts might thus be touched with the sacred truths which it makes known. But they found to their sorrow, that not a few of the Mahomedans made it their business to ask New Testaments, not with the intention of reading them, but solely for the purpose of providing themselves at an easy rate with covers for the Koran, and other books recommended by their teachers; while the sacred volume which they had promised to read was destroyed or thrown aside as waste paper. Some even appear to have destroyed the New Testament from a principle of fiery zeal for the principles of Mahomedanism in opposition to the gospel. Though, since the commencement of their labours, the missionaries at Karass had circulated a great number of books, it was seldom they now met with an individual who had one of them in his possession. When inquiry was made concerning them, the Tartars generally answered that they had given them to persons at a distance in consequence of their particular solicitation. These circumstances exceedingly nonplussed the missionaries, and rendered them much at a loss to whom to give a book, and occasioned them to refuse many of the requests which were made to them.[1]

Here it may not be improper to mention, that the Tartars in general paid little attention to the education of their children. Few except the priests and some of the chiefs learned to read, and fewer still were in the habit of reading. Though some studious men may be found among them, yet, as they possess few books of an interesting nature, most of them relinquish the

[1] Glen's Journal, p. 158, 199; Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1821, p. 21; Ibid. 1823, p. 13, 23.

employment so soon as they perceive that no worldly advantages are to be derived from it, or they read little more than what is absolutely necessary to the performance of the duties of their office. Even their greatest Effendis read so slowly and so indistinctly, repeating the words three or four times before they seem to understand them, that an European who understood their language, would conclude that they were little acquainted with the art of reading. As for the common people, the greater part of them were extremely ignorant, and they were even so conscious of this, that they compared themselves to beasts.[1]

In 1824 the Committee commenced withdrawing the mission-

[1] Relig. Mon. vol. xvii. p. 198; Rep. Edin. Miss. Soc. 1817, p. 44; Ibid. 1818, p. 46, 48; Ibid. 1819, p. 5.

It is curious to see how among Mahomedans, worldly motives can be brought into operation in regard to services which are held most sacred by them, and which are apparently of the most arduous and self-denying kind. It is well known that a pilgrimage to Mecca is viewed by the Mahomedans as highly meritorious. It is considered indeed as so necessary, that according to a tradition of Mahomed, he who dies without performing it, may as well die a Jew or a Christian. Meritorious, however, as is this journey, it may be rendered subservient not only to the purposes of religion but of trade. "It shall be no crime in you," says the Koran, "if ye seek an increase from the Lord, by trading during the pilgrimage." *(Sale's Koran,* vol. i. p. 34.*)* Of the advantage which is taken of this permission, the following extract from the Journal of Mr Carruthers will furnish an illustration, as well as of some other circumstances connected with the pilgrimage to Mecca. "Hagi Mehmed called early one morning, and remained with me till the afternoon. He is a Turkish merchant from Constantinople, and has visited, by way of pilgrimage, Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. He has much to say about his travels, and indeed he seems to have been more intent on the gratification of his curiosity than on the professed object of his journey. It is not perhaps commonly understood, that the pilgrimage to Mecca, as it respects thousands of the pilgrims, is as much a mercantile as a religious journey, the prospect of an advantageous market for the goods which they carry along with them, being probably a more powerful motive than the imaginary merit of a visit to that celebrated city. If the Sultan in some capricious moment should interdict this lucrative traffic, the pilgrims, it is probable, would neither be so numerous nor so devout. It is indeed well known, that not only the native population of Mecca is on the decline, but that the devotees are annually diminishing in number, owing to the relaxation of commerce, to which we may perhaps add, a growing dereliction of principle in almost every Mahomedan country. Many even of those who do not come under the designation of merchants, repair thither from other motives than devotion: they too have a species of merchandise perhaps not less lucrative, and certainly less troublesome. They are the representatives of other Mussulmen, who are too weak or too indolent to undergo the fatigues of a journey across the Arabian desert; they sell their devotions as others do their goods, to the highest bidder, and, for a handsome remuneration, agree to transfer to their employers the merit of all their services at the sacred Caaba. Thus, year after year they visit Mecca, and having fulfilled the terms of their mercenary contract, return to adjust another bargain as advantageously for themselves as possible."—*Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc.* 1825, p. 21.

aries from Russia, and after some time the whole of the stations were relinquished. They had for some time past entertained strong doubts as to the propriety of persevering in cultivating a field which had hitherto proved so barren and unpromising, while there were so many inviting fields in other parts of the world, where they might hope to reap a rich and an abundant harvest; and there now occurred circumstances which left no doubt in their minds as to the duty of withdrawing from Russia. The Emperor Alexander had long been the friend and patron of efforts for the improvement, and particularly the religious improvement of his people; but toward the close of his reign, there was an entire change in the policy of his government. The Russian Bible Society which, under his approving smile, had drawn around it the highest dignitaries among the clergy and the first nobles of the empire, was paralyzed in its further efforts, and two or three years afterwards was suspended by Nicholas his successor; good men had to withdraw from offices in which they previously had opportunities of promoting the cause of religion; missionaries were shackled in their labours; and though the right of the Scottish missionaries to baptize converts had of late been recognised by the government, yet it was plain from the case of Mahomed Ali, that this privilege could easily be rendered nugatory by simply requiring them to enter the Russian service, and so removing them from under their spiritual superintendence, thus preventing a Christian Church from ever being collected, and interfering essentially with the religious improvement and safety of its individual members. This was the commencement of that iniquitous system of policy which Russia has ever since pursued for arresting the progress of knowledge, and which at length ripened into a conspiracy by the despots of continental Europe against the rights and liberties of the nations.[1]

[1] Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1825, p. 11, 15; Rep. Bib. Soc. 1825, p. 34; Ibid. 1827, p. 40.

## SECT. III.—INDIA.

In August 1822, the Rev. Donald Mitchell sailed for Bombay; and he was followed a few months afterwards by the Rev. John Cooper, Alexander Crauford, and James Mitchell.[1] On arriving in Bombay, they received permission from the governor to settle in the Southern Koncan. Here they commenced one station at Bankot, a town about sixty miles south of Bombay, and another at Hurnee, about fourteen miles further south. Other missionaries were afterwards sent out, and stations were also established in Bombay and at Puna. These in fact became, after some years, the chief seats of the mission.[2]

One of the first objects to which the missionaries in the Koncan directed their attention, was the establishment of schools; but in carrying them on, they had, of necessity, to employ heathen teachers; and as native schools were conducted in a very imperfect way, it was not easy to get them carried on in an efficient manner. To counteract some of the more common evils found in them, they introduced the Lancasterian system, with some modifications, into their schools. The little value which a Hindu sets on time was a great hindrance to the progress of the scholars. Every trivial occurrence was deemed a sufficient excuse for a father keeping his children from school for a week or a fortnight together. Even the number of marriages among the scholars, (for boys are generally married between six and ten years of age), and the number of holidays appropriated to religious observances, proved no small interruption of their education. The teachers themselves required the strictest superintendence as well as the children. There was reason to suspect some of them of engaging boys in the neighbourhood to feign themselves scholars, whom they warned on the approach of a missionary, and introduced into the school as if they had been merely out drinking a little water. There was also ground to fear that some of them attempted reading heathen

[1] Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1823, p. 27.

[2] Ibid. 1824, p. 24; Ibid. 1825, p. 5; Ibid. 1829, p. 17; Ibid. 1830, p. 17; Ibid. 1832, p. 16.

books in the schools, contrary to their express engagements. Besides, though the children at first made pleasing progress in their education, yet no sooner did they acquire some knowledge of reading and writing, than they appeared to have reached the height of their ambition, and either left the school altogether, or became so careless and unsteady as to make little further improvement. Still, however, it was gratifying to think that each of the young persons who left the schools carried along with him some portion of the word of God in a language which he understood, and had treasured up in his memory some of its most important and interesting passages.

Of the children in the schools, a very considerable number were of the Brahman caste, who, it was remarked, learned with much greater facility than those of any other caste. Nothing in fact was more evident than that taking them in general, they were far superior in intellect to most of the other castes. In one of the schools there were also twelve or fourteen adults; but their progress was any thing but satisfactory. A Hindu boy is a most promising subject of instruction; a Hindu adult of the lower classes is quite the reverse. He seems to have lost, in a great measure, his intellectual faculties; and it is only by the greatest exertions that he can be made to comprehend the simplest ideas.[1]

The schools increased at length to about eighty in number, and contained upwards of 3000 children. Several of them were exclusively for females; there were also a number of girls in some of those for boys. After a few years, however, the number of schools in the Koncan was greatly reduced; but in the mean while, a considerable number were established in connection with the Bombay station, and several with that at Puna, so that the education of the young was still carried on upon a somewhat extensive scale.[2]

After acquiring the Marathi language, the missionaries commenced preaching at their respective stations and in the neighbouring villages. They also made frequent, and, in some instances, lengthened tours for this purpose, both along the coast and into the interior of the country. In the course of these

[1] Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1824, p. 24; Ibid. 1825, p. 3; Ibid. 1826, p. 7, 12.
[2] Ibid. 1828, p. 9; Ibid. 1832, p. 20; Ibid. 1834, p. 11, 14.

journeys, they enjoyed many valuable opportunities of preaching the gospel; they also circulated many thousand copies of portions of the Scriptures and Christian tracts.[1]

The people, when the gospel was first brought to their ears, generally listened with much apparent interest and attention, and the missionaries often felt greatly encouraged in preaching to them, especially in the course of their itinerant labours. Some would admit the truth of all they said, and acknowledge with seeming candour the absurdity of idolatry; some would even profess to be inquirers, and give rise to hopes that they might ere long embrace the gospel; but nothing can be more difficult than to judge of the real sentiments and feelings of the Hindus, for they can speak either for or against the truth with equal gravity and apparent sincerity, just as circumstances dictate; and the smallest and most distant expectation of some temporal advantage, is sufficient to induce them to act, for a lengthened period, a deceitful and worthless part. Indeed, much of the interest excited by the visits of the missionaries, might be traced to no higher source than novelty, and other of lower principles of human nature. "Though," Mr Stevenson remarks, "the Hindus are inclined to read, that they may spend a little of their idle time,—and disposed to hear that they may gratify their idle curiosity,—and anxious to talk that they may shew their attachment to their own religion, or, as is frequently the case, that they may shew themselves superior to its absurdities, they are still far enough from any thing like a disposition to embrace the doctrines of the gospel, as is obvious from the fact, that generally at first they are more disposed to hear than they are ever after; for when they see the demands which Christianity makes on them, for purity of heart and conduct, and submission to the loss of caste, they become offended and turn back." At the stations in the Koncan and at Puna, when the novelty of the missionaries' preaching passed away, the people sunk into a state of indifference, and even manifested opposition to the gospel.[2]

[1] Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1826, p. 14; Ibid. 1830, p. 12; Ibid. 1831, p. 14, 19, 22; Ibid. 1832, p. 10; Ibid. 1833, p. 11; Ibid. 1834, p. 10; Ibid. 1835, p. 18; Scot. Miss. Reg. 1836, p. 16, 49, 93, 134, 333.

[2] Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1828, p. 12; Ibid. 1832, p. 10, 16; Ibid. 1833, p. 12; Ibid. 1834, p. 9; Ibid. 1835, p. 11; Scot. Miss. Reg. 1836, p. 169.

At Bombay, Mr Wilson engaged in controversy with the Hindus, the Parsis, and the Mahomedans, partly by public oral discussions, partly through the medium of the native newspapers, and partly by the publication of separate works; and they, on the other hand, vindicated their respective religions through they same channels. These discussions excited great interest among the natives at the time. Mr Wilson's "Exposure of Hinduism," was printed in Marathi, Gujarati, Bengali, and Hindi, and also in the English language, and had a very extensive circulation. His refutation of Mahomedanism, in reply to Haji Mahomed Hashim, was also translated into Gujarati, Hindustani, and Persian.[1]

In August 1835, this mission was transferred to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, which had of late years commenced missionary operations in India. Messrs Mitchell, Nesbit, and Wilson, had made application to the Assembly's Committee to be received by them as its missionaries, and the directors of the Scottish Missionary Society resolved to throw no obstacle in the way of the proposed transfer. These were the only missionaries of the Society who now remained. Mr Donald Mitchell died soon after his arrival in India; Messrs Crauford and Cooper had been obliged to return to Scotland on account of their loss of health, and Mr Stevenson had lately become one of the chaplains of the East India Company.[2]

## SECT. IV.—JAMAICA.

In January 1824, the Rev. George Blyth, who had lately returned from Russia, sailed for Jamaica with a special view to

[1] Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1831, p. 23; Ibid. 1832, p. 19; Ibid. 1833, p. 15; Ibid. 1834, p. 16, 18; Ibid. 1835, p. 17; Memoir of Mrs Wilson, p. 214, 248, 235, 299; Sum. Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. ii. p. 209.

The Parsis renewed the controversy at a subsequent period (1840), upon the baptism of two Parsi youths. Several works were then published, two of them considerable quartos, in explanation and vindication of their religion.—*Missionary Record for the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 237, 253. This led to the publication by Dr Wilson of a work entitled "The Parsi Religion as contained in the Zand-Avasta, and propounded and defended by the Zoroastrians of India and Persia, unfolded, refuted, and contrasted with Christianity," Bombay, 1843, 8vo. pp. 610.

[2] Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1824, p. 25; Ibid. 1832, p. 21; Ibid. 1834, p. 20; Ibid. 1835, p. 13; Ibid. 1837, p. 31.

the instruction of the slaves on the estates of Hampden and Dundee, on the north side of the island, a few miles from Falmouth.[1] He was followed in subsequent years by the Rev. John Chamberlain, James Watson, Hope M. Waddell, John Simpson, John Cowan, Thomas Leslie, and Warrand Carlile, who commenced stations in various other parts of the island. The following table exhibits a view of the principal stations occupied by them :—

| Begun. | Stations. | Parishes. |
|---|---|---|
| 1824 | Hampden. | Trelawney. |
| 1829 | Cornwall. | St James'. |
| 1827 | Lucea. | Hanover. |
| 1832 | Green Island. | Do. |
| 1843 | Brownsville. | Do. |
| 1827 | Port Maria. | St Mary's. |
| 1832 | Carron Hall. | Do. |
| 1845 | Rosehill. | Do. |

Besides these stations, there were a number of out-stations

[1] This was not the first mission of the Society to Jamaica. In February 1800, the Rev. Joseph Bethune, a minister of the Church of Scotland, and Messrs William Clark and Ebenezer Reid, catechists, sailed from Leith for that island; but scarcely had they arrived at Kingston, when the prospects of the mission were completely overclouded. About eight days after their landing, Mr Clark was seized with a malignant fever, which at that time raged in Kingston, and died after a fortnight's illness. Mr Bethune was seized shortly after with the same fever, and died after a week's illness. Mrs Bethune died on her passage home, and not long after their only child followed them into the world of spirits. Such were the mysterious dispensations of Providence toward this infant mission.

Mr Reid, who was now left alone, began to hold meetings with the Black and Brown people in Kingston and the neighbourhood; he also opened a week-day school for teaching children reading, writing, and the principles of religion. He was, however, materially restricted in his labours, in common with other missionaries, in consequence of the persecuting acts of the legislature of Jamaica. For some years he was little expense to the Society, and he at length accepted the situation of teacher in a respectable school in Jamaica.—*Miss. Mag.* vol. v. p. 91, 357, 360, 528; *Brief Account of the Edinburgh Missionary Society*, 1819. p. 2.

The mission of Mr Blyth was undertaken at the request of Archibald Stirling, Esq. of Keir, the principal proprietor of Hampden; and he was joined by William Stothert, Esq. of Cargen, the proprietor of Dundee, these two excellent gentlemen having engaged to bear one-half of the expense of the mission. In this they were afterwards joined for several years by William Stirling, Esq., one of the proprietors of the neighbouring estate of Content. Mr Archibald Stirling, and other members of the family, also contributed with great liberality to the Port Maria mission, with a view to the instruction of the slaves on his estate of Frontier in that neighbourhood.

in connection with the Society, and various estates which were visited by the missionaries.[1]

On commencing the several stations, the missionaries were generally well received by the people, who appeared very desirous of instruction. Considerable congregations were raised, and it was interesting to witness the eagerness and attention with which they listened to instruction. Missionary stations among the slaves, however, frequently gave, in the first instance, much promise, which subsequent experience did not fulfil; many fair buds and blossoms never ripened into fruit, and even what seemed fruit often withered and decayed, or, at least, never came to perfection.[2]

After the emancipation of the slaves, the Scottish missionaries, in common with others, soon experienced the happy effects of the mighty change. Their congregations greatly increased. Their places of worship were often crowded, and, in some instances, would not contain the numbers who assembled; and what was of no less importance, the people were much more regular in their attendance than formerly. With few exceptions, they heard the word of God with becoming attention and seriousness. Not only the members of the Church, and others who gave reason to hope well of them, but many, who as yet were "far from righteousness," paid a decent attention to the means of grace. Indeed fashion and habit, as in other countries which have been blessed with religious privileges, drew many to church, who never drew near to God; but still it was well they came to hear the glad tidings of divine mercy, and were thus in the way of getting good to their souls.[3]

It was peculiarly pleasing to witness the improvement which took place in regard to the Sabbath. Public worship was not only well attended, but the Sabbath was in other respects sanctified in a way which, considering the former habits of the ne-

[1] Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1824, p. 27; Ibid. 1828, p. 20, 24; Ibid. 1830, p. 25; Ibid. 1833, p. 33, 35; Ibid. 1843, p. 22; Ibid. 1846, p. 27.

[2] Ibid. 1825, p. 8; Ibid. 1826, p. 17; Ibid. 1827, p. 14; Ibid. 1828, p. 21, 24; Ibid. 1829, p. 21.

Mr Waddell speaks of every missionary station among the negroes as being in the beginning a brawling brook. The work at his own station he describes as having been of a flashy character.—*Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc.* 1834, p. 25.

[3] Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1835. p. 26, 30, 33; Ibid. 1837, p. 18; Ibid. 1838, p. 9, 27; Ibid. 1839, p. 13, 23; Ibid. 1840, p. 8; Ibid. 1844, p. 9.

groes, was truly surprising. The Sunday markets were abolished ; men and women were no longer to be seen working their fields ; it was even very seldom that any one was seen carrying a burden. The Christmas holidays were formerly scenes of unrestrained revelry, dancing and drinking, drumming and singing, but the change extended even to them. "I have seen," says Mr Watson, "the streets of Lucea on a Christmas Sabbath crowded with hundreds of the country negroes, wearing masks, grotesquely dressed, having caps with feathers, red coats, and swords, marching in procession, preceded by about thirty men and women dancing and cutting all sorts of capers to the sound of a rude noisy kind of music of a drum and fife, with the harsh and grating accompaniment of a stick rapidly drawn up and down the teeth of an old jaw bone of a horse, or some other animal. These scenes were disgusting in the extreme, and painful to witness as a proof of the almost hopeless degradation into which the people were sunk, and of the vast amount of ignorance and darkness which everywhere prevailed. Such practices have been every year gradually dying away, but now they are gone, I trust for ever. There was not a single instance of them here this year, not even the sound of a drum. Within doors all was peace and quietness, while the streets, instead of being crowded with hundreds of benighted Sabbath-breakers, were crowded with hundreds of well-dressed people repairing to their respective churches."[1]

Schools had been established at the various stations for some years, and hundreds of children had learned to read. Many also of the adult negroes had sought to acquire a knowledge of reading, though it was often under very disadvantageous circumstances; and those who made the acquisition frequently gave lessons to their neighbours and acquaintances; but it is obvious that knowledge thus acquired must often have been exceedingly imperfect, and, accordingly, many of the negroes were found to read very inaccurately, and to have a very inadequate understanding of what they did read. The following statement on this subject by Mr Blyth is at once curious and interesting: "It has been remarked by all my acquaintances who have paid attention to the subject, that comparatively few

[1] Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1837, p. 8 ; Ibid. 1844, p. 15.

of the negroes are able to read with ease and fluency. This does not arise, in my opinion, from want of capacity, but from their not being taught in youth, and from their not being accustomed in early life to fix their attention on minute objects. On this account, numbers of them, who are otherwise acute and intelligent, have been unable to learn the alphabet, or to distinguish the form of one letter from another." These remarks have reference to the older negroes, but the same difficulties were not to be expected with the young. To promote their education was a great object with the British government, after the act of emancipation came into operation; and the Scottish Missionary Society, in common with other missionary bodies, received from it very liberal assistance in building school-houses, and also for several years in providing and supporting teachers.[1] With the aid of the parliamentary grants, the Society erected ten commodious school-houses, and also sent from Scotland a number of teachers. A great desire for education prevailed among the negroes, and for a number of years the schools were well attended by the children. Their progress was highly encouraging, though that of many was greatly retarded by the irregularity of their attendance. One reason of the attendance being so irregular was, that many of the scholars were kept at school, not by their parents or others, but by themselves. They had to work a week or so in the month for their own maintenance; and hence it was that they appeared and disappeared like planets, some of them indeed more like comets, their visits to school being few and far between. Besides reading, writing, and arithmetic, they were taught English grammar, geography, natural history, and other branches of useful knowledge. It was remarked by Mr Anderson of Carron Hall, that the girls excelled the boys in writing—indeed in almost every thing. Of some of his scholars whom he mentioned as being in vulgar fractions and book-keeping, five were girls. It is also worthy of notice, that the negro children made less progress in arithmetic than in the other branches of education. This required thought on their part: in receiving knowledge, they were apt enough scholars; but in thinking, they were essentially defective. With the best of the teachers it was, therefore, a great object to teach their

[1] The sum received by the Society from Government amounted in all to £6630.

pupils to think. Besides the schools at the principal stations, there were a number of others at the out-stations, and on various estates. Several thousand children were educated in them in the course of a few years; but afterwards the desire for education, especially in some places, materially declined; neither the parents nor the children were so eager for it, as they had once been, and hence the numbers attending the schools fell off considerably. They had probably now found, that education was not productive of all those immediate worldly advantages which they had ignorantly expected from it, while they were altogether incapable of appreciating its more distant and more valuable fruits in the improvement of their intellectual faculties, the increase of their stores of knowledge, the melioration of their moral character, and ultimately in the elevation of their social condition.[1]

It is mortifying to find that the schools have not only fallen off in many places, but that the relish for reading has also diminished. Many read their Bibles only. One reason of their being so little given to reading other books was that there were very few suitable for them. Even a newspaper was scarcely ever to be met with in the largest negro villages, so little interest did the people take even in the events of the day.[2]

Marriage was now greatly on the increase, which, considering the previous almost universal practice of concubinage among persons of all colours, was one of the most pleasing proofs of the improvement, social and moral, which was going on in Jamaica. Upwards of 2000 couples were married by the missionaries. Instances of unfaithfulness to the marriage vow were, however, not unfrequent; yet when they did occur, they were universally condemned among the people themselves. But there were two points in which they were still greatly deficient: they did not sufficiently avoid those circumstances and situations which were the general occasion of the sin of adultery, nor did they sufficiently avoid the society of those who had fallen into it, so as to make them ashamed. It should, however, be

[1] Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1832, p. 28; Ibid. 1833, p. 22, 26, 33; Ibid. 1837, p. 10, 27; Ibid. 1840, p. 9; Ibid. 1841, p. 24; Ibid. 1842, p. 8; Ibid. 1846, p. 13, 24, 26; Ibid. 1847, p. 14.

[2] King's State and Prospects of Jamaica, p. 96.

remembered, that they were not trained to regard such practices with abhorrence, but, on the contrary, were familiar with them from their childhood; and it is difficult at once to break up old habits.[1]

Temperance societies were established at most of the principal stations, and were attended with the most beneficial results. In the days of slavery, the negroes were thought to be remarkable for their temperate habits. With many of them, indeed, this was matter of necessity, as they were not able to purchase spirits even of the cheapest sort; but emancipation placed articles of this kind within their reach, and it was of great importance to adopt measures for guarding them against a temptation which had proved so ruinous to the people of other free countries. The Hampden Temperance Society, which was the first that was established, was therefore formed, not so much for the purpose of suppressing as of preventing drunkenness, by checking, in the bud, the formation of usages that might lead to it; but the operations of the Society soon brought to light practices which were not previously known to exist. Many of the members, in expressing their gratitude for being delivered from the snare of intemperance, made disclosures which shewed that the association was suppressing present evils, as well as promoting important future good. The number of members of the temperance society connected with Mr Blyth's congregation, amounted, after some years, to about 1400; and in one report we find it stated, *that during the preceding year none of the church members, though they amounted to upwards of* 700, had been accused *of any act of drunkenness, nor had the session had any case before it arising out of excess in the use of intoxicating liquors!* Such a fact may well lead ministers at home to consider whether they are in the way of their duty in neglecting to form temperance societies in their parishes or congregations. Though the members of these associations at the other stations were not, by any means, so numerous, yet at them also they were exceedingly useful.[2]

The congregations of the missionaries, after obtaining entire

[1] Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1839, p. 27, 36, 55; Ibid. 1846, p. 7; Ibid. 1847, p. 9.

[2] Ibid. 1835, p. 29; Ibid. 1837, p. 18; Ibid. 1838, p. 25; Ibid. 1841, p. 11, 17, 21; Ibid. 1842, p. 25; Ibid. 1846, p. 12.

freedom, shewed great liberality in contributing to missionary objects, to the support of their own ministers, the building or enlargement of their churches, and to other religious and benevolent objects. When buildings had to be erected, as churches or schools, they also often contributed largely in the way of labour. Old and young might be seen exerting themselves with willing hearts and willing hands.[1] In the course of about three years, the several congregations contributed, chiefly for the salaries of the missionaries, and in school fees for those of the teachers, not less than £3891 : 1 : 1, besides contributing for various other objects, particularly, in some instances, for the erection or enlargement of their places of worship.[2]

Meanwhile, however, a worldly spirit was growing up among the people. In former times, there was little or nothing of this to be found among them. Most of them being in the condition of slaves, they possessed but little of the world, and had small prospect of ever having more. But the change which had taken place in their condition, the greatly improved circumstances in which they were now placed, the acquisition by many of them

[1] Mr Anderson of Carron Hall, referring to the building of a church at that station, writes: "I have been out taking the number and the names of those who have turned out to contribute a week's work to the making of a lime-kiln, preparatory to building the new church. The numbers are 310. It is a delightful sight. A fine happy spirit prevails among them. They are all working voluntarily, cheerfully, gratuitously, and with scarcely an exception, diligently. And these, forsooth, are the men and women who would not do a hand's turn, except under the terror of the lash! When or where was there ever such a sight to be seen in Scotland, in connection with the building of a church? Is it on record that more than 300 people ever turned out there simultaneously of their own accord to labour for a week gratuitously at the erection of a place of worship?"

In a letter, written some weeks later, Mr Cowan writes: "The people have come to-day to carry materials for the church. I have been remarking the difference between the manner in which they perform their work now, and in the days of slavery. In those days, they were often employed in the same kind of work. The manner in which they walked was indescribable—not faster than half-a-mile an hour. I remember also that those who were thus employed were young people, who otherwise would have been sprightly and active. It was sickening to see them. Now the people are as active and as agile as if they had never tasted the cup of slavery. Just now, old and young are passing and repassing with a step so smart and sprightly, that it does one's heart good to see them. Their movements are as fast as those of willing workmen in Scotland. Such a change even in this respect has the removal of the load of slavery effected."—*Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc.* 1842, p. 24.

[2] Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1839, p. 15, 26, 35, 43, 45, 48; Ibid. 1840, p. 16, 19, 28; Ibid. 1841, p. 21; Ibid. 1842, p. 20, 24; Ibid. 1843, p. 29; Ibid. 1845, p. 32; Ibid. 1846, p. 19, 33; Ibid. 1847, p. 19, 36.

of land and cottages of their own, of good clothes and furniture, of horses, watches, and finery, all this was engendering in them a love of the world which threatened, if not counteracted by higher and nobler principles, to be productive of much evil, even among those of whom better things might have been expected, weakening the interest which they took in religion, drawing off their minds from its duties and requirements, fixing them on inferior and less worthy objects, and diminishing their contributions for the maintenance of the gospel among themselves, and for extending it among their brethren who were still sitting in darkness. Many, too, not satisfied with their own wages, sent their children to the field, instead of sending them to school, with the view of reaping the fruits of their labour also. Nor were there wanting children who, of their own accord, neglected their education, and grasped with avidity after money which they might call their own, and spend as they pleased, not always of course very wisely. Even some who seemed desirous to attend the school regularly, could not resist the temptation of money.[1]

Here, however, we cannot but remark, that though a worldly spirit is to be guarded against in all circumstances, yet there is a difficulty and a delicacy in drawing the line of demarcation between worldliness and the desire of bettering his condition in life, which God has implanted in the heart of man, and which it is of so much importance to cultivate, especially in a barbarous community, on account of the bearing which it has not only on their temporal but on their spiritual improvement, in fact, on the full development of their intellectual and moral character, as men and as Christians. This is one of the main springs of human improvement. It must not therefore be checked or destroyed; it only requires regulation. Even though there should be a diminution in their contributions to Christian and benevolent objects, we must not complain too much. If they are, in the mean while, forming habits of industry, and accumulating some capital, they may, after a few years, be able to contribute much more to such objects than if in their springtide they had given away their seed-corn, instead of casting it

[1] Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1840, p. 9; Ibid. 1841, p. 8, 23; Ibid. 1842, p. 11, 21; Ibid. 1843, p. 18; Ibid. 1844, p. 8, 17; Scot. Miss. Reg. 1847, p. 65.

into the ground. It should never be forgotten, that so long as a people remain in a savage or semi-barbarous state, Christianity can never flourish among them in all its glory and beauty; it will ever remain in a low and dwarfish condition; and, like every feeble plant, will afford little security even for its continued existence.

There is another evil which we deeply regret to mention, especially as it is one which may be followed permanently by extensive and ruinous consequences, namely, the carelessness and indifference of the young in reference to parental authority, to religion, and to good morals. Juvenile carelessness and licentiousness were either more prevalent or more open than they were formerly. Parents complained that they had no control over their children; that under pretence of seeking employment, or on the most trivial occurrence, they would leave the parental roof, and at an early age become their own masters; that they would go into the neighbouring parishes or some remote part of the country; form there some sinful connection; keep bad company, and run into all manner of mischief. These evils resulted, no doubt, primarily from the natural depravity of the human heart; but they were also to be traced in no small degree to the corrupt state of morals which so generally prevailed among the class of society in the island, whose example was likely to be most influential with the other classes, either for good or for evil.[1]

It was not easy to form a correct estimate of the character and condition of the congregations. Their appearance on Sabbath was very pleasing, all clean, decent, serious-looking people. A stranger coming among them would hardly have supposed that they were lately oppressed, despised negro slaves. There was nothing in their appearance to indicate their former degraded condition. They had the bearing of people accustomed to liberty all their lives. And when he beheld their numbers, their order, and their reverent observance of all the ordinances of religious worship, he would naturally be led to form a high opinion of the state of religion among them. Were our knowledge of their character limited to what appears on these occa-

[1] Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1840, p. 29; Ibid. 1843, p. 18; Scot. Miss. Reg. 1847, p. 100.

sions, we would have little to complain of, but a daily familiar and intimate acquaintance with them placed it, in many points of view, in a much less favourable light. There was still much ignorance among them, and much misconception about the doctrines of the gospel. The fact is, they had much to unlearn before they were able to understand the truths of religion. They had among them certain notions which they had imbibed from their childhood, and unless great care was taken in explaining divine truth to them, they were apt to understand it in a way that corresponded with their previous opinions; and unless their hearts were interested in it they forgot it, even when they understood it, nearly as fast as they learned it. When, for example, they were instructed in the great doctrine of the resurrection, they often understood their teacher as meaning that it is the spirit or phantom which will rise. They were not scrupulous about the name which they gave it. They would call it the body, or the spirit, or the shadow, or any thing else they pleased; and when told of the resurrection, they took it to be just what they already believed, that the phantom or shade would rise some day soon after their decease, while the body will lie for ever in the grave. The old people, as may naturally be supposed, were the least teachable; indeed the teaching of many of them seemed nearly impracticable. Their minds appeared to be dormant, incapable of understanding the simplest truths of religion, and their memories incapable of retaining them. By preaching alone they could be taught nothing, but by forming them into a class by themselves and employing familiar modes of instruction, those whose case appeared once next to hopeless made somewhat satisfactory progress. Many of the young people possessed a measure of intelligence and a knowledge of religion which were not generally to be found among the older people who had no opportunity of receiving education in their youth. One very common feature, however, of the negroes was that they proceeded only as far as they were led. "However much," says Mr Cowan, "they may feel interested in the truths which are presented to them, and although we have satisfactory evidence that they understand them by their expressing them in their own language and in their own way, *we are seldom gratified by any new thoughts or new combinations of thoughts.* The

most that we can get from them is what we have already taught them, expressed sometimes quaintly and forcibly. There are a very few individuals among them who occasionally think for themselves, but their conclusions are as often wrong as right, and sometimes ridiculous. We sometimes get better things from some of our young people, and we expect better things from more of them, but active, inquiring, diligent minds, even among the young, are not very common."[1]

Though after emancipation the congregations greatly increased in numbers, yet after some years, they appeared less in earnest about religion than in the days of slavery, when they sought for comfort under the woes and sorrows of their lot in the ministrations and blessings of the gospel. Religion was not now so much the fashion, nor so popular as in past times. There was still a large attendance on the ordinances of religious worship, though not generally so large as formerly, and with many it had degenerated into mere "bodily service which profiteth nothing." There was a cold and careless observance of Christian ordinances, an indifference and deadness to spiritual and vital religion, a wide-spread and prevailing neglect of the private duties of religion, and a marked and manifest unwillingness to contribute to the support of the gospel. Cases of backsliding and apostasy were not unfrequent. Some who once made a profession of religion fell into gross sin; and had to be excluded from the communion of the church. Such circumstances as these need not excite much surprise. Among a people half-instructed and half-civilized, there is a want of moral stability, and they are peculiarly liable to fall before the temptations and the evil influences by which they are surrounded.[2]

We apprehend, indeed, that there had been much in Jamaica which had been taken for religion, not by the Scottish missionaries only, but by missionaries generally, which was nothing more than its form and shadow—the "form of godliness with-

[1] Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1842, p. 16; Ibid. 1843, p. 17, 26; Ibid. 1846, p. 12; Ibid. 1847, p. 15, 26; Scot. Miss. Reg. 1847, p. 98.

[2] Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1843, p. 18; Ibid. 1844, p. 7, 10; Ibid. 1846, p. 11; Ibid. 1847, p. 8, 15, 18; Scot. Miss. Reg. 1847, p. 34; Letter from Mr Watson, Dec. 31. 1846; King's Jamaica, p. 96.

out the power thereof," the shadow without the substance, the show and profession without the reality.[1]

But though the spiritual results of the mission were by no means so great as we once hoped, we yet trust that through means of it many of the negro race were brought to the saving knowledge of Christ. Not a few, it was hoped, had been translated to "the inheritance of the saints in light," while there was a goodly number of those remaining on earth, who were characterized by their general steadiness and good Christian conduct. If we may judge of their piety by their prayers, it was as warm and devout as that of persons in older Christian churches. It gave evidence of felt unworthiness, of filial reliance on God, of lively gratitude, and of reverence for his great and holy name.[2]

In October 1847, the stations of the Scottish Missionary Society in Jamaica, were transferred to the Board of Missions of the United Presbyterian Church. The Society was originally established on the broad basis of uniting in it Christians of different denominations holding evangelical principles, and it had a powerful influence in bringing them into closer acquaintance and connection with each other. But this which originally constituted its strength, came at length to prove its weakness. The very fact of its broad Christian character operated against it. It was unsectarian in its constitution and management; no *esprit de corps*, no denominational feeling was enlisted in its favour. Within the last twenty years, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and the United Secession Church, the two bodies from which it drew its chief support, engaged themselves in missionary operations, and though this did not for some years affect the funds of the Society, yet combined with the controversy which now arose on the subject of ecclesiastical establishments, it came at length to affect them most materially; and after a painful struggle for several years, it at last became evident that the Society could no longer hope to be able to support still less to extend its missions in Jamaica, though the extension of them was matter of great and urgent importance. All the missionaries had with one exception been connected

[1] Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1847, p. 23.

[2] Rep. Scot. Miss. Rag. 1848, p. 10; Scot. Miss. Reg. 1847, p. 99.

with the United Secession Church before they left this country; and on its being proposed to transfer their services to the United Presbyterian Church, which had been lately constituted by the union of the Secession and the Relief Churches, the whole of them cordially agreed to the proposal. The United Secession Church had previously established a number of missionary stations in Jamaica; and now the whole were constituted into one mission, and placed under the same management. At the time the transfer was effected, the communicants connected with the Scottish Missionary Society's stations amounted to about 2668, the average congregations on the Sabbath to 4535, and the children in the schools to 1112.[1]

[1] Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1833, p. 40; Ibid. 1837, p. 35; Ibid. 1846, p. 6; Ibid. 1848, p. 15; Tabular View of the Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church Mission, Jamaica, p. 1.

# CHAPTER XIV.

## PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE GLASGOW MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

### SECT. I.—WESTERN AFRICA.

#### ART. 1.—TIMMANY COUNTRY.

IN February 1796, the Glasgow Missionary Society, consisting of members of the Church of Scotland and of other denominations holding evangelical views of divine truth, was instituted in that city.[1] Its operations were directed simply to Africa, first to Western, and afterwards to Southern Africa.

In March 1797, Messrs Duncan Campbell and Robert Henderson, the first missionaries of the Society,[2] set off from Glasgow with the view of proceeding to Sierra Leone, and after their arrival in that colony, they began to learn the Timmany language; but they made no great progress. Neither of them had been accustomed to acquire languages, and their teacher was but little fitted to instruct them. They were also both soon attacked by fever. Henderson continued to have repeated and severe attacks for several months, and was frequently brought to the brink of the grave. His youthful heart sunk within him in a strange land, and he began to long for home. Campbell soon recovered; but his mind was not much bent on the object for which he had come to Africa. He was

[1] Quarterly Papers of the Glasgow Missionary Society, No. i. p. 1.

[2] We have already adverted to the low standard of qualifications required by our Missionary Societies at their commencement, particularly as regards education. Neither Campbell nor Henderson, we presume, had received more than an ordinary education. The former was a weaver; the latter a tailor, and he was not twenty years of age, so that from his youth, even his moral and religious character could not be considered as established or tried.

much more solicitous about what he should eat, and what he should drink, and how he should be lodged, than about the conversion of the heathen; and he began occasionally to manifest a spirit the reverse of deadness to the world.

Though Mr Macaulay, the governor of Sierra Leone, to whom they had been recommended, and under whose direction they were to act, early saw in Campbell the risings of selfish passions, and in Henderson the workings of juvenile indiscretion, he still hoped that their religious principles were sound and their piety sincere. He was anxious, therefore, that they should enter on their labours, in the hope that the feelings arising out of the want of full and regular employment might be dispelled by active exertion. He accordingly proceeded with Campbell, who alone was as yet able to engage in the work, to Racon, in the district of Rokelle, in the Timmany country, upon the banks of the Sierra Leone River, nearly 100 miles from Freetown. Here he committed him to the care of the chief as his *stranger*. In a few days, Campbell opened a school with a few children, and as they were very apt in learning the letters, they soon began to read little words; but his own deficiency in the native language was much against their progress.

Henderson having at length recovered from his repeated attacks of fever, cheerfully proceeded to Racon. Here he took charge of the children, went freely among the natives, throwing himself upon their sympathies; and his youth and the frankness of his manners made him a great favourite. The little children loved him, the old women declared he would have been a good man, if he had been black, and the young women overstepping all the bounds of propriety, sought to seduce him and gain him for a husband. He opened another school at a place four miles distant from Racon, where he had some of the chiefs as his scholars, and he went thither every day under a burning sun. By his constant intercourse with the natives, he soon made great improvement in speaking the Timmany language, and his scholars likewise improved rapidly. Before his sanguine imagination, visions of future glory rose in rapid succession. He saw his little scholars converted, and becoming missionaries, and all the continent of Africa evangelized through their ministrations!

Meanwhile, Campbell was busily employed in secular concerns. He built a house for his family, formed plans for teaching the natives to spin, to weave, and to cultivate the ground. He became much secularised, and made little or no progress in the Timmany language. His great concern was to have a good house for himself and family, and to lay in a sufficient stock of European provisions.

There was at the same time an entire want of cordiality between the two missionaries. This arose in a great measure out of trivial matters; and Campbell, who was decidedly most to blame, had even gone so far as to say he would on no account be any longer connected in a mission with Henderson. Mr Macaulay on learning that there was such disagreement between them, endeavoured to effect a reconciliation, and like a wise and prudent mediator he sought to withdraw the attention of both from the improprieties which they had felt, or thought they saw, in one another, and to lead each rather to consider what had been amiss in his own conduct. He prevailed at length on Campbell to concede that there was nothing in any of the complaints he had made, that would justify a separation, but much to lead himself to suspect that pride of heart might be at the bottom of them. Henderson acknowledged very ingenuously the justice of Mr Macaulay's remarks, which, however, had never struck him before, and he seemed to be exceedingly affected by the new view which this last circumstance gave him of the deceitfulness of sin. He went to Campbell to confess to him wherein he had seen his conduct to be blameworthy. With this his colleague owned he was much struck, and Mr Macaulay did not doubt that a complete reconciliation was effected between them.

In this, however, the excellent governor was mistaken. Campbell's old feelings towards Henderson were not extinguished, and new occasions of complaint soon arose. There was little or no co-operation between them; even on the Sabbath, when Henderson held a meeting with the natives for prayer and exhortation, Campbell did not attend. Toward him Henderson's state of mind appeared very becoming. He was also still apparently warm and zealous in his work, and though sometimes inconsiderate, seemed uniformly ingenuous, docile,

and tractable. Such at least was Mr Macaulay's impression as to his character, the faults of which appeared to be nothing more than the customary defects of youth, which age and experience might be expected to correct; but the estimate which he formed of him must either have been erroneous, or what is perhaps as likely, other features afterwards developed themselves when he came to be placed in new, and to him, more trying circumstances.

Henderson having been soon afterwards attacked by fever, his mind was strongly bent on returning home, and his medical attendant thought this was necessary for the restoration of his health. He accordingly returned to Scotland, where he soon recovered his health. He still remained in connection with the Society, again to be sent forth to some other part of the world as a missionary. He was sent to college; medicine became his favourite pursuit. He still, however, talked of missions; but when the directors came to the resolution of sending him out to some other quarter, he altogether broke with them, sent in his resignation, pretended he was desirous of studying for the ministry at home, and paid back the money which he had received since his return. He now continued his medical studies, afterwards practised as a surgeon, threw off the profession of religion, avowed himself an infidel, led any thing but a happy life, and gradually sunk into oblivion, and at length into an untimely grave.

After Henderson's departure, Campbell remained alone at Racon. He was still greatly occupied with his house, which he regarded as his own property, not as the Society's. His knowledge of the Timmany language was still very small. The schools declined. His wife died, and he was thus left solitary amongst native slave traders, who threw obstacles in his way, and stirred up the people against him. His eldest daughter married at Freetown; and getting tired of living in the interior, he broke up his establishment at Racon, and returned to that place to live in her family. Her death happened soon after, and he and his son-in-law disagreed and went to law about the furniture of the house, which however went against him.

In the end of 1799, he began building a house for himself in Freetown, and formed the plan of a new institution. He wished

to redeem a number of boys and girls, and to educate and train up a colony of natives who might in due time diffuse civilization and religion among their countrymen. He went two or three times into the country to redeem some young persons for this end, but he never procured any. His character was now sinking fast, both at home and broad. The directors found him very expensive, curtailed his letter of credit, and wished him sent home. The new governor offered him a passage to England, and was desirous that he should quit a country where his character as a missionary was fast merging in that of a man of the world.

Pretending that he had considerable sums of money due to him in the Timmany country which he wished to collect, he was allowed to remain for the present in the colony. He was even permitted to superintend a factory on the Rio Pongas, belonging to the Sierra Leone Company. Here he soon proved himself as unfaithful to its interests as he had been to those of the Glasgow Missionary Society.

Besides his other misdemeanours, charges were brought against him of having criminal connection with different women, and though called on to clear himself of the accusation, he neglected to do so, and there was but too much ground to believe that it was well founded.

In the summer of 1801 he quitted Freetown altogether and went to reside on the Rio Pongas. He was cast off as unworthy of confidence, but he remained in the country, and it is to be feared that in the midst of his poverty and growing depravity, he was in the end not altogether unconnected with the slave trade.[1] Such was the mournful history of this the first mission from Scotland in modern times.

## Art. 2.—Sherbro.

In September 1797, Messrs Ferguson and Graham set off from Glasgow for London, with the view of proceeding to Sierra Leone, as part of a conjunct mission to the Foulah country from the Glasgow, Edinburgh, and London Missionary Societies. On

[1] Quart. Pap. of Glas. Miss. Soc. No. iii. p. 1.

their arrival at Freetown, in consequence, as we have already mentioned, of the bitter dissensions which had arisen among the missionaries,[1] and of the path to the Foulah country being shut owing to a war between that people and some of their neighbours, it was agreed that those of the several societies should undertake distinct missions, and it was arranged that the two from Glasgow should proceed to the Bananas.

The Bananas are three islands, the largest of which is about nine miles long, and is about forty miles south of Sierra Leone, and three or four from the mainland. The population was about five or six thousand. They were then governed by a chief who had received his education in England, but who on his return had adopted the superstitions of his country. Mr Ferguson, who in the first instance visited the Bananas alone, carried with him a son of the chief who had also been receiving his education in England. Unfortunately, however, the islands were then in a state of warfare with a neighbouring kingdom. The proposal of a mission was welcomed by the natives, but a council required to be held on the subject. Meanwhile, Mr Ferguson returned to Sierra Leone, and shortly after he left the Bananas, Mr Graham reached them. To his great disappointment he found his companion gone and the islands deserted, as the inhabitants feared an attack from their enemies. No human being was to be seen; the houses were standing open, and the dogs and fowls were straying about the villages. He therefore crossed over to the Sherbro on the mainland, and was kindly received by a chief of the name of Adoo, who fitted up a house for him and shewed him no small kindness.

In March 1798, Mr Ferguson arrived and took up his residence with him. They were now, however, considerably dispirited. They had nothing to do, not even children to teach. They were idle because the natives were all busy, and they had no prospect of being employed till the rains commenced. The country was far from being healthy, lying very low. The town had swamps behind it and a great bank of mud left by the ebbing tide before it, which never failed to fill the air with noxious effluvia, particularly during the heat of the day. In less than two months the missionaries were attacked by fever, ac-

[1] See p. 415, 416.

companied with a putrid affection of the bowels, which in a short time carried both of them to the grave.[1]

Thus terminated the missions of the Glasgow Society to Western Africa. For many years its efforts were in a manner paralyzed, but at length after an interval of about twenty years, it again resumed active operations.

## SECT. II.—SOUTH AFRICA.

### KAFFRARIA.

IN February 1821, the Rev. W. R. Thomson and Mr J. Bennie set off from Glasgow for South Africa, with the view of commencing a mission in Kaffraria. They were afterwards followed, from time to time, by other missionaries, and several stations were established by them among the Kafirs. The following table contains a list of the chief stations formed by them:—

| Begun. | |
|---|---|
| 1821 | Chumie. |
| 1824 | Lovedale. |
| 1828 | Balfour. |
| 1830 | Pirie. |
| 1830 | Burnshill. |
| 1836 | Iggibigha. |

It is a remarkable fact, that among the Kafirs there is not the slightest vestige of idolatry; no idols, no temples, no sacred groves, no sacrifices, no worship, of any kind. It is even doubtful whether they have any idea of a supreme being; if they have any such idea, the traces of it are exceedingly faint and imperfect.

It will readily be seen that to such a people it must have been exceedingly difficult to convey any ideas of divine truth.

[1] Quart. Pap. of Glas. Miss. Soc. No. iii. p. 6; Miss. Mag. vol. iii. p. 424.

Even the most common principles of natural religion were entirely new to them, and consequently not easily comprehended by them. How hard, for example, must it have been for them to admit into their minds the vast idea of a GOD. Let any one think what it involves, and he will see how difficult it must have been for them even to frame the mighty conception, and especially to receive it as a truth. The principles of revealed religion were scarcely more comprehensible by them. The doctrine of the atonement, for instance, was to them an entirely new idea. There was nothing in their previous notions or customs to illustrate either its nature or necessity. Having no false gods whose anger they sought to propitiate by sacrifices or peace-offerings, they had no small difficulty, when the doctrine of atonement for sin was propounded to them, in understanding the principle in the abstract, and particularly as exemplified in the death of Christ. These are only solitary examples; but it will be seen from them what difficulties the missionaries must have had in conveying religious truth to the minds of the Kafirs, and probably also what inadequate conceptions they for the most part formed of the doctrines of the gospel.[1]

For many years the missionaries had great difficulties in getting the Kafirs to attend to the gospel. Even at the stations, their congregations on the Sabbath were in general very small. The people were exceedingly indifferent to religion: they shewed at once the most perfect apathy, and the most complete stupidity. It was no easy matter to arrest the attention of minds indescribably torpid and indisposed to reflection. Both young and old were most unprofitable hearers. The former would not understand; the latter could not. They manifested, however, much of the natural enmity of the human heart against the gospel, treating it not only with neglect, but often with mockery.

The missionaries frequently itinerated among the neighbouring kraals; but in these excursions, they met with little encouragement. They would often address parties of from three or four to twenty or thirty persons; at other times, they would have to go from hut to hut to get any to speak to. The people would often hide themselves or run away when they found a mission-

[1] Meth. Mag. 1827, p. 563; Miss. Not. vol. viii. p. 572.

ary was coming. The Kafirs indeed are insatiable in their desires for presents, and sometimes they would make a virtue of hearing; they would then have the missionary to give them beads, buttons, or a napkin. One day when Mr Ross told them he had none of these things, one asked for the handkerchief that was about his neck.

The females in particular were very unwilling to assemble for instruction. Accustomed to be treated by the men as mere cyphers, and to be employed only in ministering to their wants, use reconciled them to this as no abuse, and they thought it strange that the missionaries should trouble them with the "Word," seeing it called to the adoption of views and conduct which could be decided only by the men. It is not unworthy of notice, as an example of the degradation of the female sex in Kaffraria, that when met for divine worship, while the men would sit upon stones, the women were required to sit on the ground as a mark of their inferiority.[1]

It must, however, be acknowledged, that the indifference of the Kafirs to divine truth was not improbably increased by the way in which it was communicated to them. The Kafir language, though comparatively limited in its vocabulary, is exceedingly difficult of pronunciation. Its articulation is quite peculiar. It has sounds which a foreigner cannot easily utter; and it is only by years of practice that he can form his organs of speech, so as to produce the proper *clicks* and intonations. The missionaries, in consequence of this, generally addressed the Kafirs through the medium of interpreters. Now this frigid mode of communication, along with a foreign address on a strange subject and of a spiritual nature, directed to a people who were continually moving about, left, throughout the country visited by the missionaries in their tours, but little trace of their labours, beyond the fact of the White men speaking about a thing which they called the Word of God, a being of whom they knew not so much as even "ignorantly to worship him."[2]

[1] Rep. Glas. Miss. Soc. 1832, p. 23; Quart. Pap. of Glas. Miss. Soc. No. ix. p. 5, 6; No. x. p. 3, 8; No. xi. p. 8; No. xii. p. 12; No. xiv. p. 3; Caffrarian Messenger, p. 31, 32, 202.

[2] Caffrarian Messenger, p. 13.

But amidst the general apathy and stupidity which prevailed among the Kafirs, there were individuals among them on whose minds some knowledge of divine truth appeared to dawn. Several of them from time to time experienced, it was hoped, its saving power, and were baptized by the missionaries.

In December 1834, the Kafirs made a terrible irruption into the colony, carrying devastation and dismay wherever they came. There had long been great jealousies and heart-burnings between them and the colonists, the one disliking the near approach of military posts to their borders, the other fretting under the predatory incursions of the savages, who were continually carrying off their sheep and cattle. But matters had not been worse of late than they had often been before, nor in fact than what might naturally be expected in a border country, where the civilized were continually pressing back, more and more, the uncivilized inhabitants of the land, and where many things were constantly occurring to chafe and embitter each other's spirit. It was even expected that the new governor of the colony, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who was supposed to be not unfriendly to the aboriginal tribes, would smooth down existing asperities on both sides, and produce a more friendly intercourse between the Kafirs and the colonists than had ever subsisted before. No one dreamed of war. On the part of the Kafirs, the irruption was sudden and unpremeditated; on the part of the colonists, it was unforeseen and unexpected. It arose out of accidental circumstances. Some cattle belonging to the Kafirs having been taken possession of by the military, because they crossed the boundary line, and were grazing within the colony, there arose a scuffle between the parties. The Kafirs retook their cattle; but two of them were killed in the fray, and one of their chiefs was wounded, which in Kaffraria is reckoned a very great crime. This was the spark that kindled the flames of war. It was no great matter in itself; but it was applied to combustible materials, and the whole country was speedily in a blaze. The irritated Kafirs rushed to arms with the fury of savages panting for revenge. They instantly began the work of spoliation and bloodshed by plundering the houses and stores of the traders who were living in the country, and murdering them in cold blood, unless they were so fortunate as

to escape to some place of safety. Having tasted of blood, like the beast of prey they became quite infuriated against the colonists, crossed the colonial line, and carried the work of devastation and slaughter along a frontier of upwards of one hundred miles, and to nearly the same extent, into the colony. Some of the military posts were threatened, farmers were killed, and the people generally were completely paralyzed by the suddenness of the irruption. The Kafirs swept the country, and in a short time returned, exulting in their deeds of revenge, and loaded with spoil, consisting of horses, cattle, sheep, and goats, clothes, money, and whatever else they could carry away. There was no limit to the burden of their spoils save their strength.

The situation of the missionaries was at once difficult and perilous. Flushed with success, or whetted by revenge, the Kafirs would not bear to be spoken to, and when the British troops began to scour the country, and burn their kraals, and seize their cattle, and make reprisals, they became excited almost to fury, and charged the missionaries with being their enemies, because they did not prevent the devastations of the soldiers.

The missionaries stopped in the country as long as they could; but they were, at length, obliged to escape for their lives. Parties of soldiers were sent to protect them on their way to the English camp, and they afterwards escorted them to Graham's Town within the colony, where every attention was shewn to them by the acting governor. In leaving Kaffraria, the missionaries sustained very heavy losses. Much of their property they were compelled to leave behind them; much of it they were obliged to cast away on the road, that the waggons might not be impeded on their journey. Mr Chalmers saved little more than a Bible. Their private losses were estimated at nearly £1000, and the public property lost or destroyed, including churches, houses, &c., at upwards of £750.

Though savages may make fearful inroads on a civilized people, yet, in general, they are soon checked. Thus it was in the present war. The English troops made terrible reprisals on the Kafirs, who were at length glad to sue for peace. A treaty was now concluded between the contending parties. The British government restored to the Kafirs, so long as they continued

peaceful, all that tract of country which extends from the Keiskamma to the Fish River, and appointed the Fish River, as in former times, to be the boundary of the colony.[1]

In the latter part of 1835, the missionaries returned to Kaffraria, peace being now restored to the country. The mission premises at Chumie and Burnshill, though not destroyed, they found in a very dilapidated and ruinous condition. Doors and windows were broken, furniture of every description was carried away, the printing-press and types were destroyed, the gardens were laid waste, and fragments of books and papers were lying scattered on the ground. At Lovedale and Pirie, the desolation was still more complete. Most of the houses were burnt or otherwise reduced to a heap of ruins. The whole of the work of destruction is not, however, to be attributed to the Kafirs; the English also had their share in it. The mission premises had been occupied at one time by the Kafirs, and at another time by the troops; and between the two, the work of destruction was complete.[2]

The missionaries after their return set themselves to repair their dilapidated and ruined houses. The station of Lovedale, which had been almost entirely destroyed, was removed to a more favourable situation a few miles distant, on the banks of the Chumie river, which could be easily led out for the purposes of irrigation, a point of great importance in such a country as South Africa. At Burnshill, a water-course which had been begun some years before, was now completed through the labours of the Kafirs, under the superintendence of the missionaries, who besides supplying them with food, paid them for their work with goats, spades, picks, seed-corn, and other useful articles, deeming it their duty to make a vigorous effort to convince them that by a little exertion they might save themselves from famine without having recourse, and that in vain, to the rain-maker. The missionaries also resumed their accustomed labours among them, and every thing by degrees assumed much the same aspect as before the war.[3] But while the mission was

[1] Rep. Glas. Miss. Soc. 1835, p. 9, 13; Ibid. 1836, p. 9; Ibid. 1837, p. 9, 23.
[2] Ibid. 1836, p. 12; Quart. Pap. No. xv. p. 2.
[3] Rep. Glas. Miss. Soc. 1837, p. 13, 15, 24; Quart. Pap. No. xvi. p. 13.

advancing abroad, very untoward circumstances as regarded the Society, were taking place at home.

In December 1837, the Glasgow Missionary Society was dissolved, or more properly speaking, was divided into two branches, the one called the "Glasgow Missionary Society adhering to the principles of the Church of Scotland," the other the "Glasgow African Missionary Society." The Society was originally established on the broad catholic principle of uniting Christians of different denominations in the one great object of propagating the gospel among the heathen, and it had hitherto been conducted upon this plan. Of late years, however, the question of ecclesiastical establishments had been brought under discussion in this country, and had created much alienation and bitterness of feeling between the ministers and members of the Church of Scotland and their dissenting brethren. In Glasgow the bitterness of feeling was peculiarly strong, and it was carried even into their missions among the heathen, as well as into their associations for other Christian and benevolent objects. One of the secretaries of the Missionary Society, with the knowledge and concurrence of some of his brethren, addressed a *private* letter to the Rev. J. Laing, one of the missionaries in Kaffraria who had originally belonged to the establishment, on the subject of a separation between the two great classes who composed the Society; and after a reply was received to this communication, the members of the Church of Scotland proposed a set of resolutions for a separation between those who adhered to the principles of an Established Church and those who were opposed to them. To these resolutions the Dissenters objected as proceeding on a sectarian principle, as entirely subversive of the original constitution of the Society, and as uncalled for by any thing which had occurred in the Society; but they were carried by the Established Church party, who had a large majority in the committee, and whom nothing short of a separation would satisfy. The Dissenters had therefore no choice but to submit, and it was ultimately arranged that the Church section of the Society should take upon them the support of such of the missionaries and catechists as should declare their adherence to them, and that the Dissenting section should, in like manner, provide for those who should adhere to them,

and that the property and debt of the Society should be apportioned between them according to the numbers adhering to each. On intelligence of these measures being received in Kaffraria, the Rev. Messrs Bennie, Ross, and Laing, missionaries, and Messrs M'Diarmid and Weir, catechists, intimated their adherence to the Church section of the Society, and the Rev Messrs Chalmers and Niven to the Dissenting section; and agreeably to the principles of arrangement which had been fixed on, the stations of Lovedale, Pirie, and Burnshill were placed under the former body, and Chumie and Iggibigha under the latter. It had been alleged that the missionaries were divided among themselves on the question of establishments to a degree that must be prejudicial to the mission; but this was so far from being true, that "it now appeared that the subject was never introduced at any of their meetings, nor did it ever interfere with their missionary operations." It would indeed have been a shame to them if it had! What had that question to do with the evangelization of the Kafirs? Indeed, notwithstanding the division which took place, it is a remarkable fact that the missionaries agreed, in the mean time, to continue their connection as a presbytery, and they unanimously determined "to avoid the slightest allusion to the division, among the natives, and to pursue their work as if the event had never occurred," circumstances which strikingly shew how little occasion there was for a division so far as either the missionaries or the Kafirs were concerned.[1]

[1] Report of a Special Meeting of the Glasgow Missionary Society, Dec. 4. 1837, p. 5, 14; First Report of the Glasgow African Missionary Society, p. 10, 14; Caffrarian Messenger, No. i. p. 2.

Though the missionaries agreed at first to remain for the present united as a presbytery, the union was not of long continuance. By the Society adhering to the principles of the Establishment it was made a regulation that "The missionaries and catechists employed by it shall be required to subscribe the standards of the Church of Scotland;" and it was distinctly stated that "Should any depart from the established practice of the missionaries themselves," (which we shall immediately have occasion to state,) "by proposing to add explanations or reservations of their own, it should not be allowed." And to prevent the possibility of such a case arising, it was laid down as one of the regulations of the Society, "that a free and unreserved subscription shall be required." Accordingly, two new missionaries having come out from the Glasgow African Missionary Society, they were called on to subscribe the following formulary (that just referred to), which had been adopted at the formation of the presbytery in January 1824, then consisting of only two ministers and one elder: Whereas the glory of God, the salvation of the souls of men, and the commandment

In July 1841, a seminary for the education of teachers, catechists, and missionaries, was opened at Lovedale under the superintendence of the Rev. William Govan, who was sent out by the Church branch of the Society for this special purpose.

of the exalted Redeemer by his apostles, to do all things in his Church decently and in order, require that we, the aforesaid individuals, and those who may be added to our number, should, and do thus recognise the doctrine contained in the Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and approved by the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland; as likewise the Directory for the Public Worship of God, and the Humble advice of the Assembly of Divines, which sat by ordinance of Parliament at Westminster, to the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, concerning church government, as we believe the same to be expressive of the meaning of the Holy Scriptures, and agreeable to the practice of the apostles and primitive church, and the rule which we as ministers of the gospel, or servants in the church, resolve to walk by." The two missionaries now referred to were not allowed to join the presbytery, because they could not give their assent to the doctrine of the Westminster Confession of Faith on the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion.*—*First Report of the Glas. Miss. Soc. adhering to the principles of the Church of Scotland*, p. 5, 12; *Fourth Report of Ditto*, p. 27; *Rep. Glas. African Miss. Soc.* 1842, p. 25.

This is not a place to enter on the question of subscription to extended and minute Confessions of Faith; but we cannot help remarking, that if such men as Richard Baxter, John Howe, Dr Owen, Dr Watts, Dr Doddridge, George Whitfield, John Newton, Henry Martyn, had offered themselves to the "Glasgow Missionary Society adhering to the principles of the Church of Scotland," they must on its principles have been rejected by it; and if turning from it, they had offered themselves to the "Glasgow African Missionary Society," and been accepted by it, as on its principles they ought to have been, yet on reaching Kaffraria, they would not have been allowed, even if they had been willing, to join with the other missionaries in presbytery!

Of such proceedings we cannot speak but with mingled feelings of indignation, grief, and shame. Assuredly there must, *prima facie*, be something wrong in those views or systems, whether held by Societies or by Churches, which, if acted out, would thus exclude from their service men the glory of our land, and whose praise has gone forth to the ends of the earth, while yet they would be ready, perhaps eager, to employ others, who, as regards both gifts and grace, were never for one moment to be compared with them.

It is not unworthy of notice, that the very class of persons who were chiefly active in forcing on a division in the Society on account of the differences of sentiment among the members in regard to the question of ecclesiastical establishments, within less than six years afterwards, separated from the Church of Scotland, and became in feeling more hostile to her than were ever the old Dissenters, and though in theory they still maintained the principle of religious establishments, yet in practice they followed out the voluntary principle, and that with a success which had never perhaps been exem-

* The following is the passage in the Westminster Confession of Faith, which is here particularly referred to. It may be new to many of our readers, "The civil magistrate may not assume to himself the administration of the word and sacraments, or the power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven; yet he hath authority, and it is his duty to take order that unity and peace be preserved in the Church, that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed. For the better effecting whereof, he hath power to call synods, to be present at them, and to provide that whatsoever is transacted in them be according to the mind of God."—*Westminster Confession of Faith*, chap. xxiii. sect. iii.

Buildings of considerable extent were erected for the accommodation of the tutor and his pupils, and connected with them there were about forty acres of land on which it was designed the students should labour, partly with a view to their health and sustenance, and partly in order to qualify them for instructing their countrymen in the art of husbandry, as well as in the things which belong to their everlasting peace. The first pupils consisted partly of Kafir youths and partly of the sons of the missionaries or other Europeans. Some of the former were boarded in the seminary; others lived with their parents. Most of the Kafir pupils had as yet made but small progress in their education, and gave little or no evidence of piety. Several of them were still young, being only from twelve to fourteen years of age. That the seminary may furnish valuable facilities to the missionaries for the education of their own children, and that this is a very important object, we readily admit; but that it is likely to prove, to any considerable extent, useful in preparing duly qualified native teachers and catechists, and especially missionaries, we greatly doubt. To say nothing of the barbarous state of the population from which the pupils were taken, the admission into such an institution of young persons whose education was so little advanced, who had not yet manifested any special capabilities or love of learning, and who gave little or no evidence of piety, could only lay a foundation for disappointment.[1]

plified before in any age or country. We do not mean to say there was any inconsistency in this; but their acting on the voluntary principle shews their conviction of its lawfulness, and if the principle was lawful, it could be no adequate cause, indeed no cause at all, for breaking up the Society, and dividing the mission.

In October 1844, the Glasgow Missionary Society adhering to the principles of the Church of Scotland was formally dissolved, and its stations in Kaffraria were placed under the Free Church of Scotland as part of the Foreign Mission Scheme of that Church.—*Special Report of the Glasgow Missionary Society adhering to the principles of the Church of Scotland*, Oct. 1844, p. 3, 5. In 1847, the stations of the Glasgow African Missionary Society were, in like manner, transferred to the Board of Missions of the United Presbyterian Church.

These successive changes may seem to require that we should treat its future history under distinct heads; but as such minute divisions would serve little useful purpose, while it would break up the unity of the narrative, we think it is better to carry on the further history of the whole under the title under which it was originally begun.—"The Glasgow Missionary Society."

[1] Report Glasgow Ch. Miss. Soc. 1840, p. 17; Ibid. 1842, p. 18; Ibid. 1843, p. 13; Quart. Papers, No. xiii. p. 1; Ibid. No. xv. p. 8.

Of late years the congregations, particularly at the principal and older stations, have materially improved, and their demeanour was much more becoming than in the early years of the mission. They were still, however, very fluctuating. At Chumie, for example, they would vary from one hundred to four hundred. At none of the other stations were they so numerous, but in proportion to their numbers they were nearly as fluctuating. Indeed the state of the mission generally, like that of most missions among uncivilized tribes, was exceedingly variable. Like the shifting sands of the desert, the condition of a people emerging from barbarism is in a course of perpetual change, sometimes presenting a favourable and anon an unfavourable aspect. One day they are all eyes and ears, and perhaps the next they will scarcely listen to their instructors.[1]

Though the Kafirs appear to be a nation of atheists, yet the existence and the providence of God began to be acknowledged among them. When striking events occurred they were now ready to attribute them to the interposition of God, and though there were few signs of spiritual life among them, yet knowledge was on the increase in the country. It is scarcely possible, however, for one who has not been among the Kafirs to conceive the ignorance and the darkness of the Kafir mind in reference to spiritual things. There was besides such a disposition at times to assent to all that was said, in consequence of pure indolence and unconcern, or from fear of provoking the discussion of topics which they do not relish, that it was often scarcely possible to say how much of apparent attention and expressed consent were to be ascribed to these causes, or to interest in and conviction of the truth. An idea prevailed among them, that to abstain from work on Sabbath and sit at home, declare that they loved God, and prove it by pronouncing the Divine name, as they were accustomed to pronounce that of favourite chiefs when they sneezed, and come round the teacher for instruction when he visits them, constitute the sum and substance of a godly life and an antidote to the fears of death. Thus even among the Kafirs a self-righteous formality manifests itself; a natural emanation of the legal bias of corrupt human nature.[2]

[1] Reports *passim*; Quart. Intelligence, No. xiii. p. 16.

[2] Caffrarian Messenger, p. 202, 203, 206.

Many of the Kafirs when they retired from public worship, now betook themselves to retired places for the purposes of prayer; but it is to be feared that most who did so scarcely knew what they were doing. Mr Niven mentions a family he met with in one of the towns, which had at one time resided in the neighbourhood of a missionary station, who told him that they prayed daily; but he found that their petitions referred to worldly matters alone, such as exemption from disease, provision for their bellies, blessings on their cattle, protection from their enemies, and deliverance from death. This may appear no very satisfactory prayer; yet amidst the darkness and depravity of heathenism which prevailed among the Kafirs, it is perhaps not to be despised. It involved an acknowledgment, at least, of the existence, the power, and the goodness of a Being greater than man, and may, therefore, be considered as a step in the knowledge of what is commonly called Natural Religion. Indeed, the Kafirs with all their faults, are a pleasant, lively, good-humoured people, and shew considerable acuteness on some subjects, which, if directed to matters of more importance, may yet greatly facilitate the work of instruction among them.[1]

Though the Kafirs long shewed great indifference to the education of their children, yet of late years some desire for it sprung up among them. The schools were now attended by considerable numbers of children, and it is worthy of notice, as marking the difference between this country and India and other parts of the East, the majority of them were girls. The boys were greatly employed in taking care of the cattle; but even when entirely disengaged, they did not shew so docile a spirit as the girls. Yet even among the boys, there were some who shewed a desire, at least for a time, to learn. Mr Niven mentions several who were employed in herding the cattle, who relieved each other on alternate days, in order that they might attend school. Others drove their cattle to the neighbourhood of the station to catch a lesson, and perhaps in the midst of it crave permission to take a peep of them at the door, to satisfy themselves that they were not straying; while some, when aware that they would be prevented from attending during the day, were in advance of the sun at the house of the missionary, to

[1] Quarterly Papers, No. x. p. 14; Caffrarian Messenger, p. 31.

get some brief instruction. It appears that the Kafirs now began to entertain very exalted, not to say extravagant, ideas of the art of reading; a very undesirable circumstance, as it might lay the foundation of future disappointment, and create a reaction in their views and feelings on the subject.[1]

The state of the schools, indeed, varied exceedingly from time to time. At one time, they would appear to be going on well, and before the accounts reached Scotland there would be a very different state of things in Kaffraria. The desire of education was by no means general among the people. Many did not see what good it would do their children. Some young men who might have been expected to set a value upon it, thought they would be degraded by attending school. But notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, it was satisfactory to find that there was progress, and that the number of readers was increasing.[2]

Schools were also established for teaching the girls sewing, first by the wives of the missionaries, and afterwards by female teachers sent out from this country. Though the desire for European clothing was increasing among the females, notwithstanding the opposition that was made to it, change of dress and of other native practices being very ominous signs in the eyes of Kafirs, yet considerable difficulty was experienced in carrying on these schools in consequence of the want of suitable work for the girls attending them.[3]

The missionaries also adopted, on a small scale, the practice of boarding as well as teaching children. This appeared as in India to be much the most effectual way of benefiting the natives, by removing the children from under heathen influence; but there was a difficulty in getting them to remain as boarders. The parents were unwilling to give up their children, as they did not care for those special advantages which the missionaries had in view; and they were also afraid of losing the cattle they expect from the disposal of their daughters in marriage, which constitute the chief value of a female in the eyes of a Kafir; while the children themselves did not like the restraints of

[1] Caffrarian Messenger, p. 14, 29; Quart. Papers, No. x. p. 3, 9; Quart. Int. No. ii. p. 13.

[2] Caffrarian Messenger, p. 205; Quart. Int. No. ix. p. 4.

[3] Caffrarian Messenger, p. 205.

civilized life, unless they had a more than ordinary desire of improvement.[1]

At most of the stations, a number of the Kafirs had now been baptized; but the converts generally laboured under many imperfections, and manifested very feeble degrees of grace, circumstances which will excite no surprise if we consider their peculiarly disadvantageous circumstances. The means of instruction which they enjoyed were chiefly, and in many cases solely, oral. Even those who had learned to read, had, with the exception of the Scriptures, few books to read, and these commonly not of a high order, or not suitable for them.[2] Their minds too were comparatively contracted; they were not even freed from the superstitious notions of their countrymen; they saw but few holy examples, while they were familiar with evil examples, and were daily exposed to the pernicious influences of the lewd abominations of the heathen around them. It was remarked, however, that the knowledge of the young converts who were able to read, was both more extensive and more distinct than that of the older converts, a fact which shews the great importance of schools even among savage tribes.[3]

It was remarked by one of the missionaries, that to be a Christian among the Kafir kraals seems, in the present state of things, impracticable. In such a country as Kaffraria, missionary stations, where the converts and others desirous of attending to the gospel may live separate from the rest of the people and from the evil influences which they would exert upon them, are absolutely necessary. It is scarcely possible to live amidst the impurities and wickedness of heathenism and not be tainted by them.[4]

Even as it was, the converts had much to bear from the opposition and reproaches of their countrymen, and often from their nearest relatives and in their own dwellings. They were looked

[1] Caffrarian Messenger, p. 207, 221.

[2] Among other works, Mr Bennie translated the Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, a work certainly little adapted for communicating a knowledge of religious truth to the darkened Kafir mind. Missionaries, we think, are much too apt to translate and to employ the works *in use* in the churches to which they belong, for the instruction of the heathen among whom they labour, whether they are suited for that purpose or not.

[3] Quart. Int. No. ix. p. 6.

[4] Quart. Pap. No. x. p. 10; Quart. Int. No. x. p. 5.

on by the heathen Kafirs as men who had become mad, and who had foolishly renounced the customs and manners of their fathers. The native teachers, in particular, were frequently hooted and laughed at, when endeavouring to set before their countrymen the truths of religion. The teacher of one school was debarred from making his usual visits to the neighbouring kraals, and the children were not allowed a footpath to the school, because a child belonging to the head-man of the district had died, and it was said Koti had killed it with his prayers. Another of the teachers was prevented for a time from visiting some kraals, because he dressed in European clothing, thereby giving proof of his disposition to bewitch the people and especially the children. It was said, he would cajole them into the school, and that they would all become sick and quickly die. The mother of a family was charged with killing the children since she began to pray and serve God. She had obtained such power by means of her prayers, it was said, that she ruled the lightning, and was able to infuse poison imperceptibly into the children. Her own people shunned her, and a piece of the yellow-wood-tree was stuck up in every hut to ward off the power she had acquired over the electric fluid.[1]

Indeed, there prevailed in Kaffraria great dread and distrust of missionaries. Missionary stations were regarded by many as branch establishments of the colonial government for the wholesale murder of the natives, and for despoiling them of their country. The jealousy of the Kafirs was also, in some instances, raised to a great height by the prevalence of disease in the country, and by the mortality which it occasioned, even though the missionaries sought to alleviate the calamity by supplying them with medicine. "The most unfounded tales," writes Mr Ross, the missionary at Pirie, "are in circulation among them. It is said Mr Laing brought the measles here in a red handkerchief; that he wrote to me that he had killed many at the Keiskamma, and that I must kill the people here; that Mr Chalmers wrote me, that he had killed many at Chumie, and that I must do so here; that I have smeared all the seats in the church with the measles; that I am killing the people, for though I do not go to them, Mrs Ross goes."[2]

[1] Caffrarian Messenger, p. 193, 196. [2] Ibid. p. 145; Quart. Int. No. vi. p. 4.

On another occasion when small-pox was committing great ravages in various parts of the country, an order was issued by the Chief Sandili, prohibiting all intercourse with the infected districts, and the people were on the alert to prevent the specified boundaries being crossed in the hope of thereby checking the spread of the disease. Mr Ross of Pirie being shortly after on his way to Lovedale, with the view of endeavouring to obtain vaccine matter, was made to feel the force of the prohibition, though he was not living within a prohibited district. His waggon was stopped a short way from Burnshill, and he was not allowed to cross the Keiskamma till he had obtained a royal messenger to escort him. About three miles farther on, he was again stoutly resisted. He was himself about a quarter of a mile in advance of the waggon and its escort, when he was pronounced a murderer, dared to advance, and threatened with personal violence. As he still walked on, threats became louder and louder; the war yell was raised, and he was told to look at the sun, the common token of instant death. He made a sign to the people of the waggon to come forward. This withdrew the attention of the multitude from him to the party with the waggon, who were now assailed in their turn. But the Kafirs probably now observed the chief's messenger, for on reaching the top of the hill, they suddenly went away leaving behind them only an old woman and some children. Mr Ross afterwards vaccinated some hundreds of the Kafirs in the hope of protecting them from the small-pox. Such was the sense of danger among the poor people, that many came from a distance, some from infected places, some with the disease already upon them. So afraid were they of it, that every one avoided meeting his neighbour. In passing each other, they would take the opposite side of the path. The burning of a house here and there was a common signal of cases having proved fatal.

This visitation of the small-pox appears to have increased the hatred of many to the gospel and of all White men. To them they imputed the introduction of the disease, though the missionaries shewed them that, in the present instance, the colonists got it from some recaptured negroes who had been put ashore; and they further offered satisfactory evidence that small-pox was in the country before it was visited by mission-

aries. The marks on many who were advanced in life prove this, particularly among the Fingoes, who, until of late years, had no intercourse with the colonists. Still, however, the conviction of the Kafirs was, that it was the White man's disease, and that it was the White men who were killing the people.[1] These statements strikingly shew what are the feelings of the Kafirs toward the English.

In April 1846, the British government declared war against certain of the Kafir chiefs. The immediate occasion of this was comparatively a trifling incident, the stealing of an axe in the colony by a Kafir, and the rescue of the supposed thief, when one on each side was killed; but the colonists and the Kafirs had long been in a state of hostile excitement, as regarded each other, rather seeking than disliking the grounds of a quarrel, and it was evident that a collision would ere long take place between them. Like a spark of fire falling upon combustible materials, and setting the whole in a blaze, this incident inflamed their already excited minds, and kindled their warlike passions. As it was no longer safe for the missionaries to remain in Kaffraria, they retired with many of their converts into the colony. The Kafirs made fearful inroads into the colony, everywhere spreading terror, devastation, and death, and carrying off vast numbers of the sheep and cattle of the colonists. The mission stations were all broken up. Chumie, including the church and other mission property, was burned to the ground; Burnshill was also destroyed by fire; Igquibigha was likewise in ruins; Pirie was greatly injured; and Lovedale was converted into a garrison for the English troops. Though the Kafirs gained, in the first instance, some considerable advantages over the English forces, yet afterwards the tide of war, as might have been foreseen, turned against them; their spirit was broken, and after some months, they were glad again to sue for peace. The several stations were once more resumed by the missionaries. They were now all within the colony, the Kafirs having been required to give up a considerable tract of their country to the English, and it was expected, as a consequence of this, that they would enjoy greater security than before; but this proved a fallacious hope.

[1] Quart. Int. No. xiii. p. 12.

In December 1850, hostilities again broke out between the English and the Kafirs. This was a more terrible war than any which had preceded it, and was of much longer continuance. It spread far and wide, both in the colony and in Kafirland. Fearful were the devastations committed both by the English and the Kafirs. All the mission stations were again broken up. Burnshill, Pirie, and a new station named Uniondale, were burned; Igquibigha was also destroyed. Nearly all the missionaries retired further into the colony, some of them amidst circumstances of great difficulty and danger. The converts were for the most part scattered.[1]

Thus in the course of fifteen years, war had broken out three times between the Kafirs and the English, and was attended, on each occasion, with the breaking up of the mission, and the destruction of the stations, including a large amount of property; while even now, there was as little, probably, in consequence of the exasperated state of the Kafirs, still less, security for the continuance of peace than there had ever been before. The mission of the Free Church has, however, been resumed.[2] The United Presbyterian Board of Missions has not as yet come to any resolution, whether or not it will renew its labours in Kaffraria.

[1] Miss. Not. 1847, p. 17; Caffr. Mess. p. 273, 276, 277, 278, 288, 298, 303; Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church, vol. iii. p. 13, 154; vol. vi. p. 94; vol. vii. p. 108; Missionary Record of the Free Church, vol. ii p. 482; vol. iii. p. 474, 499, 515; Ibid. 1851. p. 456.

[2] Miss. Rec. Free Ch. 1853-4, p. 120, 174.

# CHAPTER XV.

## PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

### INDIA.

In May 1824, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland took under its consideration certain overtures which had been transmitted to it, relative to the propagation of the gospel in heathen countries. The Rev. Dr Inglis, one of the ministers of Edinburgh and a leading member of the Moderate party, entered at great length into the subject. The main point of difference in the Assembly was in regard to the necessity of civilization going before efforts for the spread of Christianity. Dr Inglis maintained this doctrine, while other ministers argued against it. At length the Assembly adopted unanimously the following motion:—"That the Assembly approve the general purpose and object of these overtures, appoint a committee to devise and report to next Assembly a specific plan for the accomplishment of that object, and reserve for the consideration of next Assembly the means of providing the requisite funds, by appointing an extraordinary collection, as well as by opening a public subscription, for the accomplishment of that pious and benevolent object."[1] Of this committee Dr Inglis was appointed convener, an office which devolved on him the chief management of the whole scheme.[2]

[1] Edinburgh Christian Instructor, 1824, p. 484.

[2] This resolution of the Assembly, which, it is stated, was unanimous, and its subsequent proceedings on the subject of missions, stand out in striking contrast with its doings less than thirty years before. In May 1796, soon after the formation of the London, the Edinburgh, and the Glasgow Missionary Societies, an overture from the synod of Fife was brought before it, in the following terms:—"That the Assembly consider of the most effectual method by which the Church of Scotland may contribute

In May 1825, at the next meeting of the General Assembly the committee reported, "that they were of opinion that, in the first instance at least, it would be desirable to make one or other of the British provinces in India the field of labour; that it

to the diffusion of the gospel;" and also the following motion from the synod of Moray, "That it be recommended to such members of this synod as shall attend next General Assembly, to use their influence and endeavours for promoting an act of Assembly for a general collection throughout the church, to aid the several Societies for propagating the gospel among the heathen nations." There was also another overture, signed William M'Bean, in the following terms: "It is humbly overtured to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, that in respect a very laudable zeal for sending the gospel to heathen countries has appeared both in Scotland and England, the Assembly should encourage this spirit and promote this most important and desirable object, by appointing a general collection over the church, or adopting whatever other method may appear to them most desirable." In the debate which ensued on these overtures, there was manifested on the part of many of the members of the Assembly, not simply utter indifference, but bitter hostility to missionary efforts. Strange sentiments were uttered by some of the speakers,—sentiments which, we are persuaded, many of the ministers and members of the Church of Scotland, cannot now look back upon but with feelings of astonishment and shame. A motion was made that the "Assembly appoint a committee to take the subject of the overtures into consideration and to report the result of their inquiries to the next General Assembly,"—a very unobjectionable motion one would have thought; but the overtures were *dismissed* by a majority of fifty-eight to forty-four.—*Account of the Proceedings and Debate in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 27th May* 1796, *on the overtures from the Synods of Fife and Moray respecting the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen*, p. 3, 16, 37, 42, 54, 58, 61, 64. How out of the Assembly, which consists of 361 members (*Hill's Theological Institutes*, p. 218), so few should have been present on so important and interesting an occasion, we are not able to explain.

This was not the first time that the attention of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was drawn to the subject of the conversion of the heathen. A century before this, when the Scotch colony in Darien was undertaken, two ministers, Messrs James and Scott, were sent out with the first colonists, one of whom died on the passage, and the other soon after his arrival. The council having written home to the Directors regretting the death of their ministers, and begging that others might be sent to supply their place, the Commission of the General Assembly, at the particular desire of the Board of Directors, "missioned" in 1699, the well-known Mr Alexander Shields, and three other ministers, Messrs Francis Borland, Archibald Stobo, and Alexander Dalgleish, who sailed in the next fleet. Besides being appointed to attend to the spiritual interests of the Scottish settlers, "they were particularly instructed to labour among the natives for their instruction and conversion as they should have access." This is still further manifest from the following sentence in a warm and affectionate letter addressed to them by the General Assembly 1700, soon after their departure: "The Lord will, according to his promise, make the ends of the earth see his salvation; and we hope will yet honour you and this Church from which you are sent, to carry his name among the heathen." Mr Dalgleish, like one of his predecessors, died on the passage, and the disastrous circumstances in which the other ministers found the colony, and the irreligion and licentiousness which prevailed among the colonists, oppressed their spirits, and rendered their labours of little avail. "Our meetings among ourselves," writes Mr Shields, "are in the woods, where the chatter-

would be desirable to establish, in the first instance, one central seminary of education, with branch schools in the surrounding country, for behoof of the children of the native population, under the charge of a head-master, who ought to be an ordained minister of our national church, and not less than two assistant teachers from this country, together with a certain number of additional teachers to be selected by the head-master from those natives who have previously received the requisite education; that the head-master ought to embrace opportunities, as they occur, to recommend the gospel of Christ to the faith and acceptance of those to whom he finds access; that with this view he ought to court the society of those natives more especially who have already received a liberal education, and if encouraged by them, ought to put into their hands such tracts illustrative of the import, the evidences, and the history of the Christian faith, as may be sent to him for that purpose under the authority of the General Assembly, and ought also to preach from time to time in the hearing of such persons, or others who may be induced to attend him, either in the hall of the seminary over which he presides, or in such other convenient place as may be afforded him." Of the report of the committee the General Assembly highly approved; of the scheme as thus developed, Dr Inglis was the sole and undisputed author.[1]

In October 1829, the Rev. Alexander Duff, who had been appointed head-master of the proposed institution, embarked for

ing of parrots, mourning of pelicans, and din of monkeys, are more pleasant than the hellish language of our countrymen in their huts and tents of Kedar; and our converse with the Indians, though with dumb signs, is more satisfying than with the most of our own people. Severals of them came to our meetings for worship, and we have exercised in their families when travelling among them, where they behaved themselves very reverently, but we have neither language nor interpreter. But our people do scandalize them, both by stealing from them, and teaching them to swear and drink." It appears they undertook a journey into the interior in company with Lieut. Turnbull, who had a slight knowledge of the Indian language, with the view of becoming acquainted the natives, and having spent some nights with them in their cabins, brought back the first intelligence to the colony of the approach of the Spaniards, by whom they were shortly after obliged to enter into a capitulation, and to evacuate the settlement on honourable terms.—*Memoirs of Veitch and Bryson, published by Dr M'Crie*, p. 236, 241; *Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland*, 1700, p. 12; *Edinburgh Christian Instructer*, 1819, p. 478. Mr Shields died at Kingston, Jamaica, June 14. 1700, we presume on his way home.

[1] Report to the General Assembly by the Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1825; Duff's India and Indian Missions, p. 481.

Calcutta, but the ship in which he sailed was wrecked off Dassen Island, near the Cape of Good Hope, and though not a life was lost, nor any personal injury sustained by any of the passengers or crew, yet most of them lost much valuable property. Having sailed again in another ship from Cape Town, he and Mrs Duff, after encountering a tremendous gale off the Mauritius, and being overtaken by a hurricane at the mouth of the Ganges, reached Calcutta in safety.[1]

In August 1830, Mr Duff opened a school in Calcutta, and in the course of a few days upwards of two hundred pupils were received into it, many of whom were Brahmans, and a considerable number from sixteen to twenty years of age. The school grew up in the course of few years to be a most important and extensive institution. It consisted of two departments, the one preparatory, the other of a higher or collegiate order. The object of the former was to initiate the boys into the elements of English grammar, history, chronology, geography, arithmetic, and geometry, in conjunction with instruction in the principles of the Christian faith. The object of the latter was to perfect their acquaintance with the branches of knowledge previously acquired, and to embrace, more or less extensively as circumstances would admit, the various higher departments of literature, science, and Christian theology, including systematic divinity, church history, and the original languages of the Old and New Testaments.

It was in every sense of the word an *English* institution. Though the vernacular languages of India are alone available for imparting an elementary education to the mass of the population, these languages did not afford at present either an adequate medium or adequate materials for communicating a knowledge of the more advanced departments of literature, science, and theology. Such a medium, however, was found in the English language. Much attention was accordingly given to the teaching of this language, which when once acquired became the grand medium of instruction in the higher branches of learning. This was greatly facilitated by the extreme anxiety which had arisen among a large and influential portion of

[1] Duff's India, p. 490, 495; Duff's Letter respecting the Wreck of the Lady Holland, East Indiaman, p. 5, 16.

the Hindus to acquire a knowledge of the English language, and numbers had already so far mastered it as to converse in it, and to write it with considerable propriety. But though it was in its general character an English institution, attention was also paid to the vernacular languages with the view of perfecting the scholars in the knowledge of their mother tongue, though great difficulties were experienced in this department of the system, from the want of well-qualified masters and suitable books.

Many and great were the benefits which were anticipated from this institution. By the acquisition of the English language, by the numerous Hindu youths attending it, the whole circle of European literature and science was at once thrown open to them, and they became qualified to read the Old and New Testaments in the English version, and to peruse works on the evidences and doctrines of natural and revealed religion in the words of the original authors. This was to furnish them with the key of knowledge, literary, scientific, and religious,—of knowledge which, in point of quantity and quality, the books written in all other languages, living and dead, could not collectively supply.

It is well known that the books which the Hindus hold as sacred, contain a system of philosophy as well as a system of religion, that the two are inseparably connected and blended together, that they claim the same divine origin, plead the same infallible authority, and must, by consequence, stand or fall together. The range of argument by which their religious system may be overturned, was in this way vastly extended to Christian missionaries, who were able duly to avail themselves of that light which scientific research had cast upon the visible frame of the universe, and on other important branches of human inquiry. To the science of astronomy, in particular, they were indebted for the means of subverting the foundations of their religion. The microscope, as well as the telescope, geography, and geology, and even metaphysics, lent in this way important aid. Thus the communication of European science and literature, while it demolished their false systems of philosophy, contributed also to undermine and destroy the whole fabric of their religion. It was hoped that there would,

in this way, be raised up a body of educated natives, from whom, even in the secular offices and relations of life, there would emanate such healthful influences as could scarcely fail to produce powerful and salutary impressions on the rest of the population.

But the grand and distinguishing object of the institution, was not simply the overthrow of Hinduism in individual minds and their conversion to Christianity; its great and ultimate design was to rear up a body of well-disciplined Christian teachers, who should diffuse the blessings of a wholesome education throughout the land, and in an especial manner to train up a body of well-qualified missionaries who, from being natives of the country, and naturalized to the climate, and from their knowledge of the vernacular languages, and of the manners, customs, opinions, prejudices, and feelings of their countrymen, might be expected to labour in making known the gospel among them, with a power and an effect which European missionaries could not be supposed ever to attain.

In June 1831, the Rev. William S. Mackay sailed for India as second master of the institution; and he was followed in subsequent years by the Rev. David Ewart, John Macdonald, and Thomas Smith, all of whom took part with Mr Duff in superintending or carrying on the various classes in the institution. The mode of instruction employed from the beginning was what was termed the interrogatory or intellectual system, in opposition to the old, dull, mechanical way of teaching. The instruction of the junior classes was conducted chiefly by the more advanced students in the higher or collegiate department, who were thus gradually initiated into the principles and practice of the most improved modes of tuition, while their own stores of knowledge were increased and rendered more correct and familiar to their minds by the reiterated acts of imparting to others what they had themselves learned. As a further means of quickening the apprehension, fixing the attention, improving the memory, creating the habit of forming clear and distinct ideas, and cultivating the power and facility of expression, the pupils of the higher classes were constantly made to interrogate each other, in orderly succession, on any of the subjects of previous study. But no mere description can convey

an adequate idea of the varied modes and details of the system of tuition. To be at all understood, it was necessary to witness them in actual operation. To the institution there was attached a library of several thousand volumes, and an extensive philosophical apparatus.[1]

Though the education of the young held the primary place, yet in the original scheme of the mission, oral instruction also formed part of the plan. It was accordingly not long before Mr Duff made a commencement of labours of this kind. Considerable numbers of the youth belonging to the higher classes of society in Calcutta had of late years received an English education, particularly in the Hindu College, where they acquired an extensive knowledge of European literature and science; and several of the more advanced boys had of late begun to express their opinions with great freedom and boldness on all manner of subjects, particularly on that of religion. The most glowing harangues were made by them at their debating clubs, in which they denounced and ridiculed the Hindu religion as vile and corrupt, and unworthy of the regard of rational beings. Some actually refused to be invested with the Brahmanical Poito, or sacred thread; others, when enjoined to recite *Muntras* or prayers, used to repeat lines which they had learned out of the Iliad. Some of the parents alarmed at such results, withdrew their children from the college; and the managers, who consisted partly of natives of the higher class, and partly of European gentlemen, issued orders to the teachers to abstain from all communication with the boys on the subject of the Hindu religion. Some of the friends of Christianity, however, now resolved to try and give a healthy direction to the newly awakened intellect of these Hindu youths. Happily the greater part of them made it their profession and their boast that they were free inquirers after truth; and on its being urged on them that they ought not to reject Christianity without giving, at least, a candid hearing to its claims, a goodly number of them agreed to attend a short course of lectures on natural and re-

[1] Missionary Record for the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 367; Report to the General Assembly by the Committee, 1831, p. 2; Representation of the Committee to Congregations, 1832, p. 1, 3; Duff's India, p. 528, 588; Duff's Missionary Addresses, p. 42.

vealed religion in the English language, designed expressly for educated natives. Mr Duff, who had but newly arrived in the country, undertook to deliver one of these lectures; the others were to be given by Mr Adam and Mr Hill, of the London Missionary Society, and Mr Dealtry, then one of the chaplains of the East India Company, afterwards bishop of Madras. The lecturers were to be allowed to finish their lectures without interruption, but the hearers were afterwards to have the most unrestricted liberty in starting objections, and in asking the lecturers questions as to any of the points discussed by them. On the delivery, however, of the introductory lecture by Mr Hill, there was a violent commotion among the native community. Some of the parents lodged complaints with the college managers; and they—instead of taking the ground which they ought, that their authority did not extend beyond the walls of the institution, that they had neither the right nor the power to interfere with the way in which the pupils might dispose of their leisure hours, and that all such private oversight must devolve wholly on their parents and guardians—issued the following intolerant order:—"The managers of the Anglo-Indian College having heard that several of the students are in the habit of attending societies, at which political and religious discussions are held, think it necessary to announce their strong disapprobation of the practice, and to prohibit its continuance. Any student being present at such a society after the promulgation of this order, will incur their serious displeasure." Immediately on the issuing of this ill-considered order, the lecturers made a public announcement of the necessity under which they felt themselves of discontinuing, at least for a time, the delivery of the intended course of lectures.

This order called forth the indignant condemnation of the English journals in Calcutta; and the public voice so far prevailed, that a few months afterwards, the managers passed a resolution that they had "not the power nor the right to enforce the prohibition of the boys attending private lectures or meetings." The spirit of discussion was now awakened among the better educated youths of Calcutta; and it found vent in debating societies, and in the periodical press, in which, under

the garb of literary and philosophical discussions, they might give free utterance to all the sentiments of their hearts.[1]

After some time Mr Duff, who had in the mean while held considerable intercourse with numbers of the young men, re-

[1] Up to the time of issuing the prohibitory enactment, there existed among the new race of *Illuminati* only one society for literary investigations, and it had been instituted chiefly through the influence, and continued through the encouragement and presence, of a few European gentlemen, who took a warm interest in the illumination of the native mind. But now new societies started up quite independent of European influence in every part of the native city. There was not an evening in the week in which one, two, or more of these societies were not held; and each individual was generally enrolled a member of several. Indeed, the spirit of discussion became a perfect mania; yet there was often in it something singularly interesting. To a British-born subject, the free use in debate of the English language by these bronze-coloured children of the East, on their own soil, and at some thousand miles distance from the British shores, presented something indescribably novel, and even affecting; nor was the effect at all diminished, when, ever and anon, after the fashion of public speakers in our own country, they fortified their statements by quotations from English authors. If the subject was historical, Robertson and Gibbon were perhaps appealed to; if political, Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham; if scientific, Newton and Davy; if metaphysical, Locke and Reid, Dugald Stewart and Brown; if religious, Hume and Paine. The whole was frequently interspersed and enlivened by passages cited from some of our most popular English poets, particularly Byron and Sir Walter Scott. "And more than once," says Dr Duff, "were my ears greeted with the sound of Scottish rhymes from the poems of Robert Burns. It would not be possible to portray the effect produced on the mind of a Scotsman, when, on the banks of the Ganges, one of the sons of Brahma, on reviewing the unnatural institution of caste in alienating man from man, and in looking forward to the period in which knowledge, by its transforming power, would make the lowest type of man feel itself to be of the same species as the highest, suddenly give utterance, in an apparent ecstasy of delight, to these characteristic lines:—

'For a' that and a' that,
It's comin' yet, for a' that,
That man to man, the world o'er,
Shall brothers be for a' that.'"

Nevertheless, from the entire want of Christian instruction, it was melancholy to observe the dreary wanderings of the educated natives on the subject of religion. Here, their great authorities, as already noticed, were Hume's Essays and Paine's Age of Reason. With copies of the latter, in particular, they were abundantly supplied. Some unprincipled American bookseller, basely taking advantage of the reported infidel leanings of a new race of men in the East, despatched to Calcutta an impression of that work to the extent of a thousand copies, which was at first sold at the rate of one rupi a copy; but such was the demand that the price soon rose, and after a few months it was actually quadrupled. Besides the separate copies of the Age of Reason, there was also a cheap American edition, in one thick volume octavo, of all Paine's works, including the Rights of Man, and other minor pieces, political and theological.

Previous to the issuing of the order to which we have referred, there in like manner existed in Calcutta only two newspapers in the Bengali language, the Chundrika, and the Cowmudi; but now the burst of desire for unrestrained freedom of utterance through the press, seemed to exceed, if possible, the raging mania for oral discussions;

newed the attempt to deliver lectures to them on the evidences and doctrines of natural and revealed religion. They were attended on an average by from forty to sixty professed inquirers after truth. As a result of these lectures, three of the young men who attended them made, after some time, a profession of Christianity, and were received into the church by baptism.[1] There were others of the young men who had heard the lectures who were now in various states of belief or disbelief, as regarded the evidences of Christianity and its doctrines; and with a view to them, Mr Duff adopted other means of instruction suited to their various states of mind, partly in the way of private classes, and partly of public lectures, addresses, and discussions.[2]

But though Mr Duff engaged in such occasional labours as this, the interest and energies of his mind were concentrated in the Institution as the great means of promoting Christianity in India. This was the one grand pervading idea of his mind. His enthusiasm on the subject he communicated to his col-

and there suddenly appeared a thick crop of ephemeral publications in the form of newspapers; but as they sprung up in number and rapidity like mushrooms, most of them were about equally as short lived. Out of the general agitation, there at last arose in close succession three journals decidedly superior to the rest in ability, matter, and execution, *The Reformer*, *The Enquirer*, and *The Gyananeshun*, the two former in English, the last in Bengali, but all of them conducted by native editors. The attacks by *The Enquirer* and *The Gyananeshun* on the monstrous system of Hinduism were bold, unsparing, and destructive. Their ridicule was in general well-pointed; their satire and sarcasms most cutting; their arguments aptly chosen to convince the understandings of their countrymen. Onwards they rushed in their wild career, like an overflowing torrent, carrying destruction wherever it swept—hurling in indiscriminate confusion the defences and refuges of a tyrannical priesthood, and the towers and bulwarks of *all* religions into its eddying waters. But after the first paroxysm of indignation had exhausted itself in unmeasured utterance, the rage of destructiveness somewhat abated, and they gradually returned to a channel of thought and expression more regularly marked by the bounds of reason and sobriety.—*Duff's India*, p. 614.

[1] One of these young men, Krishna Mohan Banerji, was a Kulin Brahman, and was well known for his talents and acquirements, and particularly for the ability with which he conducted the English newspaper entitled *The Enquirer*. He was afterwards ordained by the Bishop of Calcutta, became minister of a handsome church which was built for him in that city, and was subsequently appointed one of the professors in Bishops' College. He was the author, editor, or translator of various works, both in English and Bengali.—*Miss. Rec.* vol. i. p. 256; *Summary of Orient. Christ. Spect.* vol. iii. p. 91.

[2] Duff's India, p. 608, 613, 617, 627, 632, 649, 652, 657, 660, 666; Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. i. p. 368; Cal. Christ. Observ. vol. i. p. 124, 127.

leagues, and under their united labours, the institution attained a pre-eminent degree of excellence. The number of pupils had now greatly increased, and they continued to increase until they at length amounted to upwards of 900, of different castes, not excepting the highest, and of all ages from five or six years to twenty and upwards. The course of education pursued in it was of a comprehensive and high order. The object was the cultivation of the mental faculties of the pupils, as well as the communication to them in a digested form of a wide range of sound general knowledge, and especially of the principles of evangelical truth. The institution commanded general admiration. Persons of the highest rank in the country, Europeans and natives, men of every variety and shade of opinion, political and religious, visited it and attended its annual examinations, and expressed in the highest terms their approbation of it. Visitors were particularly struck with the thorough knowledge and understanding which the pupils had of the subjects in which they had been instructed: they had not only a knowledge of them, but they were themselves taught to think concerning them. Their acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures and with the evidences and doctrines of Christianity, was particularly remarkable. The whole course of education in the institution, even the literary and scientific parts of it, were brought to have a bearing on their religious improvement. The Rev. Mr Malcolm, who was sent by the American Baptist General Convention to visit its missions in Burmah, aad who also visited various other missionary stations in the East, particularly in India, gives the following account of it: "I examined several classes in ancient and modern history, mathematics, astronomy, and Christianity, and have never met classes shewing a more thorough knowledge of the books they had studied. Nearly all of the two upper classes are convinced of the truth of the gospel, and went over the leading evidences in a manner that I am sure few professors of religion in our country can do." It was originally doubtful whether Hindus would allow their children to attend an institution, which in its whole bearing was of so Christian a character; but the high education given in it made them not only willing but anxious to get their sons ad-

mitted into it. Nothing could be more complete than the triumph of the institution over the prejudices of the natives.[1]

So highly did the institution in Calcutta approve itself even to Hindus, that an academy conducted on the same principles and in a similar manner was early established by Mr Duff at Taki, a place about forty-five miles to the east of that city, by the request of the Roy Chaudris, one of the wealthiest and most ancient Zemindar families in Bengal, who bound themselves by a legal deed to provide in perpetuity for it, to finish the necessary buildings, and to pay the chief part of the expense of the institution, which amounted to between £200 and £300 a year; while yet they renounced all right on their part to interfere with its management or internal discipline, and agreed that the appointment of masters and the general superintendence of all the departments of education should be vested in Mr Duff and his successors, as chief agent or agents of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and that the system of tuition and school-books used in it should in all time coming be exactly the same as in the Assembly's Institution, Calcutta. The academy at Taki was for a number of years eminently successful; but after the death of Kalinath, the head Zemindar, his successors did not take the same warm interest in it as he had done, yet in spite of their lukewarmness, the work of native education continued to advance.[2]

Two of the converts were also sent to occupy a station at a place called Ghospara, about thirty miles north of Calcutta, among the Khurta Bhoja sect. Here a school was opened.[3]

In August 1835, the Rev. James Mitchell, Robert Nesbit, and John Wilson, missionaries of the Scottish Missionary Society in the Bombay Presidency, were, as we have already mentioned, transferred to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. The mission consisted properly of two stations, Bombay and Puna; in the Koncan, where there were formerly stations at Bankot and Hurni, there were now merely some schools

[1] Duff's India, p. 580; Miss. Rec. vol. i. p. 317, 328, 369; vol. ii. p. 128, 223, 238; For. Miss. Chron. of the Board of For. Miss. of Presbyterian Church, United States, vol. ix. p. 215; Malcolm's Travels in South-Eastern Asia, vol. ii. p. 15.

[2] Miss. Rec. 1838, p. 82, 109; vol. ii. p. 266.

[3] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 264; vol. iii. p. 78.

which were superintended by a European assistant. Soon after the transfer, an English school, which had previously been established in connection with the station in Bombay for the children of the higher class of the natives, was, agreeably to the wish of the Assembly's Committee in regard to the establishment of an institution similar to that at Calcutta, extended and was removed to the Fort, the situation the most convenient for a large portion of that class of the population. The scholars speedily amounted to upwards of 200. They consisted not only of different classes of Hindus, but of Parsis, Jainas, Mahomedans, Jews, and Christians; and their association together, independently of the literary and religious instruction which they received, would, it was hoped, have a salutary influence in weakening the prejudices of caste which form so great an obstacle to the spread of Christianity in India. The general aspect of the school from the varied colour of the scholars, and their diversified costume, was very striking and picturesque. Here were youths from Persia, from Muscat, from Zanzibar, from Abyssinia, from Cabul, from the Delta of the Indus to Cape Comorin, all apparently thirsting for mental improvement, if one might judge from their proficiency in their studies. An English school was also begun at Puna; but though the stations in the Bombay Presidency were, in this respect, so far assimilated to the Assembly's mission in Calcutta, the missionaries never adopted entirely the one grand idea on which it was founded; but continued to prosecute their labours in the various ways in which they had carried them on while they were connected with the Scottish Missionary Society.[1]

In February 1837, the Rev. John Anderson arrived at Madras with the view of commencing a station at that presidency, and he was afterwards joined by the Rev. Robert Johnston and John Braidwood. Previous to this, a seminary had been opened in Madras on the same plan as that at Calcutta, and the attendance on it was now greatly increased. All the pupils paid a fee and purchased the necessary books, one of which was a Bible for all those who could read it with tolerable ease. Besides the institution in Madras, branch-seminaries were established at Tripli-

[1] Scot. Miss. Reg. 1836, p. 254; Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. iii. p. 198; vol. iv. p. 251; vol. x. p. 5.

cane, Nellore, Conjeveram, and Chingleput, under the charge of natives educated in that of the presidency.[1] The Assembly had thus missions at all the three presidencies in India. The institutions at Madras and Bombay were not furnished with the same amount of instrumentality as that at Calcutta, nor were the numbers of the pupils by any means so great; but the education communicated in all of them was of so high and efficient an order, that it would be difficult to form a comparative estimate of them, or to name one that was superior to the others. Each had probably its peculiar excellencies; but to strike the balance between them, is a task which we feel ourselves unable, and which it would be invidious, to perform.

Of the youths educated in the institutions at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, there were from time to time individuals who professed to renounce the religion of their fathers and to embrace the gospel of Christ, and who were received by baptism into the Christian church. In other missions, converts were, for the most part, adults who could act independently for themselves: in the Assembly's missions, particularly those in Calcutta and Madras, they were commonly youths who still lived in their parents' houses and were more or less dependent upon them and under their control. Their peculiar circumstances in this respect, proved, in many cases, a source of great difficulties and trials, both to themselves and to the missionaries. When pupils in the institutions were suspected of being favourably disposed to Christianity, they were frequently withdrawn from them. In some instances, they were carried off into the country and there closely confined; sometimes they were even chained and severely flogged or beaten. In many cases they took refuge in the houses of the missionaries, who while they gladly received them, gave them distinctly to understand that they were under no restraint, but were at perfect liberty to go away if they chose. Here they were frequently visited by their fathers, mothers, brothers, and other friends, who employed all manner of means,—artifice, argument, entreaties, tears, allurements, taunts, reproaches, promises, threatenings, curses, to induce them to go with them. On these occasions, there were some-

[1] Scot. Miss. Reg. 1836, p. 24; Miss. Rec. 1838, p. 17; vol. i. p. 341; Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. xi. p. 127.

times manifestations of natural feeling on the part of the relations, particularly of the mothers, which were truly tender and touching, and which were well calculated to work on the susceptible minds of youth. In some instances, the youths were overcome, and were prevailed on to go with their friends, and though it was commonly under a promise to return, it was seldom that such promises were fulfilled. In other cases, attempts were made to seize them and to carry them off by main force; the excitement was communicated to the populace, mobs were collected, and the police had to be called in for their protection. Legal proceedings were, in various instances, adopted against the missionaries, sometimes on the ground that they were under age, sometimes that they were detained contrary to their will; but the former plea was commonly a deception, and the latter a lie, and the decision of the judges was, with scarcely an exception, in favour of the missionaries and their converts. One frequent result, however, of the baptism of pupils in the institutions, was the withdrawal or the driving away of great numbers of the scholars, amounting in some cases almost to the breaking up of the schools for a time; but it was commonly not long before they rallied again and were as numerously attended as before. On one occasion, a large meeting of Hindus was held in Calcutta, consisting of a curious and motley collection of every caste and every creed, who, though differing widely among themselves, were united in their opposition to Christianity, with the view of checking missionary proselytism in Bengal; and at this meeting it was resolved, that a society should be formed named the Hindu Society, and that, in the first instance, each of the heads of castes, sects, and parties in Calcutta, whether orthodox or heterodox, should as members of this society sign a covenant, binding him to take strenuous measures to prevent any person belonging to his caste, sect, or party, from sending his son or ward to any of the missionary institutions in that city, on pain of excommunication from his caste, sect, or party; and it was further resolved to establish a seminary on orthodox principles, which should possess still greater attractions than the missionary schools. But the native gentlemen who had taken part in this meeting soon discovered that they had gone too far; that though they were at liberty to bind themselves

by any resolution they pleased, they had no right to compel others to adopt their views, much less to visit them with the heaviest punishment which can be inflicted on a Hindu, for what in reality is no offence at all, the Shastras not having pronounced attendance on a missionary school to be any infringement of the laws of caste, and consequently if any Hindu was deprived of the privileges of caste for sending his son to such a school, he might, if so inclined, obtain redress in the courts of law. Indeed, experience has often shewn that the Hindus though they may promise mighty efforts, yet after the first burst of enthusiasm is over, they uniformly relapse into their wonted state of apathy and inactivity. The original subscription fell far short of what was contemplated, and afterwards the monthly contributions dwindled away from time to time, until they ceased nearly altogether. The great paroxysm was followed by a perfect collapse. It is, however, only fair to state, that the more enlightened and respectable portion of the Hindu community had nothing to do with this movement. It was chiefly the work of some bigoted, unprincipled, though wealthy Babus, whose hostility to the cause of native improvement had gained them an unenviable notoriety in Calcutta. In Bombay, in like manner, after the baptism of two Parsi youths,[1] all the

[1] We have no doubt that strange stories regarding converts are often circulated among their heathen countrymen. Of this we have a striking example in the following account of these two Parsi youths which appeared in the *Durbin*, (Telescope), a newspaper in the Gujarati language, published in Bombay: "Every one must be aware that for some time past, there has been in the English bazaar of the fort, the General Assembly's school, under the superintendence of the Rev. Dr Wilson. After obtaining information of the object for which that school was established, we, in our paper of the 25th July 1838, after intimating several things said, 'By this school, things unheard of will come to hearing; and things which have been unseen will come to sight. The Europeans around, the supporters of such establishments, will be honoured, and the natives will suffer disgrace.' What was said by us, has now turned out to be true, and things unheard of have come to hearing, and things unseen have come to sight, and Dr Wilson has obtained the gratification of his desires; and after alluring several into his snare, has in the end deceived two outright. On last Wednesday, Dr Wilson baptized and made a Christian of one of them, a Parsi named Dhanjibhai Nauroji, and he is going to make Ji Pestanji this evening. How these boys have become Christians, we thus know. At first, Dr Wilson made these people learn the Christian religion; and after having given them several good lessons on that religion, he began to be very affectionate to four or five such boys, and *took to giving them bribes of money*. For several days, up to this time, Dr Wilson went from this place to travel, and took the said Dhanji with him in his travels. They say that *a*

Parsi boys in the Assembly's and other missionary schools were withdrawn, and a decree was passed by the Panchayet forbidding any parent or guardian, under pain of outlawry from the Parsi religion and society, to send a child to any educational

*ghost appeared to Dr Wilson and Dhanji in their travels one night,* and that at that time Dr Wilson *uttered some prayer through which the ghost took flight,* and that Dr Wilson himself shewed this miracle. After this, Dr Wilson, by thousands of kindnesses, used to be very affectionate to this Dhanji and other boys, and used to invite them to his residence every evening, at which times they used to hire a carriage, the expense of which was at all times defrayed by Dr Wilson. And in several other instances besides these, either *by giving them bribes of money, or other bribes,* he made them confess that the Christian religion was true. *Another bribe must have been to give them Christian wives.* And this English priest *must* certainly have promised to give that, for these boys *must* have determined to leave their families, and, what is of far more importance, their wives, and *therefore this priest must positively have promised to give them women.* And by means of such bribes, this padre has taught these silly boys a number of very unholy, foolish, and false questions, which he himself is in the habit of asking, about the sacred, pure, and holy Parsi religion, with which he is perversely acquainted; and probably on this account, *in the expectation of a bribe, of a splendid dwelling instead of their own plain one, of sufficient money, of eating and drinking, of dress, of moving about, and,* as was stated above, *of Christian women,* these boys have treasured up those questions, and *promised to ask them of any Parsi who may go to visit them.* And they have promised more than this: they have been made to confess that the Zoroastrian religion is false, and, shocking to relate, that Zoroaster was a rogue, and that the Christian religion is true. At the time that Dhanji was baptized, the weak simpleton, in the presence of all, read a paper in which all the above-mentioned things were communicated, and afterward drew from his pocket his kusti (sacred girdle) and threw it away; and the padre, according to the ordinances of Christianity, poured water upon his head. *At that time, all who were standing in that place observed,*—what? *That as Dhanji took off his kusti, and bowed his head to receive the water, and two drops of it touched his head, the glorious splendour of the blessed Zarthosht (Zoroaster) flew away from his countenance, and primeval darkness began to develope itself in his face.* On that occasion, several Parsis sighed at what he had done. And lamentable is it to think that he should forsake his great, sacred, holy, ancient, and just religion, and embrace a false, trifling, impure, and unjust religion!

"Now, we declare to all Hindus, Mussulmans, and others of this place, that these two boys who have become Christians, are, to all intents and purposes, unacquainted with their own religion, and are also young in years, and one of them, Dhanji, who was baptized last Wednesday, is altogether clownish and ignorant of the Zoroastrian religion. Moreover, he is a country villager, from which circumstance he is utterly ignorant of the nice points of that religion's observances; in like manner the other boy knows nothing at all of the mandates of religion. But, behold another padre, equal to the converter of these boys, and who like him used to shew the way of Christianity to all, used to wish that all might become Christians, and used to think that Christianity was excellent and true. One day a wrangling took place between this padre and a Mussulman, and when it had proceeded to a great height, these two brethren struck hands, and agreed, that whichever of them should fail in argument should forsake his own religion, and embrace that of his opponent. After confirming the agreement to forsake their respective religions, they put themselves in opposition, sat down, and commenced the debate. In the issue the padre failed, and forsaking Chris-

establishment with which missionaries were connected, or where the Bible was read. A memorial, to which was appended 2115 names, not only Parsis but Hindus and Mahomedans (for they also were prevailed on to join in the league), was presented to the governor in council at Bombay, soliciting him to request the supreme government to impose most intolerant restrictions on missionaries, and most iniquitous disabilities on converts; but neither the Bombay government nor the governor-general in council gave them any countenance in their unreasonable and unjust demands. An appeal which was made to England also fell to the ground, from the belief of the friends and agents of the Parsis in this country, that no good would result from the further agitation of the subject, and that reproach and obloquy were likely to be the only reward of its promoters.[1]

In May 1843 took place the great Disruption of the Church of Scotland, when between four and five hundred of the ministers and a large body of the elders withdrew from it, and formed a separate communion under the name of the Free Church of Scotland. The whole of the missionaries in India joined with them in their secession, and placed themselves in connection

tianity confessed Islamism. Now, observe, if the Christian religion be true, why did the padre forsake it, as if knowing it to be false? This matter is not one of remote occurrence, but has taken place within these last four or five years. And the Mussulmans have not concealed the matter, but have published a tract, containing a full account of the circumstance, entitled "Nazareanism overturned." If Christianity be true, why then did that padre forsake it? Why, on becoming a Mussulman, did he in the presence of an assembly, declare that the Christian religion is false and the Mahomedan true? Now, observe the age of that padre, what his understanding, and the knowledge of these simple children! These people became covetous of money, and in its expectation became intoxicated. They consequently retained no regard for religion, and set their weak understandings to work. As it is said by a poet, "drink now a cup of the wine of pleasure, and forget religion, and the pains of the world." Thus have these children done. Very likely, Dr Wilson will say, that when the relatives of these boys came to call them home, they offered Dhanji ten thousand rupis, but that, notwithstanding, he would not go; but a mere suckling would understand such a false story as that, and what there is in it above the understanding of these people; therefore, they flatly refused to go."—*Orient. Christ. Spect.* vol. x. p. 339.

[1] Miss. Rec. vol. i. p. 89, 386, 399, 411; vol. ii. p. 17, 39, 116, 140, 152; vol. iv. p. 3, 15, 50, 93, 159, 175, 194; vol. vi. p. 47; Free Ch. Miss. Rec. vol. i. p. 90, 548, 551; vol. ii. p. 169, 173, 176, 199, 215; vol. iii. p. 160, 289, 327, 344; vol. i. (New Series), p. 81; (Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xlvi. p. 45; Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. viii. p. 166; vol. x. p. 209, 275; vol. xi. p. 6, 11, 12, 85, 202; Sum. Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. i. p. 129; vol. ii. p. 316; vol. iii. p. 7; Wilson's Parsi Religion, p. 93.

with the Free Church; but the Established Church retained possession of the buildings, which had been erected at a great expense, in Calcutta and Bombay, for the use of the missions, and the valuable libraries and philosophical apparatus, and also the whole of the funds which were then on hand. It was some time, however, before the Assembly was able to send out other missionaries, but this also was at length accomplished.[1]

In 1845, the Rev. William Grant and James Ogilvie, and Mr James Sherriff, teacher, arrived at Madras; the Rev. John H. Mengert and Mr John F. Brandt, two Germans, and Mr John Millar, teacher, at Bombay; and the Rev. J. C. Herdman at Calcutta. The institutions at all the three presidencies were now re-established on the same principles on which they were conducted before. They were numerously attended, particularly that at Calcutta,[2] and appear to have been carried on in a very efficient and successful manner. The whole instrumentality of the mission was, after some time, in operation, the female schools, including Refuges for orphans, the station at Ghospara, and lectures in Calcutta on the subject of religion, which were attended chiefly by young men from the Hindu college and other educational institutions.[3] It is gratifying to see the zeal, the ability, and the diligence with which the Assembly's missionaries from Scotland carried on their labours, and though their success has not been great as regards the conversion of Hindus to the Christian faith, we trust that the high order of education which they are giving in their institution is, along with the other powerful agencies which are at work in India, undermining the Hindu system in the minds of many of its votaries, and preparing the way for the future progress of the gospel in that country.

When it was proposed to establish an institution of a high order in Calcutta, it was probably expected that it would be attended by the children of the more respectable classes of Hindus, and that the education of such children would be likely to have

[1] Miss. Rec. vol. ii. p. 329, 331, 425, 456; vol. iii. p. 30.

[2] In 1852, the daily attendance on the Institution at Calcutta varied from 1020 to 1070. The whole number on the roll during the year was 1430, including 295 Brahmans, 412 Kayasthas, 652 of other castes, and 71 Mahomedans.—*Miss. Rec. Ch. of Scot.* vol. viii. p. 125.

[3] Miss. Rec. vol. iii. p. 15, 46, 63, 78, 113, 146, 224, 239, 254; vol. vi. p. 46, 264.

a more powerful and extensive influence on the community than the education of an equal or even a greater number of the children of the lower classes. If such views were entertained they were not realized. The classes of society from which the pupils in the Calcutta institution came, were for the most part poor. Those parents who were able to afford the expense, generally sent their sons to the Hindu college, or to other schools which were established in various parts of the city for teaching English. The number of such schools was considerable, and in some of them a good English education could be obtained. The cause of secular education was advancing rapidly in Calcutta; and boys might be heard reading accurately and intelligently such books as Shakspeare, Pope's Homer, Dryden's Virgil, and Bacon's Essays.[1]

[1] Miss. Rec. vol. iv. p. 239.

Many we apprehend attach an undue importance to the evangelization of the higher and richer classes of society, as compared with the lower, under the idea of the greater influence which they may be expected to exercise on the rest of the community. This, however, was plainly not the system on which God proceeded in the original propagation of Christianity in the world; (See Matt. xi. 5; 1 Corinth. i. 26–29; James ii. 5); and we doubt not that here, as in other cases, it will be found that "the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men." Though the higher classes of society will often be found more capable of apprehending the truths of religion than the lower and uneducated classes, yet we are to recollect what strong representations our Lord gives of the difficulty of "rich men entering into the kingdom of God." On the other hand, the poor form the *great mass* of every community; they therefore deserve special attention; and it must be of peculiar importance to introduce among them the *leaven* of divine truth.

In regard to India, there is probably much truth in the following observations of Dr Wilson of Bombay: "It is a great and grievous mistake which some make, when in such a country as India, they measure the amount of moral and intellectual influence by the social *status* in caste of those who are instructed. Caste there seems to pride itself *in withholding the communication of good* from those who are below. The Brahmans, for example, who are the highest caste in the country, have all along striven to monopolize knowledge. The correction of the errors and the removal of the ignorance of the vulgar form no part of their employment. Each of the castes below them, in its turn, disparages and depresses those of inferior grade. But move the *foundations* of society, and you shake the whole fabric. Instruct the lower classes of the people, and the upper, if they do not learn from mere shame, will soon change places with those whom they have been accustomed to reckon inferiors."—*Wilson's Evangelization of India*, p. 444.

We must not, however, be understood as undervaluing the conversion of persons belonging to the higher classes of society. To do so would be neither scriptural nor rational. All classes have their own appropriate influence. We merely mean to correct the common and vulgar error of overestimating the importance of evangelizing the richer classes of society as compared with the poor.

# CHAPTER XVI.

## PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

### INDIA.

In May 1843 took place, as we have already mentioned, the great Disruption of the Church of Scotland, when a large body of the ministers and elders withdrew from it, and formed a separate communion under the designation of the Free Church of Scotland. The whole of the missionaries in India joined them in their secession, and though they were subjected, particularly at Calcutta, to great loss and inconvenience, in consequence of their being deprived of the mission-buildings, libraries, and philosophical apparatus, belonging to the mission, yet other premises were after some time provided for them, and also the various other means necessary for carrying on the several institutions. Funds also in aid of the mission came in most liberally, both in Scotland and in India.[1]

When the Calcutta institution was re-opened in the new premises after the ordinary vacation, the number of pupils was larger than ever, and the whole operations went on with the same regularity and efficiency as if nothing had happened. The school at Taki, which was supported chiefly by the Roy Chaudris, was removed to Baranagur, a populous village on the banks of the Hugli, a few miles above Calcutta, where the Babus had one of their principal family mansions. The proposal for removing it came from themselves; the chief reason was the great unhealthiness of Taki. Baranagur, however, was relinquished a few years afterwards, for what reasons we do not know. But

[1] Home and Foreign Missionary Record for the Free Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 38, 64, 72, 134, 178, 180.

flourishing schools were established at three other places, Chinsurah, Bansberia, and Culna. These schools were all of a superior class, being formed on the model of the Calcutta institution, though they were of course not equal to it.[1]

The institutions at Madras, Bombay, and Puna, and the various schools connected with these stations, including those for girls, were carried on as formerly and with similar results.

In February 1845, the Rev. S. Hislop commenced a new station at Nagpur, the capital of an independent native prince in the centre of India, an officer in the East India Company's service having offered the sum of £2500 towards the establishment of a mission in that part of the country. Here he found already in the field three pious laymen, the surviving members of the German mission among the Gonds, who had resided in the neighbourhood of Nagpur since they left the forests in the interior, and who were now received into the service of the General Assembly of the Free Church. The Rev. Robert Hunter having also arrived in the country, a second station was begun at Kampti, the British cantonment in the territories of the Rajah of Nagpur, about ten miles from his capital.[2]

In our last chapter we gave some account of the hostility which was manifested in various ways to the institutions and the converts of the Church of Scotland. That account is equally applicable to those of the Free Church, and to enter into particular details regarding the opposition which its institutions and converts met with, would only be to repeat the same or similar facts. We may, however, notice an attempt which was made to establish in Calcutta a rival institution in special and direct opposition to that of the Free Church, that of the Church of Scotland not having then been re-established.

Several young Hindus having of late embraced Christianity, there arose a great commotion among all classes of the natives in Calcutta. Meetings were held of the Rajahs, Zemindars, Babus, Brahmans, and other men of note among them. Previously the native community was split up into various sects and

[1] Free Ch. Miss. Rec. vol. i. p. 179, 198; vol. ii. p. 5; vol. iii. p. 489; vol. iv. p. 238; vol, i. (New Series), p. 398.

[2] Free Ch. Miss. Rec. vol. i. p. 178; vol. ii. p. 151.

parties, as hostile to each other as any one of them could well be to Christians, but the cry of common danger inspired them all for a time with a wondrous spirit of coalescence and harmony. There were the stiff and inflexible members of the *Dharma Sabha*, the rigid upholders of polytheism and idolatry in their most obnoxious forms, the pleaders for infanticide and the Ghaut-murders, the burning of widows, and numerous other atrocities perpetrated under the venerable but insulted name of religion; the professedly theistic but really pantheistic members of the *Brahma Sabha*, founded by the late celebrated rajah Rammohun Roy, who in theory boast of abjuring polytheism and idolatry, but in practice find it convenient to connive at or even practise both; the avowedly more enlightened members of the *Tattivabodhini Sabha*, who, in nominally upholding the old vedantism or pantheism of the Hindu shastras, are secretly seeking, in many ways, to improve and refine upon it by largely ingrafting, without acknowledgment, many better and useful shoots from the more sound and rational systems of natural theology which have sprung up under the united light of European science and divine revelation; together with the whole mass of liberal Hindus who make light of all these *Sabhas*, not troubling themselves with the subject of religion at all in any of its forms, orthodox or heterodox, philosophical or unphilosophical, who eat and drink and make merry, turning their bellies with all the pomps and vanities of this world into the gods which alone they care to worship. Such were the heterogeneous materials composing the meeting which was called to consider how the labours of missionaries might be most effectually counteracted, and for this purpose various schemes were proposed, some of them sufficiently absurd; but it was at length resolved to establish and endow a rival charitable institution on a similar scale in point of magnitude as that of the Free Church, to have European literature and science taught in it gratuitously by competent professors to at least a thousand pupils, to parcel out Calcutta into districts under the charge of men of wealth, rank, and influence, to draw up a written agreement and go round, in the first instance, to every house which furnished one or more pupils to the Free Church institution, and to tell the parents or guardians that if they refuse to sign the said agree-

ment, pledging themselves to withdraw their children from it and to send them to the new seminary, immediate and effective steps will be taken by all the Sabhas in conjunction to have them at once excluded from caste. To carry out this object a subscription was entered into, and a large sum was put down by the wealthy natives. Muti Lal Sil, a Hindu Babu of great wealth, gave up, in the mean while, a school which he had established sometime before for the new college, not far from the Free Church Institution, and promised besides 300 rupis a month for its support. Many of the pupils of the Free Church Institution were obliged to leave it, contrary in most cases to their own will, but after a time most of them returned, not only with the permission, but at the special desire of their parents and guardians, and begged to be readmitted into it; and those who thus returned spoke of the difference between Sil's College and it, in such a way as greatly to raise the value of the latter in the eyes of the others pupils and their friends. The storm which had threatened its overthrow settled down into a dead calm, and the institution was soon as numerously attended as it was before.[1]

[1] Free Ch. Miss. Rec. vol. ii. p. 176, 199, 215, 252.

The institution, projected by the Hindu Babus, proved an entire failure. It would seem that it was originally proposed to raise a principal of one lakh of rupis (100,000 rupis or £10,000), but at the end of nine months only 40,000 were raised. This was anticipated, at the time, by a native paper, *The Bhaskar*, the editor of which may be supposed to have understood the character of his countrymen, though he at the same time makes some amusing statements relative to the talent and power of Dr Duff in raising money. "We shall rejoice," says he, "if the number of institutions be increased, whether the cause of the increase be love or resentment; but we cannot help thinking that ultimately the whole plan, dispersed in air, will come to nought. It is antecedently a very unlikely thing that a principal of one lakh of rupis can be collected by subscriptions raised among native Zemindars. Never will so many persons assemble together for the above-mentioned purpose, as assembled at the time when Suti was prohibited; yet the subscription at the time did not amount to 50,000 rupis, and many who subscribed their names never paid their money, so that a debt is due to Mr Bathie* to this day." "And even although, by the labour and diligent exertion of a lengthened period, one lakh of rupis be raised, yet can one lakh be regarded as a thing of sufficient influence as to oppose the work of missionaries? Dr Duff by means of a speech made one day in Scotland, obtained *fourteen* lakhs of rupis (£140,000). These fourteen lakhs of rupis became a principal sum for the establishment of his institution. Afterwards, in consequence of a speech made in the capital of New South Wales, sixty to seventy thousand rupis were collected. On another occasion, he made a speech in a common school in Greece, in consequence of which the boys consented to set aside their tiffin money for every Sunday, in order to furnish books every year for the use of the pupils of Dr Duff's institution; and they continue to send the books accordingly.

* Bathie was the name of the English attorney who proceeded to England in charge of the Appeal of the Hindus to the King in Council against the abolition of Suti.

It is not easy to estimate the difficulties and the trials of missionary life in India. Even in the Institutions, popular as they were, the vexations and disappointments that were met with, were neither few nor small. Of this kind were the irre-

—*Cal. Christ. Observ.* vol. xiv. p. 401; vol. xv. p. 130; *Sum. Orient. Christ. Spect.* vol. i. p. 360. We need scarcely inform the reader, that Dr Duff never was either in New South Wales or in Greece.

The following account in *The Friend of India*, June 28. 1849, of the Anti-Missionary Institution is at once curious and instructive, though it differs in one or two particulars from that already given. "It may be in the recollection of our readers that, about two years and a half ago, the conversion of a native student of the Free Church Institution, of a highly respectable family, created an extraordinary sensation in the Hindu community of Calcutta, heterodox as well as orthodox. The excitement extended to the innermost recesses of native society. The rich and the powerful gave vent to their exasperated feelings in the most furious anathemas against the missionaries, and it was resolved that any man who ventured to send his child, or who permitted his connections to send any of their children, to the missionary institutions, should be visited with instant expulsion from all the privileges of caste. At the same time, it was resolved to establish a magnificent anti-missionary college for the benefit of all those who had been attracted to the missionary institutions, by the gratuitous education which they afforded, and the sum of three lakhs of rupis [£30,000] was promised by the wealthy babus as an endowment. The sum appeared insignificant compared with the means of the parties, and the magnitude of the crisis. The men who professsd so deep an anxiety to rescue their children from the jaws of destruction, might have quadrupled the amount without feeling the loss of the money. Those who considered only the intensity of excitement and the means of the excited, might have been led to think that the end of all missionary institutions was at hand. But others, who were better acquainted with the feebleness of the native character, felt no alarm for their stability. They well knew that all native feeling was transient in exact proportion to its vehemence; that the performance was always in an inverse ratio to the blustering; and that the movement would end, as every other effort of a similar kind during the last twenty years has ended—in smoke. The result has not disappointed their expectations. Instead of £30,000, the sum subscribed was little more than a tenth of the sum, £3224, 12s. It was vested in the four per cent. loan, and yielded the magnificent sum of £130 a year. This was the great capital with which it was intended to extinguish all the missionary institutions in Calcutta, and to provide education for the rising generation in connexion with Hindu associations. At the same time, a sum of not less than £500 a year was put down by the portly babus, and the noble rajahs, and Muharajah Bahadoors of Calcutta, making in all about £650 a year, or £54 a month. Such were the auspicious prospects under which this institution, which was to stay the progress of Christian instruction, was ushered to public notice. Let us now trace its progress as detailed by a native correspondent of the *Englishman* in a recent issue.

"The school opened in February 1846, with an establishment calculated at £27 a month, and 700 boys were admitted within the first two days. Babu Debendernath Tagore and Babu Hureemohun Sen were appointed secretaries; Babu Prumuthnath Day became the treasurer; and seven influential native gentlemen were placed on the committee. It will, therefore, be seen that the individuals who had taken the institution in charge, were among the most wealthy and powerful in Calcutta, and fully competent by their substance and influence to carry it to a successful issue. At first, those who could command an equipage visited it every hour; the teachers were regularly paid, 'and every thing was orderly.' But the visits of the managers were gra-

gularity of the attendance, which it was exceedingly difficult to correct; and the withdrawal of the best and most promising pupils, at that very stage of their studies when it was specially desirable they should continue them. With the great majority of parents, the desire of gain is the sole motive for sending their sons to be educated in the Institutions, and as soon as they think them qualified for the medical college, or a writer's office, or to follow trade with any prospect of success, they withdraw them from it.[1]

Hindus, it is well known, are very complaisant in their language and manners, and very ready to express acquiescence in the views and wishes of their superiors, especially of those who, they suppose, may have it in their power to further their worldly interests. Even the youths in the Institutions would profess to believe in Christianity when in the presence of those whom this would please, while they carefully guarded against mani-

dually discontinued, the teachers were kept two and three months in arrears, and the best of them left the institution, and the establishment was reduced to £22. It was soon after raised to £23, but the seminary suffered an irreparable loss by the retirement of Babu Debendernath Tagore from the secretaryship. In the month of December last year, the teachers of the school were informed that some of them must be dismissed, as the school had not sufficient funds for their maintenance. The house, which had been rented at £4 a month, was given up, and another, in an infamous locality, rented at £2 monthly. The *Englishman's* correspondent calls it the Billingsgate at Calcutta. Soon after, the establishment was wisely reduced to £12 a month, as the managers had nothing to trust to but the interest of the vested funds. The monthly subscription, which began with £43 a month, has in the course of three years dwindled down to the sum of fourteen shillings, which a man was employed at sixteen shillings a month to collect!

"The result of this magnificent effort to subvert all the educational institutions of the missionaries in Calcutta, and to establish a large and permanent seminary on Hindu principles in their stead, affords an additional illustration of the native character in Bengal. It has no strength, or stability, or stamina. Whatever improvement depends solely on native agency, must, as a matter of course, decay. But the failure in the present instance is by no means to be traced to mere niggardliness. Since the Hindu Charitable Institution, as the anti-missionary college was designated, was established in 1846, the sum expended by its managers and subscribers in their pujahs and marriage and funeral festivities, in idle shows, and pernicious gifts, has amounted to a sum, the mere interest of which would have placed this institution beyond the reach of accident; but the man who will cheerfully lay out two or three thousand rupis in having the Muhabharut read, will begrudge the small pittance of five or six rupis a month, which he may have put down to the school. There is nothing so intangible as a native subscription. Like the rainbow, it wears a lovely aspect, but while you are contemplating it it disappears. The man who builds his hopes on the continuity of native liberality leans on a broken reed."

[1] Miss. Rec. vol. iv. p. 114, 144.

festing any such sentiments before their Hindu friends. There was therefore great need for careful examination of them, and watchful observation of their conduct before coming to a decision on so momentous a question, as receiving them into the church of Christ by baptism. Though they may, on the one hand, make some sacrifices, and even expose themselves to persecution by taking a step of this kind, they may, on the other, hope, by this means, to gain a higher position in life, or at least a standing among those who, if not in possession of power and influence themselves, may have at their disposal, through the Christian liberality of others, at least the means of satisfying their simple wants, at what they may be too apt to believe, the easy cost of assuming the profession and appearance of discipleship. "There are many influences," says the Rev. Mr Grant of Madras, "besides the right ones, which induce the Hindus to seek admission into the Christian church. 'Some who are poor are glad to get into a position where they will be treated in some measure as gentlemen. Some quarrel with their relations, and to spite them or to escape from them, instead of running to sea, as is sometimes done at home, seek to be baptized, which they know will greatly vex them. The same thing happens in regard to females. Under the influence of spite and rage against a relation, they sometimes drown themselves, by jumping into a well. But they know it will cause the object of their wrath more distress still, if they are baptized." We had long been familiar with many causes of deception in the professions of adult Hindus, but here are some strange, though not unnatural, revelations in regard to the motives of the young in seeking to be baptized, which shew in a striking manner the necessity of care and circumspection in the admission into the church, even of such as might be supposed to be unsophisticated youth. By the hasty baptism of uninstructed, insincere, dishonest persons, who, from various motives, are led to make a profession of Christianity, nothing is to be gained ultimately but disappointment and reproach, defection and apostasy, thus casting suspicion on the whole results of missionary labour.[1]

[1] Miss Rec. vol. iv. p. 113, 159; Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. viii. p. 167.
In the Chapters on the missions of the Church of Scotland and of the Free Church

The question of the support of converts in heathen countries, is often one of great difficulty and perplexity. To grant them assistance or support, is to hold out a temptation to insincerity and hypocrisy; to refuse it altogether, is, in many cases, to surround conversion to Christianity with obstacles nearly insuperable. Most of the conversions in Calcutta and Madras, of both the Scottish churches, were in connection with their Institutions; and it appears to have been the ordinary practice of the missionaries to provide for the support of the converts, both male and female, in the house of one or other of the missionaries. The practice was unquestionably open to many and serious objections, yet it is not easy to see how it could be avoided, most of the converts being young persons who, by embracing Christianity, lost their homes and parental support, while they were as yet in no way of providing for themselves. They generally continued to prosecute their studies in the Institutions with the view of becoming teachers or preachers; and in the mean while, they were often partly employed in carrying on the education of others of the scholars. Some of them afterwards supported themselves in whole or in part by engaging in secular employments. In Bombay, the practice of providing for converts was not carried to the same extent as at the other two presidencies.[1] The converts there, and at Puna, were by no means so generally from the Institutions as at Calcutta and Madras.

in India, we have, in some instances, in our accounts of the one drawn our statements from the communications of the other, both being conducted very much on the same principles, and in the same manner.

[1] Free Ch. Miss. Rec. vol. iii. p. 392; vol. i. (N.S.) p. 228.; Sum. Orient. Christ. Spect. p. 477; Miss. Rec. vol. i. p. 130; Cal. Christ. Obser. vol. xvi. p. 659.

[2] In 1852-3 the following were the numbers attending the Institutions of the Free Church, at the seat of the presidencies, and the branch schools connected with them:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Calcutta, | 1130 | |
| Chinsurah, | | 727 |
| Bansberia, | | 322 |
| Culna, | | 192 |
| Madras, | 823 | |
| Triplicane, | | 430 |
| Conjeveram, | | 373 |
| Chingleput, | | 478 |
| Nellore, | | 360 |
| Bombay, | 363 | |
| Vernacular and Boarding Schools, | | 1050 |
| Puna, | | 546 |
| Nagpur, | | 531 |

Having thus given some account of the missions of the Church of Scotland and of the Free Church in India, we shall now make a few statements relative to their general results. We combine them together, because they must be held as forming one great experiment, conducted on the same principles and with a view to the same end. Some thousands of young Hindus have now passed through the Institutions at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Puna, and the branch schools at the out-stations connected with them. The instructions received by them in European literature and science, and in the evidences and principles of Christianity, can scarcely have failed to shake the faith of many of them in Hinduism: they are no longer the Hindus of a former generation; and though they may not be Christians, they yet understand somewhat of the nature and excellence of Christianity. There was a number of the pupils (though it was not considerable) who renounced the religion of their fathers, and professed their faith in Christ, and were received into the Church by baptism. Of these several were ordained to the office of the ministry; others were licensed as preachers.[1] Some were employed as catechists and teachers in the several Institutions, and in the branch schools at the out-stations; others were students in divinity training for the office of catechists and preachers. Many others, some of them converts, the greater part not, were engaged in various employments unconnected with the missions. Numbers found employment as well-qualified teachers in government and other seminaries, in carrying on English schools on their own account, or as tutors in private families, both native and European. Some engaged in the study of medicine at the Medical College at Calcutta;

Of the children in the schools at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Puna, upwards of 1250 were girls.—*Free Ch. Miss. Rec.* vol. iii. (N.S.) p. 150, 231, 258; *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 203; *Sum. Orient. Christ. Spect.* 1853, p. 8, 14.

Of the native communicants we have the following returns:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Calcutta, | 32 |
| Madras, about | 40 |
| Bombay, | 32 |
| Puna, | 27 |

—*Calcutta Christ. Obser.* vol. xx. p. 513; *Free Ch. Miss. Rec.* vol. iv. (N.S.) p. 7; *Sum. Orient. Christ. Spect.* 1853, p. 15; *Ibid.* 1854, p. 7.

[1] In 1851, there were in connection with the Free Church three at Calcutta, who were licensed as preachers of the gospel; three at Madras, who were ordained to the office of the ministry; two at Bombay, who were ordained, and one who was licensed.

others devoted themselves to the study of law. A larger number obtained employment in the service of government, and several of them occupied influential situations in society.[1] Of the influence of the Institutions, through the medium of its pupils, we are unable to speak, as of this there can be no certain measurement, nor has there yet been time for its full development.

[1] Miss. Rec. vol. i. p. 369; vol. vi. p. 228; Free Ch. Miss. Rec. vol. iii. p. 347; vol. iv. p. 256; vol. i. (N.S.) p. 43, 46.

# CHAPTER XVII.

## PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

### SECT. I.—WEST INDIES.

In January 1835, the Rev. James Paterson and William Niven sailed for Jamaica with the view of commencing missionary operations in that island.[1] They were afterwards followed by other missionaries; and in the course of a few years, a number of stations were established in various parts of the island, and also in Trinidad, and the Great Caymanas. The following table contains a list of them; but as their history does not differ materially from that of the stations of the Scottish Missionary Society, of which we have already given an account, it is not necessary to enter into particular details regarding them.

| Begun. | Stations. | Situation. |
|---|---|---|
| | JAMAICA. | |
| 1837 | Goshen. | St Mary's. |
| 1848 | Montego Bay. | St James'. |
| 1835 | Stirling. | Westmoreland. |
| 1837 | Friendship. | Do. |
| 1835 | New Broughton. | Manchester. |
| 1839 | Mount Olivet. | Do. |
| | Ebenezer. | |
| 1848 | Kingston. | St Andrew's. |
| | TRINIDAD. | |
| 1835 | Port of Spain. | |
| 1842 | Arauca. | |
| | GREAT CAYMANAS. | |
| 1846 | George Town. | |

[1] Rep. of the Fund of the United Associate Synod for Relig. Purposes, 1835, p. 10.

In October 1847, the Scottish Missionary Society, as we have already mentioned, transferred its stations in Jamaica to the United Presbyterian Church. The stations now connected with that body amount to nineteen, and the out-stations, at which teachers or catechists are placed, to six, besides which there are several others at which small schools are carried on.[1]

The mission in Jamaica has of late years been subjected to very heavy trials. Among these were the death and removal of many of the missionaries, some of them under peculiarly distressing circumstances. The Rev. W. Niven, who had gone with Mr Elmslie to the Great Caymanas with the view of seeing him settled on that island, perished at sea in returning to Jamaica in a tremendous storm, which strewed the Caymanas, Cuba, and the neighbouring islands, with wreck and desolation; and his young wife, to whom he had been married only about nine months, died in child-bed a few weeks after. Within less than four months, the Rev. W. P. Young, the Rev. J. Scott, and his young wife, the Rev. J. Caldwell, and Mrs Winton, the wife of another of the missionaries, all of whom had been but a short time on the island, were successively laid in the grave; and they were afterwards followed by the Rev. W. Turnbull and Mr J. Drummond, who had been for some years a very useful teacher at Hampden. The fate of Mr Winton and his newly married wife was peculiarly melancholy. They perished in the Amazon, West India steam-packet, which took fire shortly after leaving England, and on the explosion of the powder magazine, went to the bottom. Others, on account of the state of their health, retired from the service of the mission. It was a considerable time before new missionaries were sent to supply the place of those who had died or left the island, and in the mean while some of the congregations suffered grievously in their spiritual interests.[2]

In October 1850 the cholera made its appearance at Port Royal, and it quickly spread to Kingston and to other parts of the island. It was in a fearfully malignant form. Its ravages were at first confined to the lowest and most degraded portions of the community, especially the intemperate and immoral, but

[1] Missionary Record of United Presbyterian Church, vol. viii. p. 309.

[2] Miss. Rec. vol. i. p. 84; vol. ii. p. 19; vol. iv. p. 24, 103; vol. vii. p. 20, 117.

it afterwards entered the dwellings of the better classes, including the White people and persons of a sober and religious character. The island in general suffered, but particularly the towns on the sea coast, the villages and settlements along the course of rivers, and the properties in low swampy situations. It also climbed up the highest mountains on which there was a human dwelling; the salubrity of a locality was no protection from its attacks. In its movements it was most mysterious. Sometimes there would for a few days be a lull of the disease, and such as then took it would have it in a mild form. Then it would break out with renewed violence, and those who were attacked by it would be cut off in a few hours. Many went to bed in health and were carried to the grave in the morning. Sometimes one after another in the same family would take it, and again, apparently in like circumstances, one in a family would be seized and the others escape.

There was a great want of medical men in the island and also of medicines. The people in many places felt as if they were abandoned and helpless; their want of self-reliance and energy greatly accelerated the progress of the disease. The towns were pretty well supplied with medical aid, but not the rural districts. A space of perhaps twelve or sixteen square miles was allotted to one man, and over such an extent of country inhabited by a numerous peasantry, the doctor, however willing, was not able, even with the help of hospitals and native assistants, to maintain an equal conflict with such a formidable disease.

The missionary stations and the congregations connected with them shared in the general calamity. Some of them escaped, but others suffered fearfully. "It has broken out," says Mr Watson of Kingston, "with fearful malignity in this city, visiting all parts of it, but especially the lanes where the negro population are living in crowded, ill-ventilated, filthy yards. It is at this moment fearfully on the increase, and is now extending to the upper classes. Terror and alarm are depicted in every countenance, while all day long coffins and funerals meet the eye in every direction. All business is at an end. The negro population in Kingston seem to be perfectly nonplussed at the visitation, and are becoming quite helpless. The White

people, on the other hand, ministers of all denominations, and the merchants, are exerting themselves in a way that is beyond all praise. The state of mental anxiety, the continual cry that is being made to us for help, the sight of so many dead and dying, the want of coffins, graves, carts, are all so many and so painful circumstances, as to place us in a condition such as I never experienced before."

At Port Maria from five to six hundred were swept away out of a population of about nine hundred. It was at first mild in its type, and yielded readily in most cases to medical treatment. But one night it broke forth with fearful violence. With outspreading wings the pestilence brooded as it were over the village, and in ten days numbered about four hundred victims. This was on an average forty a day, but some days the number was sixty. Many were buried without a coffin, a number were put in chests in pairs, several were exposed in the grave yard, and of some of them the skeletons only were left, the vultures and dogs having devoured the flesh. Several fell dead while digging the graves, which caused the others to run off, and the consequence was that for three or four days there were no burials, and it was necessary to leave the place owing to the horrid stench, and to open graves in another quarter. No families almost were without their dead; in some only one or two were left. Many escaped into the country, some of whom were there seized by the disease and died.

"Within the last few days," says Mr Campbell of Goshen, "there have been upwards of seventy deaths in the district over which my visitations extend, and in which my people reside. So virulent is the type of the disease, that by far the greater number of those who have been attacked (probably three out of every four) have died. It seems to defy the power of medicine, and my heart bleeds on visiting my dying people to find that I could do absolutely nothing for their relief. So rapid is the disease in its work that it is truly appalling. In many instances death has ensued within three hours after the first attack, and seldom does the patient suffer more than twelve hours ere his sufferings are terminated by death. Yesterday, when I looked around the church and heard the stifled weeping and lamentation of many who had been bereaved by a stroke, and

reflected that on the previous Sabbath, there had been about thirty people in these very pews, hearing the word of God and singing the praises of the Redeemer, who are now in the eternal world, I was almost overwhelmed. And now as I write these particulars my heart bleeds, and I cry out in the bitterness of my spirit, 'Stay thy hand, O Lord, and let it repent thee concerning thy servants.'"

"I state," says Mr Anderson of Bellevue, "a simple fact and within the truth, when I say the half of the congregation are dead, smitten down by cholera. This is the twelfth day, and oh! what twelve days! From morning to night I have been among the sick, the dying, and the dead. Eight, and sometimes eleven persons have been employed in digging graves. I cannot write; my whole frame is quivering."

Mr Aird, speaking of a visit which he paid to Lucea, thus writes: "I went to preach and dispense the sacrament there last Sabbath, but have never seen a town in such a melancholy state. Nobody from the country, and the town's people either sick or attending the sick. The streets had all the appearance of midnight. No one was to be seen but the doctors and their visitors moving in haste from place to place, and the dead carts conveying bodies to their resting-place. Except the administration of medicine, the making of coffins, and the digging of graves, business of every kind was suspended."

Among the victims of the disease were numbers of the members of the churches, yet they were fewer than might have been expected; and it was pleasing to see not a few of them exercising a simple faith in Christ Jesus as the only Saviour, and looking forward with a good hope, through grace, to a better life beyond death and the grave.

This visitation made a deep impression on multitudes of the survivors. Many were roused to attend to religion. The places of worship and even the prayer-meetings were unusually well attended, and there was a great outward reformation, but after a time these favourable symptoms died away. "The goodness" of most was as "the morning cloud and the early dew" which passeth away.

The missionaries, catechists, and teachers in all the places visited by the pestilence were most assiduous in their exertions

in behalf of the sick, the dying, and the dead. The labours of some of them in providing, distributing, and administering medicines, in visiting the sick, and in attending to the burial of the dead, were deserving of the highest praise; and though they were greatly exposed through their benevolent exertions, it is a remarkable circumstance that not one of them died. The only death from cholera which took place in any of their families was that of the wife of the Rev. Adam Thomson, who had come to the island only about a twelvemonth before.[1]

In January 1854, the number of members connected with the various churches in Jamaica, Caymanas, and Trinidad, amounted to about 4177.

Before we close our account of the mission in Jamaica, it is proper to state that an academy was begun some years ago at Montego Bay, with the view of giving a higher education than was to be had in the ordinary schools to such pupils as were able to pay for it, or who appeared to give promise of becoming useful as teachers, catechists, or missionaries. Many of the former class were the children of merchants, planters, and others, whose payments went far to the support of the institution. Of the latter several are already employed as teachers. Measures have of late been adopted in connection with the academy for giving a theological education to students preparing for the service of the mission. The number is as yet small; but it is of much more importance that they should be select than numerous.[2]

## SECT. II.—WESTERN AFRICA.

In January 1846, the Rev. H. M. Waddell, after labouring for many years in Jamaica, sailed for Old Calabar on the Western coast of Africa, accompanied by Mr Samuel Edgerly, Andrew Chisholm, a Brown man, and Edward Miller, a pure negro. The proposal of a mission to Africa excited great interest among the Black and coloured people connected with the congregations in Jamaica, and they held out the prospect of affording it liberal sup-

[1] Miss. Rec. vol. vi. p. 9, 20, 35, 54, 84.

[2] Blyth's Recollections, p. 148; Miss. Rec. vol. vii. p. 103, 186.

port. The design was that it should be carried on chiefly through the instrumentality of agents of the negro race, who it was expected would be found in the churches of Jamaica.[1]

On arriving at Old Calabar, Mr Waddell and his associates met with a very cordial reception from King Eyamba of Duke Town, and from King Eyo of Creek Town, with both of whom a correspondence had previously been opened on the subject of the mission, and also from many of their chief men. The population of these two towns was estimated at about 10,000, and there were several other smaller towns within the distance of a few miles. The principal people were not to be considered as barbarians, but were to some extent civilized. The chiefs resided in excellent houses, most of them furnished, and some of them highly ornamented with native paintings and decorations.[2] The kings and the other chief men were also dignified in their manners. Many of the people spoke the English language pretty freely, and were desirous of having their children educated in it. It is a curious circumstance, that some of the chiefs were capable not only of speaking, but of writing broken English, and could read a little English writing, though unable to read a word of a printed book. They carried on an

[1] Miss. Rec. vol. i. p. 2, 27.

[2] "Eyamba's new iron house, or palace," says Mr Waddell, "is an imposing-looking structure, but crowded with mean buildings all around, and, of course, not well seen, and much in need of painting and repair. The state-room is really a fine apartment, about 50 feet by 30, handsomely furnished with sofas, mirrors, and pictures, carpeted, papered, and painted, and not crowded too much, but ill kept. There was a peacock walking about in it. We opened all the windows and doors to get air in, and to drive out the peacock. Pity such a fine apartment is not kept in good order. This palace, as it may be called, was made and furnished in Liverpool, and cost a great deal of money."

"Eyo's house is a good-sized two-storey wooden framed house, with good steps up to the door. We entered a good-sized room, full of good furniture, sofas, chairs, tables, all mahogany, mirrors of all sizes, some very large, sash windows, clocks, barrel-organ, china, stoneware, pictures, all good and in good condition, and clean, but crowded. There was enough to furnish two rooms of any gentleman's house.

The Rev. Mr Jameson, speaking of a visit which he paid to Eyamba's palace, says, "Mr Waddell has so accurately deseribed it, that any farther description is unnecessary. Every thing is exact, even to the peacock, which was bestriding the floor in its pomp, and leaping from sofa to sofa, stretching out its long neck every now and then, that it might get a view of itself in the large mirrors." Having visited the houses of others of the chief men, (the missionaries commonly call them gentlemen,) he also says, "They are in general clean, and very handsomely furnished; that is in some of the rooms where we were, there is a great deal of very handsome, expensive furniture."—*Miss. Rec.* vol. i. p. 133; vol. ii. p. 105.

extensive trade with England on the one hand, and with the neighbouring regions on the other. From England they received large quantities of goods which they paid for in palm oil, and exchanged for that article with the tribes in the interior. They scarcely appeared to be idolaters, but there prevailed among them many absurd and heathenish superstitions and customs. The existence of God and of a future state were generally believed by them.[1]

Three distinct stations, yet not distant from each other, were formed in Old Calabar, namely, at Creek Town, Duke Town, and Old Town. A mission-house, school-houses, and out-offices, were erected at each of these places, in elevated and healthy situations. The first efforts of the missionaries were directed to the establishment of schools for the children, which were particularly desired by the chiefs and the people, with the view of qualifying them for trading with the English. In these were given the rudiments of a good English education, reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography. "In the schools," says Mr Waddell, "the young people of all classes, both boys and girls, free and slave, learn, play, and work, side by side, according to the custom of the country with very little distinction." They were taught English in the first instance, but it was not intended that the cultivation of the Efik, or Calabar language, should be neglected, as it must ever continue to be the chief medium of communicating oral instruction to the mass of the people, who can never be expected to acquire the knowledge of a foreign tongue.[2]

The missionaries also preached to the people, in the first instance, through the medium of interpreters; and afterwards without an interpreter. To facilitate this part of their work, a galvanized iron church made in London was sent out, and was erected at Creek Town.[3]

The mission was also provided with a printing-press, and various small works in the Efik or Calabar language were printed by means of it as school-books, the Gospel of John, select passages from the Bible, and other useful pieces.[4]

[1] Miss. Rec. vol. i. p. 129, 132, 171.

[2] Ibid. vol. i. p. 150, 153, 156, 166; vol. iii. p. 145; vol. vi. p. 89.

[3] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 27; vol. vi. p. 102; vol. viii. p. 245.

[4] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 38; vol. iv. p. 120; vol. vi. p. 91; vol. vii. p. 105; vol. viii. p. 246, 316.

# CHAPTER XVIII.

## PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN IRELAND.

### INDIA.

In September 1840, the Rev. J. Glasgow and A. Kerr sailed for Bombay with the view of commencing a mission in the province of Katiawar in Gujarat. They had not offered themselves for this service; but had been chosen and called upon by the Assembly's Committee to undertake it, a mode of obtaining missionaries which our Irish brethren thought so much preferable to the ordinary practice of receiving voluntary offers of service, that they solemnly recorded it "that it may serve to be a precedent in all time to come," but which we apprehend is open to many and strong objections.[1]

On arriving in India, Messrs Glasgow and Kerr proceeded to Katiawar, and took up their residence at Rajkot, one of the chief towns in that province; but in little more than two months, Mr Kerr was attacked by fever and died after an illness of nine days. This was a heavy blow to the mission; but it was not long before other four missionaries, the Rev. A. Glasgow, J. M'Kee, R. Montgomery, and J. H. Spears, were sent to strengthen the mission; and on their arrival, other two stations were occupied, the one at Purbunder on the west coast, the other at Gogo on the east. The station at Surat, which had been carried on for many years by the London Missionary Society, was also transferred to the Assembly, so that it had now an extensive and important field to cultivate.[2]

[1] First Report of Home and Foreign Missions of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, p. 33; Missionary Herald of Ditto, vol. i. p. 461.

[2] Second Report of the Assembly, p. 25; Third Report, p. 21; Miss. Her. vol. i. p. 107, 280.

In Katiawar, the missionaries met with greater difficulties and more opposition, particularly at Purbunder from the Mahomedans, than are usual in India. Though the native States of that province are tributary to the English government, yet the people might not perhaps think it necessary to treat Europeans with the same consideration as is commonly shewn to them in other parts of India which are entirely subject to it, especially missionaries who sought to draw them away from their own religion to a new and unknown faith. A number of the natives, however, were baptized, among whom was a Mahomedan Munshi, the most learned Mussulman in Purbunder. The Hindus manifested great apathy and indifference to the gospel; yet of them also the missionaries would often entertain favourable hopes. They, however, found that they might discourse elaborately, receive their approval, and withdraw under the impression that they had dealt a withering blow to idolatry, while it may be they had not changed or modified a single idea in the mind of even one hearer.[1]

[1] Miss. Her. vol. i, p. 235, 241, 249, 341, 462.

# CHAPTER XIX.

## PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE NETHERLAND MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

### DUTCH EAST INDIA ISLANDS.

In December 1797, the Netherland Missionary Society was instituted at Rotterdam, for the diffusion and advancement of Christianity, chiefly among the heathen. During the first sixteen years of its existence, it was prevented by the political state of Holland and of the continent of Europe generally, from engaging in direct missionary operations among the heathen; but it furnished a number of agents to the London Missionary Society, who were sent by it to South Africa, Ceylon, and Java. Its operations were afterwards directed chiefly to the Dutch East India Islands; but we shall introduce our account of them with some notice of a mission, of which it originally furnished the instruments, and which ultimately fell under its care.[1]

Amboyna.—In December 1813, the Rev. John C. Supper, G. Bruckner, and Joseph Kam, sailed from England for the Island of Java, under the auspices of the London Missionary Society.

[1] The Netherland Missionary Society in 1841, by the Committee of the Society, p. 1, 28, MS. *penes me.*

In 1818, 1820, and 1822, the Netherland Missionary Society sent thirteen missionaries to the East, but these, with a few exceptions, did not become, at least directly, what the Society designed them to be,—missionaries among the heathen. In the Dutch islands in the Malayan Archipelago there had long been a great want of ministers, and the missionaries, on their arrival, were appointed to be preachers in the established churches, which had been previously served by regular ministers of the Dutch Church. This was even the case with several who arrived at a later period. Many of them, however, had frequent intercourse with the heathen, and some of them laboured diligently among them.

In 1826, the Society made an important step towards the great object for which it was established, having sent out ten missionaries, and strictly enjoined them not to engage in the functions of regular ministers, but to devote themselves exclusively to labouring among the heathen.—*Netherland Miss. Soc.* in 1841, p. 5, 8, MS.

On their arrival, Mr Supper was chosen assistant-minister of the Dutch Church in Batavia, but he died before he had much opportunity of labouring among the heathen. Mr Bruckner was appointed to Samarang, a place about 200 miles distant, but, having afterwards changed his views on the subject of baptism, he became connected with the Baptist Missionary Society. Mr Kam was appointed minister to the Dutch Church in Amboyna, and at the same time to acquire the Malay language, with the view of preaching to the native Christians, Mahomedans, and Pagans. His congregation, when he preached in Malay, commonly amounted to between five and six hundred persons. He did not, however, confine his labours to Amboyna, but made annual voyages to various of the islands of the Malayan Archipelago, for the purpose of administering baptism and the Lord's Supper to the members of the Dutch Church, and with a view also to missionary labours among the natives. Of the nature of these labours, we shall give one or two examples.

In August 1817, Mr Kam proceeded to visit Ternate, Celebes, Sangir, and other islands in the Malayan Archipelago. On these islands, he met with a very friendly reception from the inhabitants, many of whom expressed the utmost readiness to receive instruction. On the island of Chiauw, he says, he found the king a very pious man, and in compliance with his desire, he baptized a number of his slaves. He baptized in the several islands, 5000 children and near 500 adults. Previous to this he had baptized at least 1200 heathens and Mahomedans, who through his instrumentality had made a profession of Christianity, so that the whole number of persons baptized by him was probably not under 7000. Three negerys, or villages, had lately abolished every vestige of idolatry, burning their idols, and the houses appropriated to the worship of the devil. In one of their negerys, they destroyed no fewer than thirty-four devil's houses. The inhabitants of another village took all their idols, and with a great shout cast them into the sea. In the Island of Amboyna, idolatry was entirely abolished. In some of the negerys the people had still retained their idols; but they at last cast them all away.[1]

[1] Evan. Mag. vol. xxii. p. 78; vol. xxiii. p. 37; vol. xxiv. p. 449; vol. xxv. p. 115, 286; vol. xxvi. p. 490; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1817, p. 10, 11; Ibid. 1818, p. 9, 11; Quart. Chron. vol. i. p. 280, 283, 293.

In the spring of 1823, Mr Kam visited the Islands of Banda, Letty, and Kisser. At the last-mentioned island, it is stated, that he was received with great kindness by the rajahs, and found the people ripe for Christian instruction. Here he and Mr Le Bruyn, who was sent out by the Netherland Missionary Society, continued several days preaching to the people, and they baptized, on a profession of faith in Christ, about 1500 of the natives. It appears that nearly twenty-five years had elapsed since the professing Christians, as they were called, in the Island of Kisser, had enjoyed the privilege of ministerial instruction.[1]

In January 1825, Mr Kam wrote, that on the southern coast of Ceram four villages, containing 2580 inhabitants, had forsaken their idols. Two of the villages cast their idols into the sea; the other two burnt theirs in the fire. When Mr Kam visited this island soon after his arrival in the east, he found that there had been no stated preacher in it for the last twenty years.[2]

In Amboyna and the several islands visited by Mr Kam, there were numerous schools, which were generally under the care of native schoolmasters. In 1828, there were in eight islands fifty-seven schools and 4219 scholars.[3]

With the view of providing a supply of suitable teachers for the schools in Amboyna and the neighbouring islands, Mr Kam established a seminary for the education of promising young men for that office. He himself was appointed, by the Dutch government, one of the four superintendents of the Dutch schools in the Molucca Islands.[4]

In July 1833, Mr Kam died, in consequence of over-exertion in an extensive missionary tour he had made. He appears to have been an active and laborious man; but from the indiscriminate way in which he administered baptism to the natives, we fear that his labours among them were not of a kind to do much real or permanent good. It is only proper to state, that having been appointed a minister of the Dutch Church, he

[1] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1824, p. 58.
[2] Evan. Mag. 1826, p. 35; Abeel's Journal of a Residence in China, p. 17.
[3] Miss. Reg. 1830, p. 41.
[4] Rep. Miss. Soc. 1826, p. 36.

had ceased, for many years, to be supported by the London Missionary Society.[1]

This mission includes two stations, Amboyna and Saparoua. Mr Keyser took charge for a considerable time of the Malay church in the town of Amboyna; but in October 1839, two ministers being there, he transferred his station to Waay, in the Bay of Hitoe, where he devoted himself entirely to the spiritual interests of the natives. He superintended a number of schools in the villages, and also in the islands of Boero and Ceram, which he visited from time to time. On these missionary tours, besides examining the schools, he preached to the native congregations which were raised by the Dutch in former times; and as they had now no stated ministers, he dispensed the sacraments to them, and received into church fellowship such as were instructed by the schoolmasters.

The other station was in the island of Saparoua, near Amboyna. In September 1837, Mr Ruden was stationed there; and he had also the care of Noessalaunt and Haroeko, two neighbouring islands. These three islands were not inhabited by Pagans; there were a few Mahomedans; but the great majority of the people bore the name of Christians, while yet they were characterized by the ignorance and depravity of heathens.[2]

TIMOR.—This mission includes six stations, one at Timor, four in the South-West Islands, and one at Rottee.

In 1819, the Rev. Mr Le Bruyn, who had been sent out by the Society, became minister of Coupang, the residency of Timor; but he laboured also in promoting the instruction of the heathen, particularly by means of schools. In 1832, Mr Heymering became minister of Coupang; and besides officiating in both the Malay and the Dutch languages, he devoted a considerable portion of his time to the heathen; and it is stated, that he was permitted to see the fruit of his own and of his predecessor's labours in many converts, chiefly from among the poor. In the interior there were, in 1839, six schools under

[1] Calcutta Christ. Observ. 1839, p. 427; Rep. Miss. Soc. 1828, p. 31.
[2] Neth. Miss. Soc. 1841, p. 11, MS.

his superintendence, containing, with the Coupang school, about a thousand children. By means of a printing-press, which was sent to him, he was also enabled to supply the schools with school-books, and to print several small tracts which he had translated into the Malay language for the use of the natives.

Four missionaries were stationed in the South-West Islands, which lie near to Timor, namely, Mr Bar, in the island of Kisser, Messrs Luyke and Holtzo in Letty, and Mr Dommers in Moa. They encountered much opposition, and after labouring for many years, they had been able to form only small congregations. The Christians whom they found there, were proud of the name, yet ignorant of the principles of Christianity, and addicted to all the vices of heathenism. These islands were very unhealthy, and the missionaries suffered much from long and dangerous illnesses.[1]

CELEBES.—The mission, which was established in the north-east point of this singularly-shaped island, near Menado, the residency, consisted of four stations, which were all situated in an inland district, called Manahasse, namely, Tondano (begun in 1831), Languwang (1834), Amurang, near the shore, (1836), and Tomshon, in the upper districts, (1838). The labours of the missionaries at these stations were attended with more or less success; but it was in the education of the young that they placed their chief hope. In 1839, there were fifty-six schools under their superintendence, which contained 3837 children. Some of the schools were on account of government; but the greater part of them were supported by the Society.[2]

RIOUW.—In 1827 or 1828, Messrs Gutzlaff and Wentink proceeded to Riouw, which lies at the entrance of the Straits of Malacca. In this and the neighbouring islands, there were many thousands of Chinese, which was, perhaps, the occasion of Gutzlaff turning his attention to that singular people.[3]

Though the Society had no other missions in the East India

[1] Neth. Miss. Soc. 1841, p. 6, 10, 14, MS.; Abeel's Journal of a Residence in China, p. 10.

[2] Neth. Miss. Soc. 1841, p. 9, 20, MS.

[3] Ibid. 1841, p. 9, MS.

Islands, yet it extended its aid to Banda, Ternate, and Macassar, on the southern coast of Celebes, to all which it sent occasionally various articles for the use of the schools.[1]

## EAST INDIES.

In 1820, the Rev. A. F. La Croix and John Kindlinger, and, in 1823, John Trion and John C. T. Winckler, sailed to the East Indies, with the view of commencing missionary operations in that country. They occupied the Dutch settlements at Chinsurah, near Calcutta, and Pulicat, to the north, and Sadras, to the south of Madras; but these settlements having been ceded by the Dutch to the British in 1825, the Society intimated to the missionaries that circumstances would not permit them to continue their missions at these places any longer, and left them at liberty either to join their brethren in the Eastern Archipelago, or to connect themselves with any of the missionary societies labouring in India. They accordingly adopted the latter alternative.[2]

[1] Neth. Miss. Soc. 1841, p. 26, MS.

[2] Ibid. 1841, p. 7, MS.

# CHAPTER XX.

## PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE GERMAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

In 1816, a seminary was begun at Basle, in Switzerland, for the purpose of training young men as missionaries, and in this way furnishing to existing missionary societies agents for carrying on the work of missions among the heathen. It was no part of the original design of the founders of this institution to send out missionaries themselves; but, in 1821, a Society was regularly organized with the view of engaging directly in the work of missions. This Society was a confederation of evangelical Christians of various countries, especially of South-Western Germany and Switzerland, who belonged partly to the Lutheran and partly to the Reformed Church. It was called the German Missionary Society, but the seat of its management was Basle.[1] Of its missions we shall now proceed to give some account.

### SECT. I.—RUSSIA.

In 1821, Messrs Zaremba and Dittrich set out from Basle for the countries lying between the Black and the Caspian Seas, with the view of making inquiries relative to a suitable field for missionary labours in that part of the world. They obtained permission from the Emperor Alexander to establish a Christian colony, and also for the appointment of ministers educated in the Basle seminary to the pastoral office among the German colonies in the south of Russia.

[1] Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. 1820, p. 259 ; Third Report of the German Mission in the Southern Mahratta, Canara, and Malabar Provinces, p. 12, 14.

In 1824, Messrs Zaremba and Dittrich commenced a missionary station at Shushi, one of the frontier towns in the south of the Caucasus. The population of this place consisted of about 1500 Tartar and 500 Armenian families; the latter had four or five churches which were served by twelve or fourteen priests. For some time the efforts of the missionaries were comparatively few and feeble, in consequence of the uncertainty they were under as to the views of the Russian government, which after having for many years shewn itself friendly to missionary labours now began to assume an adverse attitude toward them. But from this state of anxiety and suspense they were at length in a considerable degree relieved.[1]

In 1828, the missionaries received the imperial sanction or authority to travel about freely in the countries between the Caspian and the Black Seas, to circulate the Scriptures, to establish schools, and to labour for the conversion of the Tartars in whatever way they chose. Besides Zaremba and Dittrich, there were now other three missionaries at Shushi, Pfander, Hohenacker, and Haas; and it was agreed that Zaremba, Pfander, and Hohenacker should labour among the Mahomedan population, spending most of the year in travelling in the surrounding country, and the remainder in visiting the people in the bazaars of Shushi, or in preparing books and tracts in the vulgar Turkish dialect. In prosecution of this plan they visited Sheky, Shirwan, Baku, Daghistan, as far as Derbend, Nakhchevan, and Erivan. They also made tours in the Turkish territory, and into Mesopotamia and Persia. Instead of seeking to gain the respect and goodwill of the people by paying liberally for their entertainment, they went among them in the spirit of those who were commanded to "provide neither gold nor silver nor brass in their purses." On entering a village they inquired who was willing to entertain them, and threw themselves on his hospitality. One consequence of this was, that report never accused them of endeavouring to make proselytes by money, and though an individual might occasionally present himself as an inquirer in the hope of obtaining some worldly advantage from them or

[1] Third Report of German Mission, p. 24; Blumhardt's Manual of Missionary Geography and History, vol. i. p. 174; Smith and Dwight's Missionary Researches in Armenia, p. 180.

from the Russians, the number who did so was small. They were even accused of want of wisdom in this respect. On one occasion after a long conversation in the bazaars of Baku, their hearers proposed to meet them again at a certain hour on the sea shore, but when the time arrived nobody came except the missionaries. At length an old venerable Moslem approached them and said, "Friends, your arguments are all very good, but let me tell you, you do not take the right course. Arguments alone will accomplish nothing; you should use money too. With that you may make as many Christians as you choose."[1]

From the circumstance that many of the Mahomedans do not really believe their own religion, nor practise it any further than its precepts suit their convenience or inclinations, it might be supposed that there would be little difficulty in obtaining from them a candid hearing for the doctrines of Christianity. But if they care little about their own religion, they care still less about any other, and the levity which allows them to laugh at Mahomedan doctrines and forms of worship, assumes absolute contempt for those of the gospel. In fact, their scepticism, instead of producing a disposition to inquire, created perfect indifference, or rather a state of mind opposed to inquiry. They were deeply imbued with that bigoted enmity to Christianity which is so generally characteristic of Mahomedans, and considered opposition to it, or even the murder of any Moslem who might embrace it, a meritorious deed.[2]

The missionaries had originally Mahomedans chiefly in view as the object of their labours, but on becoming acquainted with the state of the Armenians, they were led to direct their attention principally to them. They found a large population without schools, and so ignorant that few of them could read the Armenian Scriptures, of which they had brought copies with them, and still fewer were able to understand them, while at the same time their character was so unchristian, that they proved a great stumbling-block to the Mahomedans, and furnished them with what appeared to them conclusive evidence of the falsehood of Christianity. Impressed with their miserable

[1] Blumhardt's Manual, vol. 1. p. 175; Smith and Dwight's Missionary Researches, p. 199, 201.

[2] Smith and Dwight's Missionary Researches, p. 201.

condition, and feeling that efforts for the conversion of the Mahomedans would be of little avail so long as they were paralysed by the evil examples which they had before them, they resolved to do something, if possible, for the Armenians.[1]

The Armenian department of the mission was assigned to Messrs Dittrich and Haas, and they had a very delicate course to pursue. It was wholly without consultation with government that this branch of the mission was undertaken. The laws of Russia were understood to forbid one denomination of Christians making proselytes from another, and even to invest the clergy of any tolerated sect with power to prevent their people from forsaking them, except to join the Greek Church, the established religion of the empire. Education, however, was not considered as under the control of the clergy, yet whenever religious instruction was given they had a right to interfere. Neither was the employment of the press entirely prohibited, but through means of the censorship the control of all religious publications was thrown into the hands of the priesthood. The plan of the missionaries was therefore to steer clear of these government checks and restrictions, and yet carry on their labours.

With this view they resolved to direct their labours among the Armenians to the simple point of bringing them to be coadjutors with them in converting the Mahomedans, and thus to place this department in the light of merely a subordinate branch of the original and primary object of the mission. They accordingly sought to enlighten and reform the Armenian Church, without, however, drawing away its members, and with this view they endeavoured to bring the fundamental truths of the gospel, as the doctrines of redemption by Jesus Christ, of justification by faith, and of sanctification by the Holy Spirit, simply and clearly before individuals as often as they had opportunity; but they resolved to forego all attempts at preaching or expounding in meetings, public or private, and to avoid controversy even in conversation. Schools and the press were designed to be the principal means of effecting the reformation at which they aimed. In them they hoped to find a field of usefulness sufficiently extensive without drawing on themselves the

[1] Smith and Dwight's Missionary Researches, p. 197.

opposition of the priests or the condemnation of the laws; and if the ultimate result of their labours should be that some of the Armenians should no longer adhere to their mother church, they hoped that Divine providence might so order matters as that this should not prove of fatal consequence to the mission.[1]

In the school department great difficulty was experienced from the want of suitable teachers; all attempts to establish a female school proved unsuccessful. With the approbation of Nerses, the Archbishop of Teflis, who then exercised the censorship of the press as to books in the Armenian language, several works were printed, chiefly for schools. Mr Dittrich also translated the New Testament into the modern Armenian language, it being found here, as in similar cases, that the people did not understand the ancient Armenian, into which the Bible is translated and in which public worship is celebrated; but on its being completed, the printing of it was stopped by the *veto* of the Synod of Echmiadzin, to which it was referred. The operations of the press were now indeed entirely arrested by the opposition of the censors.[2] The schools also called forth the opposition of the priesthood, and the patriarch went so far as to excommunicate those who sent their children to them. A representation was also made to the Russian government that the missionaries were a set of persons who interfered, contrary to law, with the concerns of the Armenian Church; and in consequence of this, they received an admonition from the government to refrain from all attempts to exert any religious influence among the Armenians. They were therefore now obliged to confine their efforts entirely to the Mahomedans.[3]

In August 1835, a period was put to the whole undertaking by a ukase of the Russian government. The Armenian clergy had brought new and heavy complaints against the missionaries, which by the interest of the governor, whom they found means of buying over to their cause, led to the issuing of this edict. Under the pretext that the labours of the missionaries among

[1] Smith and Dwight's Missionary Researches, p. 202.

[2] The New Testament, however, was afterwards printed at Moscow, and copies of it were put into circulation.

[3] Smith and Dwight's Miss. Researches, p. 205, 207, 211; Blumhardt's Manual, vol. i. p. 176; Orient. Christ. Spect. vol. ix. p. 247.

the mountaineers had hitherto proved of no avail; that therefore the work of converting the heathen nations and others to Christianity should be consigned to the priests of the Greek Church; and that the renewed complaints of the Armenian clergy gave the government reason to conclude that the missionaries had been interfering illegally with them, all the privileges granted them were henceforth revoked; they were prohibited from engaging in any kind of missionary labour, and if they remained at Shushi, they were to employ themselves only in agriculture, manufactures, or trades. Having thus no prospect of further usefulness as missionaries, they left the country.[1]

From the whole history of missions in Russia, it is plain that it is not a field to which Protestants should ever think of sending missionaries, unless there shall be an entire change in the political and ecclesiastical character and condition of that country. Even when they have been authorized and encouraged to do so by the government, and when special privileges have been granted to them, these have been evaded or withdrawn, whenever there were any appearances of success, or when a corrupt priesthood thought fit to exercise its power and influence with the authorities.

## SECT. II.—WESTERN AFRICA.

In 1827, Messrs Handt, Sessing, and Hegele, were sent from Basle to the colony of Liberia, on the Western coast of Africa; and they were followed soon afterwards by other two missionaries, named Wulf and Kissling; but within a few months after their arrival, Wulf fell a victim to the climate. Hegele too was taken dangerously ill, and Sessing had to return with him to Switzerland. Handt also had to leave the country broken down in both body and mind. Sessing, however, returned again from Basle, accompanied by other three missionaries, named Dietshy, Buehrer, and Grauer; but within a few weeks after they landed, the three new missionaries sickened and died. To complete this series of disasters, Kissling and Sessing were so

[1] Blumhardt's Manual, vol. i. p. 178.

exhausted that they resolved on quitting the colony. Thus ended the Basle mission to Liberia.[1]

In 1828, Messrs Salbach, Schmidt, Holzwarth, and Henke, were sent from Basle to the coast of Guinea, in consequence of an invitation which the Society had received from M. de Richelieu, governor of the Danish settlement at Ussu, a place in the neighbourhood of Fort Christiansburg; but after being only a few months in the country, the three former fell victims to fever, which lays so many Europeans in their graves on the coast of Africa. Henke, who alone survived, divided his time between ministerial labours among the Danish colonists who had been without the ordinances of religion for twenty years, the instruction of some negro candidates for baptism, and the superintendence of a negro school. He was joined by Kissling, who, as already mentioned, had been sent to Liberia, but who in consequence of the sickness and death of so many of his brethren had resolved on quitting that colony. After some time, Henke also sickened and died, and Kissling left the coast.[2]

These mournful events produced, as they well might, a deep impression at Basle; yet the Committee resolved not to relinquish the undertaking. It was thought that it was the climate of the coast which had proved so fatal to the missionaries, and it was hoped that the mission might be successfully transferred to the interior, which was supposed to be more healthy.

In 1831, other three missionaries, Messrs Riis, Jaeger, and Heinze, the latter a medical man, were sent from Basle to renew the mission on the coast of Guinea; but scarcely had they landed, when Heinze was seized with fever and died; Jaeger soon followed him to the grave, and again one solitary labourer remained in the field. Riis himself was three times on the brink of the grave; but a timely removal to the healthier climate of the Aquapim Hills, was the means of saving his life. He was often, however, obliged to visit the coast for the purpose of ministering to his countrymen at Christiansburg. At length a Danish chaplain arrived in the colony, and Riis hastened to settle on the hills among the negroes; but he was again recalled to Christiansburg, on the death of the chaplain.

[1] Third Report German Miss. p. 28; Blumhardt's Manual, p. 36; Miss. Reg. 1829, p. 19, 224; Ibid. 1830, p. 7, 318, 472.

[2] Kissling entered the service of the Church Missionary Society at Sierra Leone.

In 1835, Riis succeeded at last in carrying out his design of establishing himself on the Aquapim Hills, in a negro village, named Acropong, about forty miles from Acra. Here he built himself a house with his own hands, assisted by some negro labourers, an exertion which a European cannot make in Western Africa, but at the risk of his life. After some time he began a school, and by degrees found himself gaining on the affections of the people. Other two missionaries were now sent to his assistance; but within less than two years, one of them, named Stanger, sickened and died, and within another year, the other, named Murdter, also died, after a short illness. The prospects of the mission became more and more clouded. The Danish governor was ill disposed toward Riis and his mission, and though the latter was careful not to interfere with political matters, yet circumstances arose which excited the suspisions of the governor, who represented him to the government of Denmark as a person whose presence was dangerous to the interests of the colony.

In 1840, Riis returned to Europe, partly for the recovery of his health, and partly for consultation with the Committee as to the practicability of carrying on missionary operations in territories subject to the crown of Denmark. Meanwhile a favourable change took place in the colony. The governor who had opposed the mission was dead, and the Danish government, being satisfied with the explanations which were given by Riis, promised to protect the missionaries in the unfettered exercise of their duties, and the negroes connected with them, in the enjoyment of their civil and religious liberties.[1]

In May 1842, Riis, accompanied by another missionary, named Widman, sailed for the West Indies, with the view of obtaining a few Christian negroes from the congregations of the United Brethren to go with them to the Gold Coast, who might assist them in the cultivation of the ground, the building of houses, and other useful occupations; and who, by the exhibition of the character and conduct of a little Christian community, might exert a favourable influence upon the natives. Having with these views engaged six families, consisting of twenty-four persons, they sailed with them to the Gold Coast; and after their

[1] Third Report German Miss. p. 28; Blumhardt's Manual, p. 41.

arrival, they proceeded to Acropong on the Aquapim Mountains. They had a great deal of trouble, however, with the colonists, who thought it hard to be obliged to earn their bread by labour, and wished to return to the West Indies. The negro character appeared in every thing. There was little of that self-denying charity and conscientious dealing, which were so necessary in a congregation which was designed to be a light among the heathen.[1]

In 1845, a second station was begun at Ussu, or Danish Acra, on the coast. Here a school was opened for boys and another for girls. A number of the natives were baptized, and some were communicants.[2]

## SECT. III.—INDIA.

In October 1834, Messrs Hebich, Lehner, and Greiner, arrived at Mangalore on the coast of Malabar, with the view of commencing a mission in that part of India. They were followed by other missionaries in succeeding years, and various stations were established in different parts of the country. The following table exhibits a view of the principal stations which are occupied by them :—

| Begun. | Stations. | Begun. | Stations. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | PROVINCE OF CANARA. | | MALAYALIM COUNTRY. |
| 1834 | Mangalore. | 1841 | Canannore. |
| 1843 | Mulki. | 1839 | Tellichery. |
| 1846 | Honore. | 1849 | Chombala. |
| | | 1842 | Calicut. |
| | SOUTHERN MARATHI COUNTRY. | 1846 | NILGHIRI HILLS. |
| 1837 | Dharwar. | | Kaity. |
| 1839 | Hubli. | | |
| 1841 | Bettigheri. | | |
| 1841 | Malasamudra. | | |
| 1851 | Guleda-Gudda. | | |

[1] Third Rep. German Miss. p. 30; Blumhardt's Manual, p. 41; Miss. Reg. 1844, p. 24; Ibid. 1845, p. 23; Ibid. 1849, p. 17; Ibid. 1850, p. 15; Period. Accounts United Brethren, vol. xvi. p. 156, 344, 505.

[2] Miss. Reg. 1849, p. 17; Ibid. 1854, p. 13.

In the history of these stations, there is nothing particularly worthy of notice. The missionaries translated the New Testament into Tulu, the language of the lower castes in Mangalore and the neighbouring country. At the various stations they had regular, though for the most part small, congregations; and they baptized a considerable number of the natives, but the qualifications they required in them were by no means high. They had also schools for both boys and girls, and the numbers who attended them, particularly those of boys, were very considerable.

In 1853, the number of communicants connected with the various stations amounted to 780.[1]

[1] Blumhardt's Manual, vol. ii. p. 14; Sum. Orient. Spect. 1853, p. 81; Rep. Bib. Soc. 1851, p. 58.

# CHAPTER XXI.

## PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE PARIS SOCIETY FOR EVANGELICAL MISSIONS.

### SOUTH AFRICA.

In September 1822, the Society for Evangelical Missions was instituted at Paris. Among the measures which it early adopted was the establishment of an institution for the education of young men as missionaries; and as a result of this, it was some years before it was in circumstances to undertake active operations among the heathen.[1]

In July 1829, the Rev. Messrs Bisseux, Lemue, and Rolland, the first missionaries of the Society, sailed for South Africa. M. Bisseux settled in Wagenmaker Valley, about thirty miles from Cape Town, among the descendants of the French refugees[2] and their slaves; but Messrs Lemue and Rolland proceeded into the interior for the purpose of selecting a suitable station among one or other of the native tribes. After visiting various parts of the country, they ultimately settled at a place called Motito, in the Bechuana country. The Bechuanas are divided into various tribes, each bearing a particular name, yet all speaking the same language, which is called the Sichuana. The chief of these tribes are the Barolongs, the Batlapis, the Baharutzis, and the Bassutos. Other missionaries were afterwards sent out from time to time, and various stations were established

[1] Miss. Reg. 1823, p. 130; Rapport de la Société des Missions Evangeliques, 1825, p. 26.

[2] There were about 10,000 inhabitants of the French colony. Of these 4000 were descendants of the original settlers, and 6000 were Hottentot slaves. The French settlers appear to have come to the Cape after the revocation of the edict of Nantz; but since 1739, the French language had not been used in divine worship, the Dutch government having then prohibited them from celebrating public worship in their own language.—*Miss. Reg.* 1830, p. 218; *Ibid.* 1832. p. 15.

in different parts of the Bechuana country.[1] The following table contains a list of the chief of these stations :—

| Begun. | Stations. | Begun. | Stations. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1832 | Motito. | 1841 | Friedau. |
| 1833 | Bethulia. | 1843 | Bethesda. |
| 1833 | Morijia. | 1844 | Berea. |
| 1835 | Beersheba. | | Carmel. |
| 1837 | Thaba Bossiou. | | Wellington. |
| 1837 | Mekuatling. | | Hebron.[2] |

These stations extended over a wide tract of country, and were generally much separated from each other; but in a region so thinly peopled, this, though a great disadvantage, was *unavoidable*. The population in the neighbourhood of the whole of the stations was estimated at about 25,000, belonging chiefly to various tribes of Bechuanas, particularly Bassutos, Batlapis, and Barolongs. In general, it is not easy for a missionary in South Africa to collect around him any considerable number of people. The chiefs reside on the hills, and dread coming down to the plain country, as they would there be exposed to the attacks of their enemies. They are besides very much scattered, and have under them, for the most part, only from one to two hundred people. This is the average population of the kraals, and there are scarcely any exceptions to this, but the places where the head chiefs reside. Yet, notwithstanding these circumstances, the numbers who collected to most of the missionary stations was considerable; but the population, in consequence of the wandering habits of the people, and the necessity they are often under of going in search of fresh pastures for their herds and flocks, varied materially from time to time.[3]

The condition of the tribes of South Africa is truly deplo-

[1] Evan. Mag. 1829, p. 379; Ibid. 1831, p. 78, 169, 575; Miss. Reg. 1832, p. 15, 471; Ibid. 1833, p. 19; Ibid. 1834, p. 32; Rapport de la Soc. des Miss. Evan. 1831, p. 25; Ibid. 1832 and 1833, p. 25, 27; Cassalis, Etudes sur la Langue Sechuana, Paris, 1841, p. v.

[2] (Amer.) Miss. Her. vol. xlix. p. 248.

[3] *Notice des Missions Evangeliques*, 1843, p. 2.

rable. They are in a state of continual warfare with each other, and are thus kept in constant dread of one another. It is not commonly the extension of dominion, nor even revenge, that is the object of the inroads and attacks which they make on each other; it is plunder, particularly, to carry off the cattle and sheep of one another. War, indeed, appears to be the element of the native tribes; they seem never content unless when fighting and pillaging their neighbours.[1]

As this melancholy state of things has probably existed from time immemorial, it is not wonderful that many parts of South Africa should now be without inhabitants. The wonder is how population should be kept up at all in a part of the world where the people are continually destroying one another by cannibalism, and by unceasing warfare. It was this distracted state of the country that often disposed the native tribes to wish for missionaries, thinking that under them they would enjoy safety and protection; and this was probably a chief cause which led numbers to collect to the stations of the French missionaries, not the desire of religious instruction.

Some of the stations, as may naturally be supposed, were more prosperous than others; but yet the success of the mission was, on the whole, highly pleasing. The congregations were considerable; numbers of the natives were baptized, many of whom were also admitted as communicants. The influence of the mission extended far beyond the stations; it was felt in a great part of the surrounding country. The old customs of the natives were falling insensibly into disuse. Polygamy and circumcision were disappearing, though many still kept up these practices, and it seemed as if it would be more difficult to get rid of them than of most others of their customs. Many gave pleasing evidence of piety. The power of religion was often witnessed in supporting them in seasons of sickness, and in the calmness and resignation which they manifested in the prospect of death.[2]

[1] Arbousset's Narrative of an Exploratory Tour to the North-East of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, p. 284, 288, 299; Journal des Missions Evangeliques, 1843, p. 281; Not. Soc. Miss. Evan. 1843, p. 2.

[2] Journal des Miss. Evan. 1843, p. 53; Ibid. 1845, p. 8, 48; Not. Soc. Miss. Evan. p. 2, 3; Rapport de la Soc. des Miss. Evan. 1843, p. 24; (Amer.) Miss. Her. 1844, p. 98; Ibid. 1847, p. 169; Ibid. 1852, p. 385.

Though the missionaries were quite alive to the danger of employing the converts prematurely as preachers to their countrymen, having before them the painful experience of preceding labourers in this respect, yet they took with them, in their excursions, a number of the more pious natives, in order to form them, under their immediate superintendence, to the right performance of duties, which require practice as well as knowledge. The converts were zealous to make known the gospel to their countrymen; they travelled over a great extent of country, sowing everywhere the good seed of the word, and preparing the way for the conversion of the inhabitants.[1]

Schools were also established at the various stations, and were attended by considerable numbers of the natives, both old and young. There prevailed among them a very general desire to learn to read; but as is usual among barbarous tribes, there was great irregularity in the attendance of the scholars. Infant schools appeared to be peculiarly adapted to the wants of the children, correcting the natural indolence and apathy of their character, and forming them to habits of order and obedience. The wives of the missionaries rendered valuable service in the work of education, by superintending the schools for females, by teaching both old and young to sew, by inculcating on them habits of order, economy, and propriety, and by giving them the first notions of the management and training of infants.[2]

The missionaries translated into the Sichuana language the book of Psalms, and the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John. They also printed school-books, a catechism, a collection of hymns and prayers, and short tracts on the chief doctrines and duties of religion. M. Cassalis, one of the missionaries, also published a work entitled, Studies of the Sichuana Language, containing a Grammar and a Collection of Sichuana Poetry, with the view of shewing the genius of the language and the character of the people who speak it.[3]

[1] Rapport de la Soc. des. Miss. Evan. 1843, p. 18.

[2] Ibid. p. 13; Journal des Miss. Evan. 1845, p. 43; Not. Soc. Miss. Evan. 1843, p. 1.

[3] Rap. Soc. Miss. Evan. 1838, p. 12; Ibid. 1840, p. 27; Ibid. 1841, p. 28; Arbousset's Tour p. vii.; Not. des Miss. Evan. 1843, p. 2.

The people under the care of the missionaries made considerable advances in some of the more common and necessary arts of civilized life. Many of them built themselves convenient houses, some of them of stone, instead of their old smoky unhealthy huts. In place of the skins of animals which they used to throw over their bodies, the men adopted in part the European dress, while the women who had learned to sew made decent clothes for themselves and their daughters. Though they were previously not simply a pastoral people, but cultivated millet and other produce, yet now their husbandry was considerably extended. They obtained ploughs and other agricultural implements, and many of them occupied themselves in the culture of corn, which they sold to the Dutch farmers for cattle, clothing, soap, salt, and other useful articles. Vaccination also was introduced among them, and we trust that it may check in future the frightful ravages which small-pox was accustomed to make among them.[1]

It was singularly pleasing on leaving deserts where the eye sought in vain for a few huts, or for the sight of a human being, to come suddenly on a beautiful hill crowned with buildings, which were found on a nearer approach to form even a populous town. It was like an oasis in the desert, and the traveller contemplated with admiration and delight its groups of habitations, its church and its school-house, its gardens and its fields, its flocks and its herds, the whole furnishing a striking example of the influence of Christian missions in improving the condition of the most savage tribes.

The missionary stations, however, suffered in common with other parts of the country from the depredations which the native tribes are constantly carrying on against each other. The people were often in a state of great apprehension and alarm, and many of them were led sometimes to go off with their cattle to other parts of the country. The Griquas, the Korannas, the Tambookies, and the Kafirs, were the tribes which chiefly harassed them. On one occasion the Kafirs attacked Bethulia when

[1] Rap. Soc. Miss. Evan. 1841, p. 26; Ibid. 1843, p. 13, 21; Journal des Miss. Evan. 1845, p. 26; Not. des Miss. Evan. 1843, p. 3.

the people were absent hunting, drove away four hundred head of cattle and two thousand sheep, and killed ten of the shepherds.[1]

[1] Journal des Miss. Evan. 1843, p. 3, 249, 401 ; Miss. Reg. 1839, p. 67.

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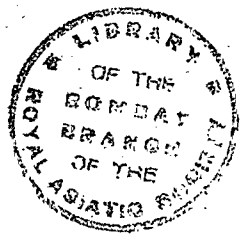
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